

THE
HISTORY
AND
ANTIQUITIES
OF
SCOTLAND,

FROM
THE EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF TIME
TO THE

Death of JAMES the First, Anno 1437.

By WILLIAM MAITLAND, F. R. S. K

And from that Period

To the Accession of JAMES the Sixth to the Crown of England,
Anno 1603,

By ANOTHER HAND.

The Whole Compiled from the most authentic VOUCHERS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Oportet ut veritas antea oculos habeatur, gratia atque odiis posthabitis; melius est enim historicum & politicum, si non fert ratio temporum, ab historia scribenda abstinere quam eam, turpiter mentiendo, & abulando, quod plerosque factitasse Flavius Vopiscus scripsit, maculare; reipublicæ enim interest, ne quid omnino, nisi quod sit compertum, et exploratum, in lucem exeat.

VANNOZZI.

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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

the second day, being placed on a pillory to the view of the people, a glowing iron crown was put on his head, with the inscription, "King of traitors." The third day he was laid on a plank, his bowels cut out, while alive, with his heart, were thrown into the fire before his face. Then his head was cut off, and his body quartered to be put up on the highest place of the principal cities of the kingdom.

After this manner, James was executed, but on account of his being only a boy, the execution was not so cruel as that of his father, who was a man of mature age and high rank. His body was quartered, and his parts of the body were put up in different places.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

A GENERAL History of Scotland, is here offered to the public, upon a plan very different from any hitherto published.

Although no nation can boast of more elegant historians than the Scottish, yet is no history more disgraced with fable, or less chronological than theirs. The writers of that kingdom, have not only not consulted the most authentic histories of the nations with whom they were connected, but have even too supinely neglected their own archives: and if we consider, how soon parties prevailed in Scotland, first, from a difference in political sentiments, and afterwards from a disagreement in modes of worship; and, lastly, if we reflect on the aristocratical influence the great families had over that people; it is easy to conceive, how jarring must be the accounts of Scottish historians, how dissimilar the characters of the persons they describe, and of consequence how very difficult their task, who would write a real history of Scotland.

Yet as no people ever behaved better in the field, than the Scots: as there is no understanding the histories of England and of France, without being masters of the Scottish: as no story affords a greater variety of important instructions, and none is more calculated to excite admiration; the authors cheerfully undertook to cleanse the Augean stable, and have spared no pains to bring light from darkness, and order from confusion.

It must be confessed, that to ascertain the origin of an antient people, is not only a difficult, but often an impracticable labour. Hence it is the less to be wondered at, that the original of the Scottish nation is so dubious; some antiquaries deriving them from Greece, Egypt, Spain, and Ireland, while others as confidently bring them from Scythia, &c. &c. But the falsity of all those opinions is fully refuted in the first and miscellaneous part of this work; where it is shewn, by the analogy of language, a proof perhaps more certain than that of historical authority, that the whole of this island was first peopled from Gaul; that the Caledonians, who so bravely maintained their ground against the Romans, were Celtæ; that Scots and Picts were names imposed upon the Celtæ by the Romans from particular circumstances; and lastly, that the present inhabitants of the north and west of Scotland, are the immediate descendants of the Celtæ.

Nor is the origin alone of an antient people involved in obscurity, their first actions are always uncertain: for tho' these have ever in them something wildly noble, and are well worth the commemorating,

THE PREFACE.

historiographers are not to be expected in the caves of indigence, the sheds of ignorance, and the tents of invasion. Employed in searching out the necessities of life, in securing themselves from the weather and monsters of the wood, in invading their neighbours, or in repelling their attacks; what leisure, what opportunity, have savage nations to write? and though the love of fame is a natural passion, and he, who does any thing uncommon, is not willing that its memory should perish; yet the oral being the only vehicle of transmission, self-love aggravates, and after-relators perceiving the proneness of mankind to the marvelous, still more and more magnify, till fact assumes another name, and truth is lost in the wonders of Romance.

But are we not told that the dawnings of historical poetry are to be found among the most savage tribes? and in particular, is it not asserted, that first the Druids, and then the bards and Sannachies, celebrated the worthies of the first Scots? This is granted, but then their praises however, as they were not written, were subject to all the inconveniences of oral tradition. Besides, poetry affecting the wonderful, every action must have been disguised, in proportion to the fancy of the panegyrist.

To the bards and Sannachies succeeded the monks; who from the historical poems of the former copied the actions of our ancestors. These holy drones were indeed not much led astray by imagination, but then they seem to have possessed no great powers of either understanding or judgment. Under their superstitious hands legend arose, and things and heroes had praise or infamy attached to them in proportion as they favoured the cowl, exalted the clergy.

Still then the sources from which we are to draw the knowledge of the ancient Scots are corrupted; very luckily indeed the Greek and Roman writers afford us some purer draughts: yet are we not too hastily even to swallow these. We cannot suppose the Romans sufficiently acquainted with the Caledonian manners and councils; and we have reason to think, that as they sometimes concealed, and often diminished, what made against them; so they always represented in the strongest colours (not to say worse) their own advantages. Bearing these things still in his mind, Mr. Maitland has extracted from those historians a less exceptionable account of the Roman transactions in the north, than any formerly published; for, by their assistance, &c. he has been enabled to shew that the first race of Scots kings, as mentioned by Fordun, and particularly by Boethius, never existed.

But to give the reader a more competent idea of this history of Scotland, it is necessary to observe, that the work is divided into two parts. In the first, after proving that the Celtae about 3860 years ago first settled in Britain; that the Caledonians were their descendants; that the Scots and Picts, though reckoned different nations, were yet one and the same, and, though reputed much less antient than the Caledonians, were in fact the Caledonians themselves; Mr. Maitland proceeds to shew that Ireland was peopled from Scotland; that the Ierne, so famous in Roman authors, is part of Scotland; that the Irish never invaded the Roman provinces in Britain, but that the Tithica Vallis, over which they are said by Gildas to have ferried for that purpose, is not the Irish sea, as Stillingfleet and many others believed, but the Vale at present known by the name of the Strath of Monteith: that Caledonia was anciently called Ireland: and lastly, he has shewn that we have no proofs to induce us to believe, that any part of Ireland was ever named Scotland.

The

THE PREFACE.

iii

The identity of those, who so gloriously maintained their independency against the Romans, being thus established; there follows an accurate epitome of their various battles, &c. till the Romans in the fourth century were obliged to take leave of their provincial friends, in order to defend their own country against the northern invaders.

As this distant period of Scots story is taken from every author who could be of service, some capital blunders of the Scots historians therein are detected: for instance, it is asserted by their first general historiographer Fordun, (whom Boece and Buchanan, &c. have likewise copied) that the Scots were expelled their country, by the united forces of the Romans, Britons, and Picts. This, Mr. Maitland shews the falsity of. The same historians also assert, that kingly government obtained in Scotland 330 years before the incarnation; that one Fergus the son of Ferchard, was the first Scottish monarch; and that he had upwards of thirty successors, before this expulsion. But Mr. Maitland has evidently proved, that this first race of kings never existed, and of course, that the so much lamented expulsion is merely fabulous; that Fergus, the son of Erch, was the first Scottish sovereign; and that he had the diadem conferred on him much about the time that the Romans were forced to re-imbark for Italy.

Yet as history is imperfect without a knowledge of the situation of the places it mentions, Ptolemy's geography of Scotland is added to this part. Antiquaries differ greatly about the modern names of the places mentioned by that Greek cosmographer. These, Mr. Maitland has endeavoured to ascertain, with all the accuracy the nature of the subject would admit of.

This done, the antient Scottish customs, whether religious, civil, or military, are fully explained: and our author, not content with what Gordon, Horsley, and others, had wrote on the Roman, Gallic, and Danish antiquities in Scotland, made an actual, laborious, and expensive survey of most of them; by which he has been enabled to discover many mistakes which they had made, and to supply some particulars which they had omitted. However difficult it is to ascertain these matters, the greatest foe of antiquities must own, that a knowledge of them is of some importance to the historian.

The time, when gold and silver were first coined in Scotland, is next established; and tables are subjoined of the value of Scots money in different kings reigns, with the prices of various kinds of merchandize at divers periods.

The miscellaneous or first part of the work concludes with a description of the universities, archbishopricks, bishopricks, monasteries, nunneries, abbeys, priories, and hospitals, their founders, and revenues, being established from the best authorities.

The historical or second part begins with the reign of Fergus, the son of Erch, and exhibits in a continued narration the history of his successors, till the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, An. 1603.

The Scots history may be divided into three periods. The first begins A. D. 446. when the Romans left Britain; and ends at the restoration of Malcolm Canmore A. 1057.

In this period, various great changes were effected. The Scots and Picts drove the Britons from their military stations on the borders,

to the more southerly parts of the island, and would probably have possessed themselves of the whole island by conquest, had not the Britons invited over the Saxons to their assistance, who, of auxiliaries, became the conquerors of England.

In this period too, the Danes and Norwegians landed in various parts of Britain, where they made many settlements, and, for a considerable time, maintained the sovereignty of the better part of the island.

In this period, the Scots mastered the Picts, and gave their own name to that part of Great Britain which is now properly denominated Scotland.

And lastly, in this period the three northern counties of England were subjected to a variety of masters: being sometimes possessed by the Saxons, sometimes by the Danes, and sometimes by the Scots. At last, however, when the Danish affairs declined in England, Northumberland and Westmoreland were re-annexed to the Saxon crown, and Cumberland was ceded for ever to the prince of Scotland.

This period may with propriety be termed the twilight of Scottish history; as the historians, who have wrote of it, derived their principal knowledge of its events from the monkish annalists. But Mr. Maitland has endeavoured from the British Historians * Gildas and † Nennius; from ‡ Bede and the Saxon chronicle; from the Danish writers and || others; to give a less exceptionable history of those times, than has been hitherto published. If he has not been able to add greatly to the store of authenticated facts, he has at least winnowed these from the chaff of legendary nonsense.

Of the many historians who have treated of this period, Marianus Scotus, Veremundus, and Johannes de Fordun, deserve only to be mentioned.

Scotus was born 1028, and died at Mentz A. 1088. He wore the cowl. His chronicle concludes with the year 1082.

It is generally believed that Veremundus was archdeacon of St. Andrews A. 1076, and a Spaniard.

* Twyrne.

But we shall pass over these writers, as a learned * antiquary justly laments, that the printed copy of Marianus's chronicle is greatly mutilated, and as we have no small reason to doubt of the existence of the archdeacon's history; we shall therefore proceed to give some account of Joannes de Fordun, or Fordoun, as he is sometimes called.

Altho' this writer is deservedly esteemed the first general Scottish historian, yet are we uncertain, both as to the place of his nativity, and his condition in life. The least exceptionable opinion is, that he was born at Fordun, a village in the county of the Merns; and that he was a priest by profession. From his history we know that he lived at the time when Walter Wardlaw was cardinal and bishop of Glasgow; and we have reason to believe that as his birth happened

Wardlaw died
An. 1386. or
1387.

* Gildas was born An. 498, and wrote about the year 540. Gildas was an eye-witness of some of the actions which he describes. He also consulted foreign historians with regard to the Scots.

† Nennius flourished A. 720. He was better acquainted with the Scots nation than Gildas. He compiled his *Historia Britonum* not only from foreign historians, but also from Scots authors. For this we have his own authority.

‡ Bede is the first English or Saxon Historian. His history ends with the year 734. He is fuller than either of the two former writers, upon the antiquities and religion of Britain.

|| Especially the *Fœdera*, which begin towards the end of this period.

toward

T H E P R E F A C E .

toward the end of the reign of Alex. III. so he flourished about the middle of the 14th century, which he certainly adorned. We are informed by unquestionable authority, that our author's intention, in writing the history of his country from the earliest antiquity to his own times, was to supply the loss of those Scottish archives, which Edward I. had either destroyed, or carried with him into England: and it must be confessed, that considering the scantiness of his materials, he has performed his purpose to admiration. Not contented with perusing the monkish annals, &c. he conversed with those who either had studied the Scottish story, or from circumstances could not but know it; and not only travelled through Scotland, but made the tour of England and Ireland on the same errand. From this voyage of improvement, he returned home about the year 1341, and assiduously set about the writing his history; but death unluckily surpris'd him when he had finished five books, in which he brought it down to the year 1057.

Preface to the
Chronicle of
Coupar.

This work soon became the standard-book in all the Scots monasteries, and was called by way of eminence the *Scoto-Chronicon*. But as Fordun had left several valuable materials towards a Continuation, that task was undertaken and tolerably executed by * Maccullo, and others, who brought it down to the death of James I. An. 1437. The whole was published by Thomas Hearne 1722.

But notwithstanding the respect shewed Fordun by his countrymen, his first book, in which he transports the first Scots from Greece and Egypt, is plainly fabulous: neither does his second, which narrates the exploits of Fergus I. and his forty-five successors, merit a milder epithet. In the remaining books indeed, our author often differs from subsequent writers. Those contrarieties we have always remarked, for as Fordun lived remote enough, not to conceal the truth, yet nearer the times of which he wrote, than Boece, Buchanan, and Lesly, and not warped in his sentiments by any system of religion or politics, so is he upon the whole to be esteemed a preferable authority.

We can adduce but few certainties with regard to the constitution of Scotland during this period: As the Scots were a martial people and saw the necessity of subordination, is it not probable that their first kings were elected such for their bravery? But as elective monarchies produce many inconveniences, so in the time of Kenneth III. it became hereditary. The grandees and clergy however possessed very great powers; for as they not only raised, but commanded the soldiery, either for defence or invasion; so were the Scottish kings under a necessity of courting and consulting them upon every emergency, that is, of dividing with them their prerogative. It is of no consequence, now-a-days, whether the nobles, when assembled, were called the parliament, and whether the burghs deputed any representatives to those meetings. Antiquity does not alter the political fitness of things, and constitutions must suffer changes according to circumstances.

In the second period, altho' we have few cotemporary Scottish historians, yet is there almost every where more of certainty in the rela- Ann. 1057.

* Maccullo was a Scotoman, a monk of Scoon, and secretary to archbishop Scheyz in the reigns of James II. and III.

tion of its numerous and interesting events than in the former period. It commences at the restoration of Canmore to the throne of his ancestors, and ends with the murder of James I. An. 1437.

At the beginning of this period England again became a prey to a foreign conqueror; and as the restored Scottish monarch espoused the interest of the legal successor of England, so a war soon broke out between the two nations, which ended in a peace (An. 1102.) as honourable to the Scottish king, as advantageous to the Norman conqueror. This peace lasted for upwards of 200 years, and as it was the longest pause from hostilities, which the two kingdoms ever enjoyed, so do Scottish historiographers represent it, as the halcyon days of their history.

During this long calm, the Scottish sovereigns did homage to the English monarchs for those counties which they held in England; but no English king had as yet ever pretended to the superiority of Scotland. Edward I. indeed had projected the union of Britain, by marrying his eldest son to the heiress of Scotland: but that princess unfortunately dying before the match took place; and, the succession being disputed, the English monarch had the address not only to get himself constituted umpire, and acknowledged direct lord and superior of Scotland, but to be put in actual possession of that kingdom. We have proved, that his pretensions to the superiority of Scotland, were founded on fable, false history, and forged charters. But policy, fear, and irresolution, prevailed on the Scots to acquiesce; and obliged Baliol, who received the Scottish crown from Edward on the terms of homage, to remain quiet, for some time, under all the indignities which Edward too incautiously heaped upon him. At last however, the ancient spirit of the Scots beginning to rouse, and Baliol being no longer able to bear the repeated insults offered him, the old league with France was revived. This circumstance was equally advantageous to Philip (the then king of France) and to Baliol: for as Edward pretended to the superiority of Scotland, so was he really possessed of large paternal dominions in France; and as independancy was what the Scots aspired to, so the French monarch could not but regard territories so extensive as those belonging to England with the eyes of ambition. The two kings then could not but agree: this produced a war with England (An. 1296) the longest and bloodiest of any recorded in the annals of Britain (for it lasted with little or no interruption for near eighty years, and destroyed upwards of 300000 people.) A war as remarkable for the chief actors, as for the variety of its events: a war more glorious for the Scots than the English; and which sowed those seeds of enmity between the two nations, which afterwards produced fruits so very bitter, that a union of a century and a half, has hardly worn out their disrelish. Such were the fatal effects of Edward's ambition! It threw the Scots into the arms of France, whose interest it was to support them against England, to the common calamity of the island; for though the French never scrupled to abandon the Scots, to serve a temporary convenience, yet such was the antipathy of the Scots to the English, that the French found no difficulty in prevailing on the Scots to unsheath their swords against England, whenever it was the Gallic interest to embroil the two nations!

T H E P R E F A C E.

vii

Of this war we have given, if not a more full, at least, a more impartial account than any hitherto published, every where confronting the Scots with the English writers, but implicitly trusting to neither; as the *Fœdera Angliæ* shew, that often both were guilty of egregious blunders.

Although Fordun lived in this period, and undertook the Scottish history purposely to describe that war, yet the account we have in the *Scoto-Chronicon* of that calamitous event, is the work of Macullo. But, if general historians are wanting, many, who composed the lives of some of its most illustrious actors, adorn that period. Of these biographers as Turgot is the eldest, so for the pre-eminence of his parts does he merit the first rank. He was bishop of St. Andrews, abbot of Weremouth, and confessor to Mary, consort of Malcolm III. After that queen's death, Turgot retired to Durham, where he died prior of the monastery in that city An. 1115. His life of Malcolm III. and of his queen, is an accurate piece of biography.

To Alred, abbot of Reevaulx, we have been little indebted; as his life of David I. is rather a panegyric, than a history.

Sir William Wallace's chaplain, Arnold Blair, has left us some anecdotes of that great hero's life. The author was a monk of the order of St. Benedict, at Dunfermling, and received his education at the school of Dundee with Wallace, whose life he wrote A. 1327. What we have are only excerpctions, intituled, "*Relationes quædam Arnoldi Blair Monach. de Dumfermelem & Capell. D. Willielmi Wallas militis,*" These Sir James Balfour copied from the MSS. in the Cotton library, and Sir Robert Sibbald published at Edinburgh An. 1705, with a commentary.

This fragment was of so much service to us, that we cannot but regret the loss of the original life.

Although Robert the Bruce had two poetical biographers, Barbour and Gordon, neither of them have done that monarch the justice, which his many sufferings, and the honour of having retrieved his country from the yoke of English servitude deserved: yet are we indebted to the former for some particulars, which, without him, had probably escaped the knowledge of posterity. Barbour was archdeacon of St. Andrews, and flourished in the reign of Bruce's son and successor, who rewarded him with an annual pension for his history, which was finished An. 1375. His relation of Bannockburn is very explicit, and he deserves the thanks of historians for the faithful narrative he has left us of the transactions of Edward Bruce, K. Robert's brother, in Ireland. His poetry is not much inferior to any thing published in England about that time.

Notwithstanding Baston was not a Scot, yet as he was taken at the battle of Bannockburn, and obliged to sing the Scottish victory, he is intituled to a place in this preface. It is true his poem on that subject, is not only barbarous and unintelligible, but mentions no circumstances, except what are recorded by others; yet were we somewhat obliged to the English bard, for the history he has left of the war between the two nations in the reign of David II.

Winton lived in the time of Robert III. He is fuller than any of the preceding historians upon many of the border-battles, in the re-

lation

lation of which Buchanan seems to have followed him. Barbour rather excelled Winton in versification. He was a canon regular of St. Andrews and prior of Lochleven. He is a sort of general historian.

Who was the author of the Breve Chronicon Scot. in the appendix of Innes's Critical Essay is uncertain. But from the language it probably was the production of this period. It was of some service in ascertaining the succession of the Scottish kings.

But if the Scottish historians of this period are few, England luckily hath supplied us with many, who either flourished then or soon after. Among these, Knighton, Trivet, Walsingham, and Hemingford, bear a very distinguished rank. But with all this assistance, our knowledge of this period would be most imperfect without the *Fœdera Angliæ*.

In this period we have an historical certainty, that the burghs sent representatives to parliament, for we find them there An. 1326 voting king Robert a tenth of the produce of the laities lands. As many noble families had become extinct by the length of the war with England, some conjecture that king Robert summoned the burgesses to the house to supply that deficiency. Toward the end of this period, the politic James I. excused all the smaller vassals of the crown from a personal attendance on parliament, provided that they sent representatives.

The nobility (in which class all those, who by their estates had an hereditary right to sit in parliament, were included) still possessed very great powers. As their tenants held of them by military tenure, they seldom had recourse to law for the revenge of injuries, which in those unpolished times must have been frequent, but trusted their cause to the decision of the sword. Hence the many family feuds which disgrace this period; and as this was the same all over the kingdom, the isles and borders were not then more licentious and vindictive than the more interior parts of Scotland. When it was a maxim in Europe, that the victor at a tournament was never guilty, is it surprizing that the Scots should fly the bar, and commit the justice of their cause to their bravery and broad-swords?

In this period, the Scottish diadem passed, An. 1371, to the house of Stuart, which succeeded by proximity of blood; the male branch of the Brucian line becoming extinct in the person of the unfortunate, but accomplished, David II.

In this period, when the English found that the Scots were so far from being to be subdued in the field, that they were obliged to declare them independent; they altered their plan of operation, and proposed a federal union and perpetual peace: but that unhappily not pleasing the Scots, the English were content to get even temporary truces. But as these produced manifold inconveniences, they had recourse to the political expedient of corrupting some of the great men on the borders, and of confederating with the lords of the isles. This was the more easily effected, as the former entertained almost eternal feuds with their neighbours, and often opposed their monarch in the prosecution of their vengeance; and as the latter had affected, for time immemorial, an independant sovereignty. Thus by embarrassing the

Scots

THE PREFACE.

Scotch King at home; the English had leisure to prosecute their schemes in France, and preserved their borders from invasion.

Although the Scots in the first 200 years of this period were free from foreign wars, and domestic dissensions; they made no distinguished figure in the acquisition of literature. Yet is not that nation to be accused of indolence on that account. The Scots composed as good learning verses as their neighbours, and read the Masters of the Sentences as much as they. At that time a total ignorance overspread Europe. From the unfortunate death of Alexander III. to the return of James I. An. 1424, Scotland having been engaged in almost continual wars with the English, the commons had neither time nor inclination to cultivate the muses, while the nobles despised all knowledge except that of arms. But James having a happy disposition to letters, which already had received all due culture in England, did more to civilize the nation than all his predecessors, by erecting schools and encouraging the learned; and had not that monarch been unhappily murdered, it is probable that the muses, whom he loved, would have weaned his ferocious subjects from their affection to war; by which many of the calamities of the subsequent period might have been lessened, perhaps prevented.

The last period begins at the death of James I. An. 1437, and ends with the accession of James VI. to the throne of England, An. 1603.

Et jam major rerum mihi nascitur ordo.

As a knowledge of this period is of more utility, than that of any of the former, both on account of its nearness to our times, and because of the great changes it produced, the author has considerably enlarged the plan. The rule he laid down to himself, was, to omit no event of importance, yet to express all with a brief perspicuity.

The general historians of this period are many. We shall speak of them in the order they wrote. The first is

John Major. This writer was born at Haddington *, and not content with the learning, which his own country supplied him with, he travelled to Oxford, and studied for sometime in Christ-college, Cambridge. But as the university of Paris was then very famous, and as those of the Scottish nation had peculiar marks of distinction then shewn them there, he went to France, and becoming a student in the colleges of St. Barb and Montague, he got himself associated into the college of Navarre, and was created Dr. of divinity An. 1503. He returned home soon after, and taught theology for some years, in the lately erected university of Glasgow. But the public distractions which ensued, not suiting his contemplative turn of mind, he went back to Paris, and taught philosophy in the college of Montague with uncommon applause. Nor was his fame only confined to Paris and his pupils, he published several logical and theological pieces, which secured him the approbation of the learned throughout Europe. In 1520, Dr. Major returned to his native country, and was appointed professor of divinity, and principal of the college of St. Salvador in St. Andrews. The year after this he printed at Paris his history, which is intitled "De historia gentis Scotorum libri sex, seu historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae ex Majorum monu-

* Some say North Berwick.

T H E P R E F A C E.

"*mentis concinnata.*" Major's chief authorities are Bede, Caxton, and Froissard; but this work, which every where gives pregnant proofs of his good sense and love of freedom, is notwithstanding often defective in chronology and facts. Altho' he laughs at the story of Gathelus, he nevertheless peoples Scotland from Ireland, mentions fifteen predecessors of Fergus II. and gives the genealogy of Fergus I. from Heber the son of Gathelus. Notwithstanding his being a priest, he condemns king David's prodigality to the church, taxes the usurpations of Rome, reprehends the laziness and luxury of the clergy, and inveighs against the nobles for matching their heiresses in Norway, when they might have united Britain.

This history ends with the marriage of James III. An. 1425; and our author will ever be regarded by posterity as "*Veritatis quam elegantiae studiofior.*"

Soon after the publication of his history, Dr. Major invited Buchanan to St. Andrews, where he not only (say authors) maintained him, but also carried him with him to Paris, whither he returned An. 1528. Our historian came back two years after to St. Andrews, and continued teaching theology, &c. with an increasing fame, till he died, 1540, in the sixty-second year of his age. The famous John Knox was one of his pupils. Five years after the publication of Major's work, Hector Boece obliged the world with his history.

This last mentioned author, descended of an antient family in Angus, was born about the end of the fifteenth century at Dundee, where having gone through a course of the belles lettres, he was sent to the university of Paris. There he studied philosophy in the college of Montague, in which he afterwards became a professor, and was honoured with the friendship of the most eminent men of those times. That learned and pious prelate, bishop Elphinston, having, about the year 1500, founded the king's college at Aberdeen, invited Boece from Paris, and appointed him principal of his new erection. In 1522 he published at Paris his history of the bishops of Aberdeen; and, in 1525, having got from Icolmkill, where they had been deposited by Fergus II. who brought them from Rome (as he informs us) a vast treasure of Scottish antiquities, in the writings of Veremund, Campbell, and Hibernicus; he printed at Paris, the year after, his "*Scotorum historia ab illius gentis origine.*" This edition which consists of seventeen books, concludes on the calends of May 1526. But to the second edition, which came out An. 1574, an eighteenth and part of a nineteenth book were now added. Ferrerius of Piedmont, who then enjoyed a Scottish benefice, brought the work down to the end of James III's. reign, (Ann. 1488) and dedicated his part of it to Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow. It is written with equal purity of language, and more precision as to facts than Boece's.

None have ever dared to find fault with the elegance of Boece's style, but many have attacked his honesty as a historian. The geographical description of Scotland prefixed to his work is not only inaccurate, but his natural history abounds with manifest absurdities. Like Fordun he derives the Scots from Gathelus, and if he strikes off six kings from that author's first race of them, he makes ample amends in the full enumeration of the exploits of those he has retained. But as we have proved in the first part of this work, that Hector's vouchers

ers either never wrote, or wrote fables: we are sorry we must stigmatize the historical parts of our author's first eight books, as being as destitute of truth as the achievements of *Garagantua* or *Don Quixote*. The other books, though over-run with prodigy and miracle, are however to be regarded with a more favourable eye, as they not only contain a fuller account of many events than *Fordun*, but also narrate some facts which neither our first historian nor *Major* had recorded: yet must the reader be ever on his guard in perusing *Boece*, for he neither had proper authorities to form his book on, nor did he make the best use of those which he possessed. Although our author's history was penned for the use of *James V.* (then a youth) to whom he elegantly addresses it, he every where shews himself a greater friend to the popular, than to the monarchical form of government. For according to *Boece*, the people seldom could be said to rebel, because their kings were almost always tyrants.

Boece's history was translated into the Scottish language by *Ballenden*, archdeacon of *Murray* and canon of *Ross*, at the command of *James V.* By varying from his original *Ballenden* often corrects him, and he has moreover added some particulars with which *Hector* was unacquainted. This Scottish version was made English by *Francis Thynne*, and with some additions from *Major*, *Lesley*, and *Buchanan*, was published in *Hollingshed's* chronicle.

As *Chambers* of *Ormond* is little more than an abridger of *Boece*, although he quotes the *Black Book* of *Scoon*, the chronicle of *Icolm-Kill*, and *Colms-Inch*, the works of *Veremundus*, *Campbell*, *Turgot*, and bishop *Elphinston*; we shall only inform the reader that his "*Histoire abrégée des tous les rois de France, Angleterre, & Ecoffe, &c.*" appeared first at *Paris* An. 1572; the best edition however is in 1579. *Chambers* was a thorough catholic, and adhered to *Q. Mary* (who had made him one of the senators of the college of justice) in all her troubles at home; and when that unfortunate princess was defeated by her subjects, he fled to *Spain*; but after a short stay he came to *Paris*, where he had been educated in theology and the study of the law. In *France* *Charles IX.* gave him a favourable reception; and his abridgment was presented to that monarch, to shew the reciprocal advantages which *France* and *Scotland* reaped from their antient alliance. *Chambers* hoped that gratitude, as well as policy, would induce the French king to bestir himself effectually, in order to restore *Scotland* to its former religion and policy. He died at *Paris* 1592.

The celebrated *John Lesley*, bishop of *Ross*, is the next historian. This gentleman, who was descended of the antient and noble family of the *Lesleys*, was born 1527; and went through a course of philosophy in the university of *Aberdeen*, where he made so great a progress in learning, that at the age of twenty he was ordained canon of the cathedral churches of *Aberdeen* and *Murray*. The profits of this preferment enabling him to travel, he went to *Paris*, and applied himself to the study of divinity and of the languages, especially the Greek and Hebrew. From *Paris* he removed to the university of *Poictiers*, where he spent four years in a diligent attendance on the most celebrated professors of the canon and civil laws. The university of *Thoulouze* was the next place he resided at; where, for a year, he digested what

what he had learned, and had the degree of licentiate of the civil law bestowed upon him. From thence returning to Paris he was made Dr. of laws, and gave lectures, for near a year, in the schools of law in that metropolis.

Our Doctor's reputation had now reached his native country, whither in 1554 Mary of Lotrain, then regent of the realm, recalled him.

His first preferment after his return was that of being official and vicar general to the diocese of Aberdeen. His conduct in that office soon rendered him obnoxious to the reformers, who imprisoned him in Edinburgh 1559, whence however he was soon after set at liberty upon giving bail for his appearance. In 1660 the catholic prelates and nobles deputed Lesley to king Francis II. and Mary his spouse, who was also queen of Scotland, to solicit their assistance for the subduing of the congregation. In this embassy he acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of the house of Guise, that by their interest he was appointed one of queen Mary's privy council. But the French king dying soon after, he accompanied his sovereign to Scotland An. 1561; where Mary made him first a senator, and then president of the college of justice, bestowing upon him at the same time the rich abbey of Lindores, as a support to his dignity. Upon the death of St. Clare, bishop of Ross, the queen named his lordship to that see, and he was accordingly installed 1564; and for some years enjoyed with peace the benefit of his preferments. Mary however being defeated at Langside and flying to England, sent for our prelate thither An. 1568, and appointed him one of her commissioners at York. But as his conduct afterwards is fully narrated in our history, we shall only observe that he published at Rome his work "*De origine moribus & gestis Scotorum* An. 1578," addressing it to his benefactor pope Gregory XIII. It consists of ten books. After a short, but accurate description of Scotland, and a less faulty enumeration of its natural productions than Boece had given, he proceeds in the first book briefly to represent the manners, laws, &c. of the ancient Scots; he specifies several customs in which the highlanders have ever differed from the borderers; and comparing the old state of the nobles and clergy with the present, he enquires into the reasons which induced the commonalty to exercise trades and arms abroad; and concludes with a succinct detail of the great offices in the king's household and courts of judicature. The other books to the eighth are an abridgment of Boece; he has indeed omitted many of Hector's falsifications, and by consulting the books of Scoon and Pasley, he has now and then corrected the chronology and narration of his original. He has however still retained too many of Boece's forgeries. The last three books were originally written in English, and had been presented to Queen Mary seven years before. The Latin translation of them is accordingly dedicated to that princess. They contain the lives of James IV. V. and of queen Mary herself till her return from France, An. 1561. Though concise, his language is in general pure and perspicuous: and where religion interferes not, his narrations may commonly be depended upon. Being a violent catholic, he represents the first reformers sometimes in a ludicrous, and often in an unjust light. His principles led him to love France, and hate England.

T H E P R E F A C E.

xiii

he is very partial in his account not only of the war, which the ecclesiastics and France prevailed on James V. to commence against England, but also of that which was the consequence of the earl of Arran's refusal to comply with those treaties, by which the young queen Mary was affianced to king Edward of England. He is the first general historian who makes any use of the black acts, which were published at Edinburgh 1566 by order of queen Mary; yet he often mistakes dates, and places the acts of one year under another. He omits no opportunity of praising the popish clergy, and indeed, by his account, many of the Scottish prelates appear to have been no less eminent for charity than erudition. He is the very reverse of Boece in political principles, considering every resistance to the prince on the part of the people, as downright rebellion. We have elsewhere spoken fully of his vindication of queen Mary and of his negotiations in England. In all his writings, the scholar, the gentleman, and the man of business are happily blended. The death of his beloved queen, with other disappointments, making him renounce all thoughts of advancing his fortunes in the church, he retired to a convent of Augustin friars at Guerternburg near Brussels, where, spending the remainder of his days in devotion, he died An. 1596.

Great, however, as the fame of these historians was, it was soon lost in the superior celebrity of George Buchanan.

This ornament of his country was descended of a good family in the county of Dunbarton, and born about the beginning of February 1506. His parents, who lived in the parish of Killcarne, were however so far from being in prosperous circumstances, that, when his father died, this wonderful genius must have been lost to the world, had it not been for a maternal uncle. But this gentleman, whose name was Herriot, luckily discovering in his nephew the seeds of uncommon abilities, not only had him instructed in the rudiments of learning at Dunbarton, but sent him over to Paris, where he studied in the college of Montacute. There he gave the first proofs of his poetic capacity, and Dr. M'Kenzie insinuates that indigence often obliged him to verify. For this that * biographer cites Buchanan's own words, but they admit of no such interpretation. It is probable indeed that he must soon after (1522) have been obliged to his muse for subsistence, &c. when his generous patron died. But his bad health preventing him at this time from all literary application, he came back that same year to Scotland. His native air having restored him to his usual vigour he made a campaign against the English, under John duke of Albany. But tho' the campaign was barren of laurels, the Scots underwent as great fatigue, as if they had beaten their enemy. This, with the uncommon severity of the winter (for the army marched back through snow, &c.) throw our young soldier into his former complaints, which confined him to his bed for the remainder of the winter. His health however returning with the spring, he went to St. Andrews and studied under John Major (1524) whom he accompanied the year after to Paris, where he first became acquainted with the reformed doctrines, and where, after a struggle of two years with misfortunes, he was appointed one of the regents of St. Barb. This is the account which Buchanan himself gives us; but according to M'Kenzie, the old professor (Major) hearing of Buchanan's abilities and wants, not only sent for him home and maintained him at St. Andrews, but after-

* Lives of
Scots writers,
Vol. III.

THE PREFACE.

wards carried him into France, where he acted in the capacity of his servant. But Major not deeming this a suitable encouragement for so great a genius, procured for him a regency at St. Barb; all which good offices (continues our biographer) Buchanan recompensed with a severe epigram upon one of Major's performances. That our author wrote such an epigram is undisputed, but why gratitude should have obliged him to suppress that sally of his muse, I cannot see; especially as M'Kenzie has not been pleased to inform us, whence he had the story of Buchanan's obligations to Major. After three years spent in the toilsome employment of a regent, Gilbert earl of Cassils, then at Paris, being charmed with the conversation of Buchanan, put himself under his tuition; and, in 1534, brought him back with him to Scotland.

When Buchanan was about to return again to his former employment in France, James V. unwilling that one of his vast abilities should be obliged to go abroad for bread, intrusted to him the education of his bastard son, James Stewart, afterward the famous earl of Murray. As yet our tutor had solicitously concealed his sentiments of religion; but finding that a sort of reformation was favoured by Henry VIII. in England, he wrote a vision, in which he supposes that St. Francis solicited him to become a monk. To this invitation the poet honestly answers, that as one must be a slave, a beggar, and a cheat to become one of his followers; few of whom, he was persuaded, ever entered heaven; he therefore would never accept of the cowl.

The Franciscans, having got a copy of this poem, accused Buchanan of heresy; every attack upon their order being by them deemed impiety. But as they could not prove him the author of the satyr, he remained for a time beyond the reach of their resentment: "Et dum impotentia suæ indulgent, illum, sponte sua sacerdotum licentiæ infestum, acius incendunt, et Lutheranae causæ minus iniquum reddunt."

In July 1537, as the secret friends of the reformation had their hopes greatly checked by the death of that amiable queen, Margaret; so the monks, and in particular the Franciscans, began to take greater freedoms with the throne. This incensing James V. he commanded Buchanan, who still attended the court, to write against them. Whatever motive our author had to be angry with the Franciscans, prudence made him, upon this occasion, moderate his satyrical vein. But the piece of course appearing to the king too pointless, he was obliged to compose another, which fully answered the monarch's inclinations. But if the Franciscanus (for so was the new poem called) pleased James; yet, had not the satyrist luckily escaped into England, the faggot had been the reward of his numbers. Neither was England then a place of safety; for Henry burnt both protestant and papist. Having fled therefore to Paris, he soon privately withdrew to Bourdeaux, at the invitation of his old friend Andrew Govia; for his great enemy cardinal Beaton was then ambassador at the French court from Scotland. At Bourdeaux Buchanan was appointed coadjutor to Govea, a Portuguese gentleman, in the management of a Schola Illustris, which had been lately erected in that city. There he brought his four tragedies on the stage, which though acted only by his own scholars, yet succeeded beyond his expectation. But this had like to have proved his ruin, for his fame soon reached the cardinal, who instantly informed by letter the archbishop of Bourdeaux, who an enemy of the church he fostered in Buchanan,

T H E P R E F A C E.

xv

chanan. This letter the archbishop shewed to one of Buchanan's best friends; yet might this intelligence have proved fatal to Buchanan, had not the death of James V. engaged Beaton in affairs of more consequence.

A plague too which ravaged Aquitain contributed somewhat likewise to his safety. However our author thought proper soon after to leave Bourdeaux; and, coming to Paris, was appointed professor in the college of the cardinal le Moine. This circumstance he does not mention in the short memoirs he has left us of his own life, but we learn it from an elegy written in a fit of the gout 1544. to his friends at Bourdeaux.

The king of Portugal, having about this time founded a college at Conimbria, wrote to Andrew Govea to bring along with him proper professors for his new erection. As the salaries offered by the Portuguese monarch were considerable, several eminent scholars were induced to go. Buchanan was intimately acquainted with most of them; and Europe being on the eve of a war, he not only agreed to accompany them, but prevailed on his brother Patrick to be of the party. Our literary emigrants found, at first, that freedom from arms, and ease in study which they hoped for; but Govea dying 1548, the year after their arrival at Portugal, they soon began to suffer as much from the malice of the Portuguese, as they could have done from the calamities of war. Three of his companions were clapped up in a dungeon, and Buchanan himself was accused of having wrote the Franciscanus, (notwithstanding the king of Portugal had declared himself satisfied with his account of this poem before he embarked) of being a friend to the reformation, of having eat flesh in Lent, and of having jocularly spoken something against the monks. But though Ferrerius (the same I suppose with the continuator of Boece) and another, were evidence against him, he so well managed his vindication, that after having plagued him and themselves a year and half, the inquisition only shut them up in a monastery to be instructed by the monks. The friars, though ignorant of religion, were luckily persons of humanity: so that our author spent his time more agreeably than could have been expected: and in this retreat it was that he composed the greatest part of his version of the psalms.

Dr. M'Kenzie alledges, that as the monks imposed on Buchanan the task of translating the psalms, they could not be ignorant of religion; and mentions this as another instance of Buchanan's ingratitude. But that biographer gives us no authority for Buchanan's having performed this version of David at their command. Besides, how was it ungrateful in Buchanan to say, that they were ignorant of the pure doctrines of genuine religion? Look into cloisters at present, in more learned countries than Portugal, and you will find that their inhabitants are "omnis religionis ignari."

It is very probable that this elegant performance joined to his winning behaviour in the convent, at last procured him his liberty, which he no sooner obtained than he solicited the king to permit his departure. But that monarch, who seems to have known Buchanan's merit, prevailed on him to stay in hopes of providing for him in an honourable way, and in the mean time allowed him wherewithal to support himself ("pecunola interim accepta in sumptum quotidianum.") His daily allowance however not being great, and seeing no appearance of soon bettering his fortunes, he went on board a ship of Candia bound for

for England, in which kingdom he landed 1552. Here he did not long remain, although some advantageous offers were made him by those then in power: for the nobles disagreeing, and all things being in confusion from the change of religion by Edward, he went over into France, where he arrived much about the time that the emperor Charles was obliged to raise the siege of Mentz. Upon this subject our author's friends obliged him to write a poem, which he undertook with much unwillingness, as many of his friends, and especially Melin de Gelais, had exercised their muses on the occasion. This Dr. M'Kenzie represents as another instance of Buchanan's ingratitude. But I cannot join issue with our censuring biographer; for though he praised Charles V. many years before when he passed thro' Bourdeaux (and probably received a reward for his encomium) yet that versatile emperor had often changed measures since that time, and was then engaged in a plan of policy, which Buchanan could but not consider as subversive of the liberty of Europe.

At this time too Buchanan published a poem against the Portugeeze, whom he justly lashes; altho' M'Kenzie represents this too as another act of ingratitude in our author: but let any unprejudiced person lay his hand on his heart, and then declare, if Buchanan's treatment in Portugal was not a sufficient apology for his not concealing from the world any enormities, to which the natives of that superstitious country were addicted.

Whether our author pursued any literary employment at this time in France I know not, as he is silent on that point; but in 1554 Charles de Cossé, marshal de Brissac, who commanded the French forces in Piedmont, invited him to superintend the education of his son, Timoleon de Cossé. As Buchanan had a good opinion of the marshal (to whom he had lately dedicated his *Jepthes*) and wanted to tread classic ground, he accepted the invitation, and passed five years in Italy and the southern parts of France. As he was pretty much master of his time, and Geneva was nigh, Buchanan applied himself to study the dispute between the reformed and the catholic church. This could not fail to attach him more firmly to the doctrines of the former. Neither did polemical divinity engross all his hours, many of them he dedicated to the muses, who continued still to regard him with favourable eyes, for at this time he composed his noble poem on the sphere, his ode on the taking of Calais by the duke of Guise, and his admired *Epithalamium* on the marriage of Queen Mary with the Dauphin.

About the year 1560 he returned to Scotland, and as popery was then abolished by law, he renounced the catholic and openly declared himself of the religion of his country. His after actions being connected with the story of the times, are to be found in the 2d vol. of this work. We shall therefore conclude this account of him with some observations upon his history, on account of which the reader has been presented with these biographical memoirs.

The work consists of twenty books, the three first, among other things, treat of the ancient names given to Great Britain, describe Scotland, give an account of some ancient customs among the Scots, and vindicate their antiquities against Humphry Llyud and other English writers. The other seventeen books are historical, and contain the

reigns of 108 kings from Fergus I. 330 years before Christ, to the year 1581.

In this part, altho' Buchanan has chiefly followed Boece, as far as he goes, he consulted many other authors whom that historian had never seen; by this means as he has discarded the prodigies of that miracle-monger, so has he, from Winton and others, enlarged on occurrences which Hector treats of too superficially. His chronology is seldom more exact than Boece's, which is the more astonishing, as the black acts were an infallible guide as to many things from the reign of James I. This principle runs through the whole of his history, that as the fountain of power is in the people, so when those to whom they have delegated it, make a bad use of it, they may not only resume it but also punish the delinquents. Although this is true in a limited sense, yet many of his monarchs were not such monsters as he represents them; and the great (for in the Scotch form of government the nobles only had privileges) more frequently contended for licence than liberty. In the last six books, which treat of his own times, his republican notions and attachment to the reformation often mislead him: and it must be confessed his account of Queen Mary is a satyrical caricature. As his affection to the earl of Murray led him to think ill of the families of Hamilton and Gordon, so what he says of these two houses must be read "*cum grano salis*." Yet, with all those faults, will Buchanan's history ever be perused with pleasure, while purity of diction, and a regard to the civil and religious privileges of mankind are of any estimation in the world. It was continued by Johnstone: nor is the continuation unworthy of the original.

It is no great honour to King James VI. that Buchanan's history and dialogue *De Jure Regni* were prohibited. Had this prohibition flowed from the picture our author draws of Queen Mary, it would have been highly praise-worthy; but have we not reason to suspect, that it was owing to that monarch's not being able to endure any author who lessened the prerogative.

Sir James Melvin's memoirs deserve next to be mentioned, (for tho' not published so soon, yet were they written at that time) as they contain the court intrigues of one of the most intricate periods of Scots history, viz. the regency of Mary of Lorrain; the reign of Queen Mary; the regencies of Murray, Lenox, Mar, Morton; and the first years of James's own administration, till the birth of his eldest son.

None seems to have known the human heart better than Sir James; who being a philosopher in the midst of a court, we have the more depended on his characters and accounts of things. If he and his brothers are often the heroes of the story, let it be considered that he wrote his memoirs for the use of his son, with no intent of making them public; an additional reason for our laying the more stress upon them. Sir James is often faulty in chronology; and but superficial in the military transactions of that period. His sphere was the cabinet, and his book is the best clue to guide us thro' its intricate windings.

The MS of the memoirs was found in the castle of Edinburgh, An. 1660, by Mr. Trail one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who sent it to the author's grandson, Sir James Melvil of Halhill, and that gentleman generously permitted Mr. Scot to publish it An. 1683, at London.

Our statesman was not only a compleat master of the Greek and Latin, but particularly well skilled in most of the modern European languages; and the memoirs shew that the English themselves could not write at that time their own tongue better than Melvil did.

Although in this period the reformation took place in Scotland, and the chief of the reformers wrote memoirs of that affair; the reader is not to consider the history of the church of Scotland, which passes under Knox's name, as wholly his: some illiterate brother certainly moulded it into its present form; it contains however some original papers of use to one that would write the history of that period.

Were Calderwood's great history of the church of Scotland published, doubtless some things would be brought to light, of which we are ignorant; and many would be cleared up, which we know but obscurely.

King James, not contented with any history he had seen of church matters in Scotland, commanded Spotswood to write the ecclesiastical history of that country. This the prelate undertook with some reluctance as he was to continue it down to his own times, and of course would be obliged to speak of the king's mother. But James assuring him that he wanted a history and not a panegyric, he set about the work; and being furnished with the registers of church and state, with many other original papers, he compleated it An. 1639. Although he entitled this work the history of the church of Scotland, beginning with the year of our Lord 203, and continued to the end of the reign of James VI. of ever blessed memory; it contains the political transactions of the times from the reformation. The right reverend author dedicated it to king Charles; and considering that he was of a different persuasion in point of religion; considering too his obligation to the royal family, by whom he was made chancellor, &c. it must be confessed that his history does great honour to his heart as well as to his understanding: The characters being justly drawn; and the whole a candid dispassionate performance. Some things indeed he could not but cast into shades, which we have drawn into light, and others are exhibited in too great proportions which we have shortened. As he knew nothing of arms, his military accounts are imperfect; neither does he seem to have fathomed the depths of courts: his chief excellence consists in his narration of church matters. He is in general pretty exact in his chronology: we are indebted to him for some original papers which are neither in the *Fœdera*, nor any where else that I know of. His plan is admirable, and the language far from contemptible. The edition we use is the third, viz. Lond. 1668 in seven books.

In 1705, Crawford of Drumsoy, then historiographer for Scotland, published an anonymous MS. written by one who lived at the time king James was married. It contains a pretty circumstantial account of the Scottish affairs, from the birth of James VI. An. 1566 to the year 1581; but it is written with such a spirit of virulence against the enemies of Queen Mary; that it deserves little credit, unless where it is supported by original papers, or the more dispassionate historians. We could have wished the publisher had given it in the author's own words. No author exhibits so minute a detail of the skirmishes between the friends of the Queen and of those who opposed her.

her. But as these are not of much importance in general history, we found these memoirs of very little service.

Had Drummond employed his industry, as much as he employed his genius, in writing the lives of the five James's, his work would have been more justly the admiration of posterity. He enters far into the policies of the court; characterises with a masculine spirit; and his battles set the reader on fire; many of his speeches are as remarkable for strength of argument as perspicuity of language, but he does not penetrate deep enough into the causes of the war, nor into the share which Scotland had in the contention between the two houses of York and Lancaster; into the protection afforded by James IV. to Warbeck; nor into the attempts made by Henry VIII. to induce James V. to adopt his measures. He has neither made the use he ought to have made of the Black Acts, nor of the many English historians who are full of the transactions of their countrymen with Scotland; and thus for want of this he is almost always faulty in his chronology (he places the institution of the college of justice in 1530, although nothing is plainer from the Black Acts than that that court was not instituted till the year 1532) and seldom is exact either in the terms of the truces on the borders, or in the time of their duration. Indeed as the *Fœdera* is the only book that could thoroughly ascertain these points, his inaccuracy here is the more excusable. Upon the whole however Drummond's *Lives of the Five James's* is a model of elegant biography. The edition we use is of 1661. This gentleman was as remarkable for his poetical as for his prose compositions.

Sir James Balfour wrote short annals of James I. and II. as a supplement to Drummond.

With equal parts and more industry Patrick Abercromby, M. D. set about the compiling the martial achievements of the Scotch nation, from the first establishment of the Scotch monarchy to the present time. Of this he published the first Vol. at Edinburgh, 1711. To render his work the more compleat, he has consulted every author that could be of service to him; by which means he has rectified innumerable mistakes, into which all his predecessors in history had fallen. This Vol. is not a connected history of kings, but a series of the lives of those noblemen who signalized themselves at home or abroad. It ends with the death of king Robert Bruce 1329. He is however chiefly to be regarded, for what he has collected from the restoration of Malcolm Canmore, 1057, to the death of king Robert Bruce. But as even this was not a methodical history of Scotland, the Dr. altered his plan, and in 1715 published a second vol. which he intitled a full, compleat, and general history of Scotland, from the year of God 1329 to the year 1514, with a clear and demonstrative confutation of the errors of former writers, whether domestic or foreign. And indeed the Dr. has done this to very good purpose; so well, in truth, that if he had continued his work down to the accession of James VI. to the throne of England, there had been less occasion for the present. Yet when it is considered that our author establishes it as a rule, that resistance to kings on no account whatever is excusable, the reader may perhaps be induced to think that Abercromby is no competent historian of a nation whose nobles had vast powers, because they had forces; and whose kings were only formidable when those grandees supported them. Thus if Buchanan is too violent a stickler for the powers of
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the people. Abercromby errs no less and more dangerously when he gives such a prerogative to kings. Nor is our author only blameable in this, which often leads him into long and impertinent digressions; he now and then misquotes. These mistakes, which must be imputed to inattention, we have carefully rectified. Add to this, that he has not sufficiently opened up the causes of the war which broke out in Europe in the reign of James IV. and in which that monarch made so distinguished a figure. Other no less material objections might be made to the work; yet was it upon the whole the fullest and most authentic history of Scotland hitherto published. As the author had resided in France, he had not only imbibed the principles of that nation, but also their idioms; so that his first vol. abounds in Gallicisms and a flowery ostentation of language; from both which faults, the diction of the second part is more free. Both volumes however are better English than could have been expected from one who had lived so little in England.

But as Abercromby continues his history only to the year 1514; our account of the year 1560 and especially of what befel queen Mary in England till the year 1572, would have been very imperfect without Mr. Anderson's four volumes of collections relating to that princess, as they contain a great number of original papers never before printed, with republications of some scarce pieces from the best copies.

The original papers in this valuable work, are taken from the records of the privy council of Scotland, from a state register (I think Keith's shattered MSS.) from the records of the Scotch parliament from the Black Acts edit. 1568, from archives in the university of Glasgow, from the records of the general assembly, from the paper office in England, and especially from that general repository of historical events the Cotton library. This collection shews, that Camden, although he has furnished us with many of the papers given in at the conferences, has however omitted many others which made against queen Mary; and that he has not done justice to the memorials of the antagonists of that princess. The three first volumes were published at Edinburgh, 1721, as was the last the year after.

Lately many of these papers have been reprinted at Edinburgh, in a book intitled an Examination of the Letters, said to be written by Mary Queen of Scots, to James Earl of Bothwell: with some additional ones relating to the breaking up of the conferences at Hampton-Court, &c. This work may have its merit, but it came to hand too late to be of service to us. The author's chief aim is to prove, that queen Mary did not write the letters which were presented to the commissioners at Westminster. And it must be confessed that he has somewhat invalidated the testimony of those who have asserted their authenticity. But, as from his manner of writing, many suspect he would boggle at nothing to represent his favourite queen as the paragon of all earthly perfection; so the less credit is due to so prejudiced a collector!

We could have wished that the industrious Robert Keith had begun his history of the affairs of the church and state in Scotland, where Abercromby left off. This work was published at Edinburgh, 1734, and commencing with the death of the abbot of Fern, 1527-8, ends with the retreat of queen Mary into England, An. 1568. A very busy and important period of Scottish history; upon which our author, from the public records and other authentic vouchers, has thrown more light than all those who went before him. These Keith has

has faithfully published at length, and the world is probably indebted to him for their preservation. When we have said this, we have said all: for nothing can be more unanimated than his style, nothing more confused than his plan. The reader of moderate principles will blame his sentiments of religion; as the friend to civil liberty will not be over pleased with his notions of government. Out of this collection however we have adorned our history with many curious particulars, of which we otherwise should have been ignorant: and tho' it would have saved us much trouble had he abridged the records, the world in general may be better pleased that they are published entire. Notwithstanding it is a large folio; Mr. Keith is very superficial in his relation of the steps which led to the war with England, on account of the projected marriage of Queen Mary with Edward, as well of the several incidents of that war.

What he relates of the congregation is taken mostly from Knox: But for the convention at Berwick, and pacification of Edinburgh, he consulted the *Fœdera*. The most original parts of his history, are the marriage of Queen Mary with Francis, and what followed Queen Mary's return in 1561, to the birth of the prince in 1566; for which the author was indebted to Randolph's letters and the records of the privy-council. He has also thrown some lights on the year 1567, from the dispatches of the French ambassador, from the Cotton library, and from a shattered MS. in the low parliament house of Edinburgh, containing miscellaneous papers of state during the reign of Queen Mary.

Though these are the histories of that period, from which we have drawn our chief sources; yet as the history of Scotland is made up of the accounts of the great men of that country, we were obliged to consult the memoirs of private families. Of these the most eminent are the history of the Douglasses by Hume, and of the Gordons by Gordon; but as both these gentlemen, and especially Hume, are more panegyrists than historians, we have been able to pick little from them, except the births and deaths of the great men of those names. This indeed is the more excusable in Hume, as the *Fœdera* were not published when he wrote; but that Gordon should misrepresent facts, in which the *Fœdera* could have set him to rights, is really surprising; especially as it appears that he consulted them.

From these authors then (for we omit to speak of the two Lindseys, Marjoribanks, Jean de Beauge, Lord Cromarty, and Moyse, though all of them were consulted) has the history of this period been compiled. And as the genius and opportunities of knowledge which each author had, were understood, so have our materials been selected. We have followed none of them implicitly; they either did not deserve it, or were too brief in their narration. An historian ought neither to be a republican, nor a friend to absolute power in one person. Impartial in investigating the motives of opposite parties, he ought to espouse that side for which equity declares; and unbiassed with family attachments he ought to represent with fidelity the actions of all. This was the rule we prescribed to ourselves; and this we flatter ourselves we have followed. As far as Abercromby goes, we had a sure guide as to chronology and fact. He consulted most authors that could assist him, and has quoted the pages. But, though his fidelity is unquestionable, he delights too much in the sanguinary parts of the Scotch history.

THE PREFACE.

We have taken a different course; for though these are related, we have been glad to leave the field for the parliament, and instead of representing the Scots as crowned only with laurels, have been pleased to find they deserved the olive, by aiming by good laws at civility and commerce. We have therefore abridged the most material of the black acts, which as it was not the least of our labour, so we hope the reader will regard as not the least interesting part of this history. But with all these assistances, (as none of the above writers have compleated this period) our work had been imperfect; had we not consulted the historians of England, and in particular Daniel, Lord Bacon, Lord Herbert, Hayward, and Camden. To the four latter, with whom also may be ranked Rapin, we have been much indebted, as our extracts from them make no small part of the lives of James III. IV. V. Queen Mary, and King James VI. Neither must the letters of that eminent negociator and soldier, Sir Ralph Sadler, be forgotten. From them we have been furnished with materials, for a more perfect knowledge of what passed in Scotland after the death of James V. till the war recommenced, than had ever been narrated in history.

Nor yet with these auxiliaries should our history have been perfect. As during this period, war was only hushed by temporary truces; our knowledge of these truces had been indistinct without the *Fœdera Angliæ*. This most valuable collection of national archives was ordered to be published by Queen Anne, in whose time fifteen volumes of the work saw the light. Mr. Rymer, the Queen's historiographer, on whom the care of the whole was devolved, shewed himself every where qualified for the task; for he not only has given us all the *fœdera*, conventions, letters, and public transactions, of whatever kind, between the kings of England and all other potentates, &c. classed chronologically from the year 1101, down to 1586; but left materials for carrying the work down to the present times. Accordingly Robert Sanderfon has since published the remaining volumes. The first of which comes down to the 4th of November, 1616. But as Scotland and England were engaged in almost perpetual wars, that collection furnishes us with more authentic papers toward a history of Scotland, than all other historians put together. These papers then we have carefully epitomised; and can assure the reader, that we have inserted in our history every article relating to Scotland, which occurs in the *Fœdera*. By this means, we have been enabled not only to correct innumerable mistakes, of former writers, both as to time and fact; but also to enrich our history with many very curious and interesting particulars, unknown to former historians. Upon the whole as we have endeavoured to divest ourselves of every prejudice, solicitous alone for truth, which we had no temptation from either fear or favour to disguise; may we venture to recommend the following work as the fullest, and most impartial general history of Scotland, hitherto published?

That it is entirely free from faults would be the height of arrogance in us to insinuate; but it would be doing an injustice to ourselves, not to assert, that we have refused no labour to come at the truth, and that we have painted no one fact, knowingly, in unjust colours: and as we write nothing from our own knowledge, the authorities are always annexed (a circumstance never to be omitted in history) the reader may judge for himself.

I am

THE PREFACE.

xxii
xxiii

I am sensible, that the language is far from being elegant; and when it is considered what materials we had to compile from, viz. old English and Scottish records, old French, Law Latin, Scotch acts of parliament, &c. could elegance be expected? We hope, however, that it is every where intelligible; for tho' we discarded ornament, we aimed at perspicuity. Where we could not express, in modern English, the full force of an original, we have always inserted the words of the original: old abbey stones are sometimes wrought into modern buildings with no small success.

Thus much was necessary to be said with regard to this history. Will the reader permit me to conclude the preface, with a few reflections upon the Scots history in general, and on this period in particular?

As there was no mediating power between the king and his nobles, and as many of these were possessed of great hereditary offices of state, and all of them could bring their armed tenants into the field; a Scotch monarch was only powerful by exciting feuds among his nobles, bribing their affections with large donations of the crown patrimony, or by humouring their prejudices. But as it was impossible to please all, and as an armed nobility is naturally prone to dissensions, in such circumstances neither the condition of the king, nor of the great, was much to be envied, while that of the common people was downright subjection.

While the roman catholic religion subsisted in Scotland; and the dignified clergy were intitled to sit in parliament, and possessed considerable revenues; the hierarchy was some hindrance to the aristocracy: yet was the contention for abbey, &c. was often the cause of much calamity to the nation: and as affluence begets luxury; and the sword hates the gown, when that thwarts its ambition; a military nobility will embrace the first opportunity of depressing the ecclesiastical state, to possess themselves of their wealth, which when thrown into the royal scale made it preponderate: and as slaves can be but slaves, the commons, from envy, hatred, wantonness, and avarice, will naturally join with the nobles.

No time however so proper for such a change in the constitution, as a minority: six long minorities then succeeding one another in Scotland; it is the less to be wondered at, that popery was abolished, and the nobles gained the ascendant.

But as in an island, many will be seated towards the sea, and even war must have its instruments fabricated, some trade must be carried on at home, and some commerce prevail abroad; but trade and commerce begetting wealth, with a knowledge of foreign customs; the mind of man too improving by the intercourse of community; superstition will be first discountenanced in cities; but as such citizens are no match for a rich ecclesiastical state, they naturally will have recourse to the nobility, as their support. Thus were the Scotch nobles aided by the burghs; and thus these, soon after the reformation, had their privileges enlarged; and were particularly invited to send representatives to parliament, to out-vote those nobles who yet voted for the old church; and to supply the place of those churchmen, who no longer were permitted to sit in the house.

A kingdom, where the aristocracy has thus gained the ascendant, bordering upon another kingdom more monarchical, more powerful, more rich,

T H E P R E F A C E.

rich, and more fruitful, will have a natural antipathy to that kingdom: and as the natives of both will have daily opportunities of expressing their sentiments of each other, feuds must arise, the flames of dissention will spread, and war with all its horrors must be kindled: the greater kingdom will endeavour to conquer the other; but as that, from poverty as well as from its form of government, is more hardy; so the stronger may gain victories over, but will not subject, the smaller; especially if it is the interest of a third power to support the weaker.

But as soon as the inhabitants of the two liminary kingdoms embrace a mode of religious worship abhorrent to that of the third power; and when that power shews an evident intention to possess itself of the kingdom it pretended to protect; its influence will diminish, and that of the liminary kingdom will grow; the friends thus made by religion, and the dread of foreign subjection, being encreased by money properly distributed among the needy nobles, intermarriages between the two royal families with a union will ensue; or the weaker, and now divided kingdom, will fall a prey to the stronger.

Scotland was however luckily not conquered by England. A natural union obtained; and if the Scots will compare their present with their past situation, as faithfully narrated in these volumes, must they not be forced to own that it had been for the interest of Great-Britain, but particularly of Scotland had that union taken place some centuries sooner than it did?



INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

BEING about to write the history and antiquities of the northern part of Britain, called Scotland, from the earliest account of time; although I shall frequently have occasion to treat of the affairs of England, Ireland, and other countries, yet the reader is to expect no more than what has a necessary dependence upon those of Scotland. For many centuries, our accounts are so imperfect and defective, sometimes disjointed, broken, and full of chasms, at other times confused, obscure, and uncertain, that the reading a great part of this work will in some measure be like a man's travelling in the dark, till the light discovers to him a new scene of affairs. And, that the account may be as perspicuous and regular as the materials will permit, I shall make some observations on the island of Britain, and its inhabitants, before the arrival of Julius Cæsar: and, for the better illustration of this part of our history, I shall give an account of the Celts or Gauls, before their arrival in Britain; together with that of the transactions of the Romans, in the southern parts thereof, before they arrived in Caledonia or Scotland.

But, as it is almost impossible to come at the origin of Scotland, but at the expence of the infamous legends of Geffrey of Monmouth and Geffrey Keating, the former being falsely intitled *The History of Britain*, and the latter, *The general History of Ireland*, it will therefore be necessary on this occasion to enlarge, to remove the rubbish of fable, and pave the way to truth, by removing those wicked romances, which, instead of being genuine histories, will, upon a very little consideration, by every judicious reader, appear to be the vilest fables, stuffed with monstrous absurdities and impossibilities, and, as such, have been justly exploded by the most celebrated historians, criticks, and antiquaries, both domestick and foreign. The first of these has probably done the island of Britain more mischief than all the books that ever were, or, it is to be hoped, ever will be writ in it. For, on that legend, Edward I. king of England, founded his pretended sovereignty over the kingdom of Scotland (as appears by his answer to the bull of pope Boniface, in the 28th year of his reign, *anno* 1301.) which occasioned those long and bloody wars which had almost ended in the destruction of both nations. And, the better to detect the imposture, and expose the fraud, I shall give the character of Monmouth's pretended history and its wicked author, as it is drawn by divers of the most learned and judicious writers of Britain and other countries.

Rym. Fœd:
con. Lit.

Gul. Newb.
Proem. Rer.
Angl.

The first historian, who took notice of Monmouth's book after its publication, was William of Newburgh, a Yorkshire monk, who says, " That a certain writer, started up in our days, has devised " strange and ridiculous stories concerning the Britons; and, with an " unparalleled impudence, has extolled them far above the brave " Greeks and Romans: his name is Geffrey, to which he has added " that of Arthur, because he has published, under the honourable " name of an history, the fables of king Arthur, collected from the " ancient fictions of the Britons, with some additions of his own, " which he has covered over with a little Latin.

" And the same person, with still greater assurance, has published, " as authentic prophecies (and pretends to ground them upon facts) " the fallacious predictions of one Merlin, to which, in rendering " it into Latin, he has added a good deal of his own: and in that " book of his, which he falsely calls *The History of Britain*, his as- " surance and forgeries are so very obvious to every reader, in the " least acquainted with ancient history, that there is no occasion to " descend to particulars. But such persons as are unacquainted with " the truth, greedily swallow fables by the lump; not to mention the " great exploits done by the Britons before the arrival of Cæsar, " which he either devised himself, or handed down the fabulous in- " ventions of others as authentick."

Girald. Camb.
Descript. cap.
7. p. 887.
apud Camd.
Ang. Norm.
Lewis's Hist.
Brit.

And Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote about the same time, tho' Monmouth's own countryman, calls it the fabulous history of Geffrey.

Another Welsh writer, in his introduction to his history of Britain, says, " To avoid tediousness, I will here end my defence of Geffrey's " translation, with this protestation, that I intend not in any wise to " allow of the fables therein mentioned."

Camd. Brit.
Introd. col. 7.
edit. 1695.

A very great, learned, and judicious antiquary says, " That about " four hundred years ago, Geffrey of Monmouth first gratified the " Britons with Brutus as the founder of the British nation, and feigned " him not only of a Trojan, but also of a divine extraction. Before " which time, there was never mention made of any such man as " Brutus; and that the criticks of our age imagine, that this romance " had not been all of a piece, unless he had made Brute have three " sons, Locrinus, Camber, and Albanactus" (the last of whom, Gef- " frey having falsely made king of Albany or Scotland, Edward I. laid " claim to the crown thereof, by virtue of his being descended from " the eldest of these fabulous brothers) " to answer the three nations " that in his time were here, in the same manner as before he had " made his Brute, because the island was called Britain: and 'tis not " to be doubted, that if there had been any more distinct nations " at that time in Britain, he would easily have found more of Brute's " children to have reigned over them."

Ibid. Descrip.
Mon. col.
596.

And Camden, in his description of Monmouthshire, says, " Mon- " mouth also glories in the birth of Galfridus Arthurius, bishop " of St. Asaph, who compiled the British history; an author well " experienced in antiquities, but, as it seems, not of antique credit: " so many ridiculous fables of his own invention hath he inserted in " that work, that he is now among those writers that are censured " by the church of Rome."

Templ. Intr.
Histor. Engl.
p. 31.

A celebrated statesman and historian calls it a fable, forged by the wit and folly of its first author, and therefore not to be regarded.

A modern

A modern author says, "Such stuff may please children, but not riper judgments; and were broached by Geoffrey, archdeacon of Monmouth; for which the writers of his time cried shame on him; and yet can scarce keep many at this day from giving credit to his fictions."

Bak. Chron. Engl.

A late judicious antiquary says, "That Geoffrey was the first man after the conquest that attempted to write the British history, which he did to some purpose. He had a peculiar fancy for stories, summing all ordinary faith, which inclined him to pitch upon king Arthur's feats of chivalry, and Merlin's prophecies, as proper subjects for his pen. But his masterpiece is his *Chronicon sive Historia Britonum*; wherein we have an exact register of above seventy glorious monarchs that ruled this island before Julius Cæsar became acquainted with it. The first stone of this fabrick was laid by Nennius; but the superstructure is all fire new, and purely his own."

Nichol. Hist. Libr. vol. 1. p. 94.

But a certain foreigner outstrips all the rest in cautioning them "To beware of a fraudulent libel, falsely intitled *The Commentary of Gildas*, composed by one of the vilest deceivers, to corroborate the lies of an upstart fellow (Geoffrey of Monmouth) than whom, surely, a greater piece of unparalleled impudence and roguery never appeared; having embellished the imposture with decorations proper for such a design, often mentioning Brutus, of whom Gildas never dreamt."

Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl. lib. 1. p. 16.

The sense of many other celebrated historians and judicious antiquaries might be brought against Geoffrey and his pretended history; but one more shall suffice, viz. that of a learned foreigner, an eminent antiquary, who calls it "a great, coarse, long, thick, palpable, and most impudent lie."

Schriv. Pref. Antiq. Batav.

Geoffrey Keating's *General History of Ireland* being but lately published, there is only one character given of it (that I know of) by an Irishman, the author of the *Memoirs of Clanrickard*, which is as follows: "And it may be assuredly said, that the accounts given, not only of the Irish transactions then, but before and after, are very imperfect, and deserve to be corrected and supplied; especially now, when fresh endeavours are on foot to impose upon the world in a grosser manner, by an English version of Doctor Keating's pretended history, which is getting ready for the press; concerning which, I shall, for the sake of truth, and in vindication of the real antiquities of that nation, venture to say, that it will not at all answer the character given it in late advertisements; as being, for the most part, an heap of insipid, ill-digested fables, and the rest but very indifferently handled. The first part of this work consists of idle stories, first vented by druids or bards, soon after the propagation of the gospel in Ireland, when a notion of the flood, and the ancient world, first came to be established there; and these were then received or suffered by way of romance, for pastime and diversion only, which some, in the late degeneracy of the times, finding written, took them for genuine and good history: whence it is that we are told of a colony settled in Ireland so many days or months before the flood; and that all the inhabitants thereof were not lost in the flood itself."

Mem. Clanrick. Differt. p. 117, &c.

Ibid. p. 19.

As by this character the reader cannot but be sufficiently apprized of the deceit and falsity of this legend, I shall, the more effectually to detect the imposture, and expose the fraud, of the wicked author, give a specimen of his pretended history, with proper remarks thereon; whereby the reader will be enabled to judge how greatly the publick has been imposed upon by him, and the authors of the detestable annals his romance is said to be compiled from: for, of all the fables that ever were devised, surely this is the most absurd and ridiculous; others having some appearance of truth, but this hardly any.

Keat. Gen.
Hist. Ireland,
P. 17.

Id. ibid.

Id. ibid.

Ibid. p. 18.

Keating, from the valuable *Leabhar Droma Sneachta*, or the White Book, tells us, That Seth, one of the sons of Adam, with three of his nieces, daughters of Cain, arrived in Ireland some hundreds of years before the deluge; the eldest whereof, being called Banba, gave her name to the island. Some time after, three men and fifty women arrived, who, after having lived forty years in the country, all died of one distemper in a week's time. From this period the island remained uninhabited for the space of two hundred years, till the coming of the flood. We are likewise told, that three fishermen, being by stress of weather driven from the coast of Spain, landed in Ireland, who, liking the country, resolved to settle therein, but, returning to fetch their wives, were unfortunately drowned by the deluge at their coming back.

Other records say, That one Bith, observing Noah to build an ark, for the preservation of himself and family against the approaching deluge, desired a place therein for the safety of himself and his daughter Cæsar: the favour being denied him, he had recourse to an oracle, to know what was to be done on that melancholy occasion; by which he was advised to build a vessel in imitation of that which Noah was preparing; which he readily having set about, he accomplished the work some time after; and having laid in a sufficient quantity of provisions, Bith, with Ladhra his son, and Tiontan his son-in-law, with their wives, and fifty beautiful women, put to sea, whereon they were tossed for the space of seven years and a quarter; and arriving in Ireland, divided their handsome coadventurers amongst them; but Bith and Ladhra dying soon after, their widows, with their other women, thirty-five in number, repaired to Tiontan, who, imagining himself unable to comply with the expectations of his numerous seraglio, deserted them just six days before the flood. Though this story be rejected by Keating, yet the same is confirmed by Giraldus Cambrensis, from the most ancient Irish historians.

Cambr. Topo.
Hibern. Dis-
tinct. 3. c. 1.

REMARK. The above relations are so very absurd and contradictory, that every reader must discover the falsity thereof, by observing the monstrous story of Cain's daughters; that of the fifty-three men and womens dying all of one distemper in so short a time; and tho' it be said that the island lay uninhabited for the space of two hundred years, to the time of the deluge, yet we are presently told that Bith and his company arrived there before the flood.

Keat. Gen.
Hist. Ireland,
P. 23.

The first person that landed in Ireland after the flood was Adhna, sent by Nion (without doubt from Babel) about one hundred and forty years after the deluge, to discover the country; and, having carefully viewed the same, returned with a handful of its grass to his master, to shew him the fertility of the soil. But Adhna leaving no person behind him, the island remained desolate till the arrival of Partholannus,

nus, three hundred years after the flood. He set out on his voyage from Migdonia in the middle of Greece, and, sailing by Sicily and Spain, arrived in the western part of Ireland on the 14th of May, accompanied by his wife, his three sons, and their wives, attended by one thousand soldiers. The reason of Partholanus's leaving his country was the murder of his father and mother, to make way to the crown, at the expence of their lives, and that of the succession of his eldest brother; and though the cruel and unnatural parricide escaped punishment for his execrable crimes, yet his posterity, to the number of nine thousand, were all cut off for the same by the plague, at the hill of Hoath near Dublin, within the space of a week, three hundred years after.

REMARK. The first bold adventurer, that appears on the stage, is Adhna, soon after the general deluge; but whence he came, remains still a secret. But, as all these transactions are upon the wonderful, surely it must have been from a country vastly distant, perhaps from Ararat, where the ark rested; though his business was only to fetch a handful of grass. As this account is taken from one of the best and most authentick histories of Ireland, (according to a certain author) the excellent Psalter of Cashel, Keating has unluckily exposed the same to censure; for king Cormac, the writer of this choice history, ought to have told us how he came by this story, since, after Adhna's departure, there was none left to transmit the same to posterity.

Walsh's Prosp.
Irel. p. 350.

And in the account of Partholanus's expedition is minutely set down the names of his wife and sons, number of his troops, country he came from, those he passed in his voyage, and the day and month when they arrived in Ireland; all written in as exact a manner as the most curious and accurate journals are at present. If nothing else could be brought to detect the imposture, this of itself were sufficient to expose the falsity of this relation; especially if we consider, that Keating and the Irish annalists have unluckily not considered that this expedition is said to have been performed just three hundred years after the flood; which, according to the best calculations, is some time before the confounding of language, and consequently before the dispersion of mankind. We may therefore conclude, that letters were not then discovered, to commemorate the actions of men, nor an epoch or month in use, to ascertain chronology. For we are told by Josephus, that letters were not in use, even in Greece, before the Trojan war, which happened about two thousand years after the said expedition, and many ages before Greece (said to be the country from whence Partholanus came) could have either name or inhabitants. This relation being of a piece with that of Adhna, our wise annalists have given us this account of Partholanus, when there were none of his descendants, or those of his people, left to hand down the same to future ages.

Joseph. contra
Apion. lib. 1.

I must confess, that Giraldus Cambrensis, out of the ancient Irish annals, gives a substantial answer, viz. That one Ruanus survived the rest, who, living to the days of St. Patrick, was by him baptized, and from whom he received an ample account of the transactions of his countrymen during the long course of his life! which, indeed, must have been very long; for, being born within six hundred years after the flood, he must then have been above two thousand and seven hundred years old. To account for Ruanus's longevity, a modern Irish writer tells us, that it was owing to a Pythagorean transmigration. But

Cambr. Topo.
Hibern. dist.
3. c. 2.

Oflah. Ogyg.
Insul. p. 4.

Mem. Clan-
rick. Dissert.
p. 120.
Lhuyd. Ar-
chæol. Britan.
p. 436.

Keat. Gen.
Hist. Irel.
p. 30.

Cambrensis, or his copyist, having mistaken Ruanus for Tuan, who, according to an ancient Irish record, lived one hundred years in the form of a man, twenty years in that of a deer, one hundred years in the shape of an eagle, six years in that of a fish under water, and at last re-assumed the human form! Thus we see what a happiness it is to the honourable and virtuous part of mankind, that the wicked are as defective in their judgment as they are in their integrity and morals, whereby are discovered the fables and falsties of those iniquitous men falsely called historians, and as such have been greatly revered by their injured countrymen! But, to proceed.

Thirty years after the great ravage committed by the plague on the posterity of Partholanus, Nemedius, one of his descendants, arrived with his four sons, and a fleet of thirty-four ships, in each whereof were thirty persons, together one thousand and twenty. But, lest here should only be meant sailors, I shall allow one hundred more to each vessel, which will make the whole amount to four thousand four hundred and twenty persons. The Nemedians were not many years in Ireland, ere they were engaged in a dangerous war with a certain African pirate, with whom they fought four bloody battles, in the last of which most of the men in the country were cut off; which Nemedius and his people taking much to heart, it not only occasioned his death soon after, but that of two thousand of his subjects: and the pirates, having subdued the whole island, grievously oppressed the conquered. The Nemedians, to shake off the yoke, raised a mighty army, consisting of no less than sixty thousand men, by land and sea; and, engaging their enemies, defeated them: but in the second battle they were themselves either all cut off by the sword, or perished in the sea, except thirty-five persons, who saved themselves in a boat; and the chief of the remaining part, to avoid slavery, embarked on board a fleet, consisting of no less than one thousand one hundred and thirty vessels, under the conduct of three leaders; who dividing their fleet into three squadrons, the first, commanded by Simon Breac, directed its course for Greece; the second, under the leading of Jobath, to the northern parts of Europe; and the third, conducted by Briotan Maol, to the northern parts of Scotland (from whom 'tis said the Britons are descended, and that he gave the appellation of Britain to this island); whilst the Nemedians, who remained in Ireland, were grievously oppressed by their cruel African masters.

Ib. p. 37.

But Simon Breac and his people, instead of bettering their condition in Greece, exchanged one slavery for another; for the Greeks, fearing, by their great increase, they might become too potent for them, oppressed them in the most grievous manner, by causing them to dig clay in the vales, and carry it to the tops of the highest mountains and most craggy rocks, to form a soil on those barren parts for the production of corn. The people, to rid themselves of this intolerable servitude, privately seized on some ships, and embarking on board the same, to the number of five thousand, put to sea under the conduct of five leaders; and directing their course back to Ireland, landed there within the space of a week, on Saturday, Tuesday, and Friday, (two hundred and seventeen years after the landing of Nemedius) by the name of Tribolgs, and continued in the island 'till they were expelled the same by the Tuatha de Danans.

The Tuatha de Danans being likewise descended from Nemedius, their predecessors inhabited Ireland under the appellation of Nemedians; but leaving the country, to free themselves from the oppression of their cruel African masters aforesaid, repaired to Greece under the command of Jobath, and, landing in Achaia, learned the art of necromancy to such a degree, that nothing could withstand their enchantments: for when they engaged in war, they could restore their dead to life, as fast as they were killed in battle. This so discouraged their enemies the Assyrians, who then had invaded Greece, that they had thoughts of returning home. But having consulted a Druid, to know what was to be done in this dangerous situation of their affairs, he advised them, that whenever a battle happened between them and the Tuatha de Danans, they should, as soon as the same was over, drive a stake through each of the dead bodies of their enemies; which being put in execution, it effectually defeated their mischievous practice: which so greatly intimidated the forcerers, that they left the country; and, wandering from place to place, arrived at Denmark and Norway, where they were kindly received by the people, who admired them for their great learning, skill in magick, and the surprising effects of their enchantments.

Keat. Gen.
Hist. Ireland,
p. 35. 42.

The Danes at this time being very illiterate, bestowed on these strangers four cities to reside in, and for the erection of schools to instruct their youth in the magick art; where after having taught for some time, they set out on a voyage for the north of Scotland, where they continued for the space of seven years. From their said four cities in Denmark, they brought four great monuments of antiquity, the most celebrated of which I shall only take notice of. This is a stone, denominated Lia-fail, which was brought from the city of Falias, to which it gave name; it was of so wonderful a nature, that as often as an Irish king was crowned thereon, it was violently agitated, and made an amazing noise.

Ibid. p. 43,
44.

The Tuatha de Danans having set sail from Scotland, to conceal their arrival on the coast of Ireland, by virtue of their magical art raised a thick fog, which surrounded them for the space of three days and nights, by favour of which they landed on the first Monday of May; and having burnt their ships, march'd into the country undiscovered, and arriving at Sliab an Jaruin, sent messengers to summon Eochaidh, king of the Tribolgs, to surrender the island, otherwise to fight for it. This insolent demand not being complied with, a battle soon ensued, wherein the Tribolgs, unable to withstand the necromantick arts of their enemies, were routed, with the loss of one hundred thousand men; and were soon after expell'd the country, after they had possessed it thirty-six years: and the conquerors possessing themselves thereof, continued masters of the island for the term of one hundred and ninety-seven years, till they were subdued by the Milesians; who, at their first appearance on the coast, attempted to make a descent, which the Tuatha de Danans observing, they covered the island with a thick cloud, which reduced it in the eyes of the invaders to the resemblance of a hog, which so intimidated them, that their landing was prevented at that time; as it was soon after in a second attempt, by a violent storm raised by the Tuatha de Danans, which dispersed and destroyed several of the enemy's ships.

Ibid. p. 46.

Ibid. p. 99.
101.

REMARK.

REMARK. The above are falsities so very gross, that persons of the meanest capacities must discover the same; as they also must the want of judgment, as well as integrity, of the wicked inventors of these absurd and ridiculous fables, by their weakly imagining to impose them on their readers for facts. By making a very small colony increase in so wonderful a manner; and notwithstanding of its having been almost cut off at divers times, yet such is the weakness of our author, that he has carried abroad, in his monstrous fleet of eleven hundred and thirty vessels, (which probably is more than in the whole kingdom of Ireland at present) one hundred and forty-six thousand and nine hundred persons, allowing the same number to have been on board each thereof, that I have allowed to the several ships brought in by Nemedius. Add to this, that the Nemedians, who remained in the island, could not have been far short in number to those who went on board the fleet; since we are told, that the latter were only the chief part of them; so that the whole must have amounted to about four hundred thousand in number. Which shews, that in the space of two hundred and seventeen years, they are said to have inhabited Ireland, they must have increased to about ninety-one times the number they were when they arrived with Nemedius: whereas we are told by the said author, that though Partholanus's people at their arrival amounted to above one thousand in number, yet, after their having inhabited Ireland for the space of three hundred years, they were only increased to nine thousand, which is not nine times the number when they arrived. And as to the story of Breotan Maol's giving his name to this island, and being the father of its inhabitants, that is equally false; as does appear where I have given the etymology of those appellations, as approved of by the most learned and judicious criticks and antiquaries.

Keat. Gen.
Hist. Ireland,
P. 37.

But this is not all; for Keating had such a propensity to fables and romance, that he has brought five thousand Tribolgs from Greece, and given this small number of people possession of Ireland, without the least opposition from the African inhabitants, who had some time before conquered the country, and expelled their predecessors in the amazing manner abovementioned. And our author has caused this very small number of Tribolgs to increase in such a wonderful manner, that, in less than thirty-six years after their arrival, they are said to have lost one hundred thousand men in one battle against the Tuatha de Danans; to which adding the women and children, (without reckoning those who survived the battle) the number of the whole people, according to the rules of political arithmetick, must have amounted to four hundred thousand persons; so monstrous a number, that by the course of nature they could not have attained to in many centuries.

Though the above appears to be a manifest falshood, yet it is not to compare to that of the Tuatha de Danans reviving men as fast as they were killed in battle; their turning the island into the appearance of a hog; and raising a fog to favour their landing and march; nor to that of the fatal stone's making an approbatory noise, when an Irish monarch was crowned thereon. These are relations truly worthy of the authors of the valuable antiquities of Ireland. But to proceed:

Ibid. p. 60.

About sixty years after the confounding of tongues at Babel, Tenuisa Tarfa, the great king of Scythia, having a strong propensity to learn

learn the Hebrew language, together with all those conferr'd on mankind at the general confusion, formed a design to go to the plain of Seanair, in the neighbourhood of which the Hebrew tongue was spoken in perfection; and to send seventy-two learned men, according to the number of the whole, to the other nations for the term of seven years, to learn their several languages, in order to instruct the Scythian youth therein. The missionaries, after the expiration of their time, being returned into Scythia, Teniusa having appointed Nenuall, his eldest son, to be regent of the kingdom during his absence, set out for the plain of Seanair; where being arrived, he founded an university there, to which he invited the neighbouring youth to learn the said languages.

The rector and masters of the schools, were the king, Gadel, a Greek, and Caoh Caon Creathack, a Jew; who, on this occasion, invented the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin alphabets, and caused the same to be engraven on wooden tables. In the interim, a son being born to Teniusa, he continued to reside at the plain of Seanair for the space of twenty years, in order to make his said son a complete master of the respective languages, which being accomplished, they returned to Scythia, where Teniusa erected divers seminaries for the instruction of youth, and appointed Gadel, who had been one of the masters at Magh Seanair, president over the same; strictly enjoining him to reduce the Irish language into form, and to digest it into dialects, viz. the military, historical, poetical, medicinal, and the vulgar. This new vamp'd language was, from the president's name, denominated Gaoidhealg.

Keat. Gen.
Hist. Ireland,
p. 62.

Teniusa having only two sons, to Nenuall the eldest he bequeathed his kingdom, and to Niul the youngest the profit of the schools. Niul, by his good address, and great application to the affairs of his office, became celebrated far and near; and his fame reaching the Egyptian court, Pharaoh Cingeris the king invited him into Egypt to teach the youth of his country. The invitation being accepted, Niul repaired thither, where, for his excellent talents, modesty, and good deportment, Pharaoh conferred on him his daughter Scota in marriage, with the lands of Capacirunt on the Red Sea, where he erected divers schools for the education of youth; and Scota, his consort, having born to him a son, Niul, for the great love he bore to Gadel, the president, gave him the name of Gadelas.

Ibid. p. 63,
64.

The Israelites from Egypt, under the conduct of Moses, being arrived on the frontiers of our schoolmaster's territories, Niul, at an interview with Aaron, generously offered to supply his people with such necessities as his country afforded. In the night following, Gadelas happened to be bit in the neck by a serpent in a very dangerous manner. Moses, in return for Niul his father's great kindness, laid his rod upon the wound, which was no sooner performed, than Gadelas recovered; and a green spot remaining in place of the sore, he received the name of Gaodhal-glass, from which the Irish are called Gadelians, or Clan-gaodhal; that is, the descendants of Gaodhal, or Gadelas: and Moses, to endear Gadelas to his people, told them, in whatever country the young prince or his posterity should dwell, it should ever be free from all venomous creatures, as Ireland is said to be at present.

Ibid. p. 65.

Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii.
Gen. Dict. vol. 2. p. 24.

REMARK. Of all the writings that ever went by the name of history, surely this is the most ridiculous and absurd that was ever devised; for on its front is impressed the indelible character of a lie, by the wicked author's telling us, that Teniusa set out for Magh Seanair about sixty years after the confusion of tongues at Babel: for 'tis well known, that neither the Irish, nor any other nation, could have an account of the confounding of language before it was written by Moses, who was not born till above six hundred years after that period; besides, the Jews were a people so obscure, and little known to their neighbours, for above eleven hundred years after, that the celebrated Herodotus, by Cicero called the father of history and prince of historians, does not so much as mention that people, though he treats of the chief nations in their neighbourhood; and though it be said, that they made some figure in Alexander the Great's time, occasioned by what Josephus relates of the honour done them by that prince; yet this is said to be contradicted by Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, and Arrian: nor, for ought appears, were the Jewish writings known to their next neighbours, till the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, who intending to enlarge his library, commanded Demetrius Phalereus, his librarian, to search all nations, and purchase all the choice books he could. Demetrius, in his search, having heard of the books of Moses among the Jews, acquainted Ptolemy, who signified his pleasure to have copies thereof, with proper persons from Jerusalem to render them into Greek. Both being granted by Eleazer the high priest, the translation was finished about two hundred and seventy-seven years before Christ, and known by the name of the Septuagint, as is said from the number of its translators.

But as the Jews, as already hinted, were an obscure people, both the original and the translation of those writings must have remained in obscurity till the propagation of the gospel, when the knowledge thereof was diffused abroad by Christ and his apostles; and the same being by St. Patrick carried into Ireland, towards the middle of the fifth century, the Irish must then have first heard of Moses's writings, which contain the accounts of the creation, deluge, confusion of languages, and patriarchs, so often mentioned in their spurious and fabulous annals: and so weak have the authors of these pretended annals been, that they have left their writings as so many faithful histories, written long before the invention of letters, and consequently before histories, or any thing else could be handed down to posterity by writing; whereby is shewn, that all the pretended ancient histories or accounts of Ireland, before the time of St. Patrick, must be false and fabulous.

And so little regard has Keating shewn to the great Scythian monarch Teniusa, grandfather to Gadelas, the founder of the Irish nation, that he has reduced him to the mean and painful office of a schoolmaster, and divested him of all paternal affection for Niul, his youngest son, to whom he left nothing to subsist on, but the poor and pitiful charge of a schoolmaster. However, he has made him an amends for the undutiful behaviour of his father, by giving him the princess Scota in marriage, who being a dutiful wife, doubtless she acted the part of a schoolmistress, to ease him in his labours; and our author, for want of caution, has unluckily made

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Caoh Caon Creathack, a Jew, one of his schoolmasters, above four hundred years before Jacob the founder of the Jewish nation was born. But to return to our history.

Niul, imagining that Pharaoh his father-in-law might resent his kindness to the Israelites, communicated his fears to Moses, who advised him to accompany him to the promis'd land, where he should have part of the country for himself, and people to inhabit it: and if he did not approve of that, he would spoil the Egyptians of their shipping, and deliver them to him, to transport himself and people in as he should see fit. The offer being accepted, Moses dispatched one thousand of his troops on this expedition, who, seizing the ships, delivered them to Niul, who, with his company, were no sooner on board, than they beheld the fatal catastrophe of Pharaoh and his host's perishing in the Red Sea: wherefore he debarked, and returned to his late settlement at Capacirunt, where dying soon after, he was succeeded in his possessions by his son Gadelas.

Keat. Gen.
Hist. Ireland,
p. 69.

Pharaoh an Tuir, successor to Pharaoh Cingeris, resenting the ingratitude of Niul, for his not only supplying the Israelites with provisions, but for receiving the ships they had been spoiled of by Moses, raised a numerous army to revenge himself on the Gadelians, who being by him expelled their country, they, under the conduct of Sru, grandson to Gadelas, sailed from the river Nile in four ships to the isle of Crete, whence, after a short stay, they passed the Egean and Euxine seas, and arrived in the river Tanais in Scythia: but the Scythians, from whom they were descended, regarding them with an evil eye, as if they were returned to put in for a share of the government, harassed them with continual wars. The Gadelians having killed Riffloir, king of Scythia, knowing they were not a match for the Scythians, judged it the safest way to leave the country; which being put in execution, they retired to the country of the Amazons, and continuing there about a year, put to sea in three ships, with sixty persons on board each vessel, and sailing westward, arrived in the narrow sea that flows from the northern ocean, where, by a violent storm, they were driven on the island of Caronia, in the Pontick sea; where after having staid about a year and a quarter, they proceeded to Gothland, and having continued there for the space of one hundred and fifty years, set out with four ships, with forty-eight men and women, and four mariners on board of each, and landing in Spain, fought many desperate and bloody battles with the natives, with such success, that they almost reduced the country, and obtained divers of the chief offices in the administration.

Ibid. p. 71,
72, 74.

Gallamh, the chief of the Gadelians in Spain, having assumed the name of Milesius, resolv'd on a voyage to Scythia, to visit his relations; for which purpose he fitted out thirty ships, manned with the best of his people, put to sea, and crossing part of the Atlantick ocean, entered the Mediterranean sea, and passing by the isles of Sicily and Crete, sailed through the Egean and Euxine seas to the river Tanais, and landing in Scythia, dispatched a messenger to acquaint Riffloir the king of his arrival; who inviting him to court, Milesius, by his good address, ingratiated himself into such favour with Riffloir, that he not only appointed him his prime minister, and generalissimo of his army, but he gave him his daughter Seang in marriage. Milesius behaved so well in his new posts of honour, that he suppressed the growing power

Ibid. p. 78.

power of the neighbouring princes, extended the boundaries of the kingdom, and reduced all the enemies of the Scythian nation; and by his great exploits becoming the darling of the people, raised such a jealousy in Riffloir, that he resolved to crush him in time, lest ambition should animate him to aim at the crown. Milefius, informed of the king's design, resolved to prevent him; to which end he assembled his principal officers, forced the palace, and murdered Riffloir; and returning to his ships, left Scythia, and arriving in Egypt, was received by Pharaoh in the kindest manner, and himself and company entertained in the most sumptuous and elegant taste; and Pharaoh constituting him general of his army, he overcame the Ethiopians in many bloody engagements, and having reduced their power, made them tributary to the Egyptians.

Keat. Ger.
Hist. Ireland,
p. 80.

The war being happily ended by the intrepidity and good conduct of Milefius, Pharaoh gratefully gave him his daughter Scota in marriage, in return for the great service he had done him: and having continued seven years in Egypt, called to mind the prophecy which foretold, that the posterity of Gadelas should obtain possession of a certain western island. Confiding in this prediction, he put to sea with his Gadelians on board a fleet of sixty ships, and traversing the Mediterranean sea, landed in Thrace, whence crossing the continent, he arrived at the island Gothiana; and continuing his voyage, landed soon after in Pictland, (now called Scotland) which he plundered; and steering his course through the German ocean, and the British channel, landed in Spain, where his arrival was acceptable; for the Goths having overrun and plundered the country, the people were reduced to the most deplorable circumstances. Milefius having resolved to rid the kingdom of these cruel barbarians, raised the whole power of his Gadelians, who engaging the Goths, soon routed them; and his success afterwards was so very great, that he defeated them in no less than fifty-four battles, and expelled them the country: and to complete the heroic actions of Milefius, we are told, that he fought no less than one thousand battles, and subdued almost the whole kingdom of Spain.

Ibid. p. 82.

REMARK. Of all the pieces of knight errantry that ever were devised, surely none can exceed the adventures of the Gadelians. For without mentioning the account of Moses's robbing the Egyptians of their ships to supply Niul with transports, it shall suffice to observe, that though Keating has shewn us that his Gadelians were not many in number, by carrying them from Egypt into Scythia in four ships, yet he has not only made them defend themselves against the mighty power of the Scythians, and in an engagement kill Riffloir their king; but he has, in his romantick expedition, caused them sail by land as well as by sea, by leading them from the river Nile to Scythia, thence to the country of the Amazons, cross the narrow or Caspian sea to the isle of Caronia, thence to Gothland in the Baltick sea, and thence to Spain; without knowing that a great part of his imaginary sea, through which he has led his Gadelians, is really land. However, after their long residence in the isle of Gothland, they set out for Spain in four ships, under the conduct of Bratha: but our author having unluckily forgot that the number of men on board only amounted to one hundred and twelve, he has made them fight many desperate and bloody battles with great success against the Spaniards.

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And that Keating's pretended history may be all of a-piece, he has carried his hero Milesius from Spain to Scythia, to visit Riffloir, his relation, king of the country; by whom, as well as by the king of Egypt, he was not only advanced to great honours and offices, but both kings, forsooth, bestowed their daughters upon him. This being a necessary concomitant of knight-errantry, our author could not have given us a greater demonstration of the imposture, or a greater corroboration of the same, than by telling us that his hero, Milesius, fought no less than a thousand battles.

To return to the Irish antiquities. The Gadelians having resolved to discover the western island abovementioned, it was judged necessary to send a person well qualified for such an undertaking; and as 'tis said that one Ith, in a starry night, had, by the help of a telescope, discovered the said island from the top of the tower of Braganza in Spain, he was therefore doubtless deemed the properest person to be employed in such an undertaking. Ith, accepting the commission, had not been long at sea, ere he luckily discovered the promised island, or Ireland. This occasioning no small joy among the Gadelians, they immediately prepared for an expedition thither; and having appointed thirty ships for that purpose, put on board nine hundred of their best troops, with their wives, accompanied by Scota, relict of Milesius, who died in Spain some time before; and arriving on the coast of Ireland, attempted to land, but were prevented by the necromantic art of the Tuatha de Danans, as already hinted; but steering to another part of the island, they landed, beat the inhabitants in divers battles, possessed themselves of the country, and cantoned it out among four of their chiefs.

Policornus, king of Thrace, having endeavoured to debauch the daughter of Gud, chief of the Pictish nation in his country, his design was discovered to Gud, who murdered him, and fled the country with his people; and arriving in Gaul, had lands conferred on him by the king, to whom Gud related the whole adventure. The king, being inflamed with the beauty of the damsel, attempted to force her from her father. To defeat this design, Gud seized on divers ships, and put to sea with his people; and, his daughter dying on board, he arrived soon after in Ireland, where he was joyfully received, and an alliance entered into between him and the governor of Linster against the Britons, who committed great depredations in Ireland, and, by poisoning their arrows, rendered the wounds incurable; wherewith Trosdane, a Pictish Druid, being made acquainted, he advised the governor to dig a pit, near the place where he usually fought with the Britons, and to put the milk of one hundred and fifty bald-faced cows therein, and as often as any of his men were wounded, to bathe them in the said milk, which would prove an infallible remedy against the poison, by preventing its bad effects; which upon trial not only effectually answered, but the Irish thereby obtained an entire victory over the Britons.

REMARK. The story of Ith's having by night seen Ireland from Braganza, in Spain, is a lie so monstrous, that even Keating would be thought to disbelieve it. Of the same stamp is the milky bath, for curing wounds made by poisoned arrows.

After what has been said, it may be thought needless to bring any thing else to refute the pretended antiquities of the Irish nation. I

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Keat. Gen.
Hist. Irel. p.
83, &c.

Ibid. p. 120,
121.

Keat. Gen.
Hist. Irel. p.
165.

shall nevertheless, for the better exposing the wicked authors thereof, make remarks on the remaining parts as I proceed.

In some of the ancient and valuable records (unjustly so called) of Ireland, we are told, that Labhradh Loingseach, king of Ireland, having had monstrous long ears, resembling those of a horse, was willing to conceal the same; in order to which, as often as his hair was cut, which was once a year, he caused the cutter to be slain. This cruelty of the king's so greatly intimidated the unfortunate hair-cutters, that they determined by lot who should be the next unhappy sufferer. This becoming the fate of a widow's son, she, to preserve him, applied to Labhradh in the most moving terms to save his life; which the king agreed to, provided he did not discover what he should see. The conditions being accepted, and the work performed, the operator had a strong inclination to reveal the secret; but the penalty being death, he was so oppressed thereby, that it threw him into a dangerous sickness, which so affected his mother, that she applied to a physician for advice: the doctor, believing the distemper to be preternatural, imagined it to be the effect of an extraordinary concealment, wherefore he endeavoured to prevail upon his patient to discover the same; but, the remedy being worse than the disease, he durst not. In this desperate case the physician happily found out a medium, whereby the hair-cutter might safely reveal the secret, without incurring the penalty: which was this, that the young man should repair to a certain cross way in a neighbouring wood, where, by applying his mouth to the first tree he came to, he should whisper the secret: which being done, the king's harper, some time after, having occasion for some timber to make him a harp, repaired to the wood to fetch some; and coming to the tree, to which the secret was revealed, cut down the same, and making a harp thereof, the only words it sounded were, the king has the ears of a horse. This Labdradh being informed of, he concluded it was discovered by the gods, as a punishment for his cruelty in putting so many innocent men to death; and, in some measure to atone for the same, exposed his ears ever after to the view of the publick.

REMARK. This being a lie of the first magnitude, Keating foresaw it would not pass for a fact: he regards it as a curious fable of great antiquity, therefore has truly deemed it worthy of a place in his noted romance.

Ibid. p. 208.

In the reign of Fearaidhach Fionfachtrach was an amazing collar in Ireland, denominated the wonderful; which was put on the neck of a judge before he gave sentence in a cause, as it was likewise on that of a witness before he gave evidence. This collar was of such a surprising nature, that if the judge who wore it intended to give false judgment, it would, by contracting itself, almost choak him, and thereby prevent the same; but, if he repented of his design, it would extend itself, and give him an opportunity to do justice. The same effect it had on witnesses in giving their evidence! 'Tis great pity that this valuable collar is not in use at present, in regard to the latter, when such notorious practices of perjury are so much in fashion.

Ibid. p. 143.

Fionnachta was so denominated from the great quantity of snow which fell in his reign, which no sooner began to thaw than it dissolved into pure wine: and Siorlamh, king of Ireland, had such monstrous long hands, that, when he stood upright, his fingers touched the ground. To which I shall only add, that at the arrival of Partholanus

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and his people in Ireland, there were only nine rivers and three lakes or lochs in the whole island, the rest having at certain times broke out since.

REMARK. Though these are manifestly as great falsehoods as the rest, yet our author, with great gravity, asserts them for facts.

To what has been said, concerning the Irish antiquities, it will not be amiss to observe, that no nation seems to be worse qualified to impose fables on the world than the Irish; for, through the great weakness and inadvertence of their writers, they have given us the most senseless and ridiculous accounts of their rivers and lakes that ever were devised: by telling us, that, at the arrival of Partholanus and his people in Ireland, there were then only nine of the former, and three of the latter, in the whole island; all the rest having broke out since that time! These are relations so very absurd, that our wise annalist, in the *Psalter na Rann*, might as well have told us, that at the coming of Partholanus only one third part of the island was created, and the other two since.

Keat. Gen.
Hist. Irel. p.
26.
Oflahert.
Ogyg. Dom.
cap. 3.

As by this specimen of the Irish antiquities the reader will be enabled to judge what credit they deserve, I think it will not be amiss to shew him the authorities from which they are taken, with some remarks thereon.

The most ancient writings the Irish have to show, concerning their historical transactions, are the *Psalter of Cashel*, the *Annals of Ireland, Ulster and Dungal*, with the *Psalter na Rann*; but, in respect to antiquity, none can vie with the *Psalter of Cashel* and the *Annals of Ireland*: the first is said to be written by Cormac Macmillenan, king of Munster and bishop of Cashel, in the tenth century; and the last by Tigernach, an antiquary, in the eleventh century. The greatest antiquities in the *Psalter of Cashel* are said to have been extracted, twelve hundred years before, from a collection of the most ancient histories of the nation, and approved of by a general convention of the states at Tara, in the reign of Laogaire, and time of St. Patrick, (about the year, according to the Christian æra, 442) who was one of the committee who revised it: hence it was called the *Psalter of Tara*. The business of this convention, 'tis said, was to make laws for the good government of the people; to examine the publick records, that a faithful history might be extracted from them for the honour of the kingdom; and to ascertain the genealogies of families; which, when approved and passed, were recorded and deposited in the national archives. On this occasion the committee appointed to inspect the records, we are told, consisted of three kings, three bishops, and three antiquaries!

Prosp. Irel.
P. 350.

Keat. Gen.
Hist. Irel. p.
336.

REMARK. As Keating has given us such a particular account of the parliament of Tara, he ought to have told us whether there be any annals remaining concerning its proceedings. Indeed it is said, that the original book was deposited in the custody of the prelates, for its preservation: they caused divers copies to be made, some of which are still extant; and some others, which were faithfully transcribed from them, are the *Psalter of Cashel*, and the *Book of Armagh*. These then are the authentick transcripts of the original book, approved by the states of the kingdom at Tara. But the *Book of Armagh*, or *Annals of Ulster*, being lately composed by a canon of Armagh, the whole must lie upon the *Psalter of Cashel*, to the authority of which we are so often referred for a faithful account of the Irish antiquities. And, in

Prosp. Irel.
P. 47.

Stilling. Orig.
Britan. c. 5.
p. 273.

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order to give a sanction to this authority, we are told, as aforesaid, that it was written by the holy Cormach, king of Munster and bishop of Cashel, above eight hundred years ago. But this piece, which consists of a parcel of old ballads, instead of proving what it was brought for, only shews itself to be stuffed with the most absurd and ridiculous of the Irish fables; namely, the stories of Cæsar, Partholanus, Nemedius, and Trosdane. By which we see what credit is due to the account of the famous convention of Tara.

Joseph. contra
Apion. lib. 1.

Liv. Hist.
Rom. lib. 6.

Pet. Polit.
Surv. Irel. p.
101.

Nen. Hist.
Brit. c. 59.

War. Script.
Hiber. p.
103.

And the annals are said to be extracted out of a collection of the most ancient histories of Ireland, twelve hundred years before the convention of Tara, (doubtless out of those which tell us, that Ireland was peopled many centuries before the flood, by Seth the son of Adam, and three of his nieces, Cain's daughters) which, according to the Christian æra, was held about the year 442: therefore the extract must have been made about seven hundred and fifty-eight years before the incarnation; which I take to be a period long before the use of letters was known in Ireland: since 'tis manifest, that the use of letters was not known in Greece at the destruction of Troy, which, according to the best accounts, happened about eleven hundred years before the birth of Christ; and tho' Homer is said to be the most ancient Greek writer, his works are supposed not to have been written 'till many years after. Now, as the other European nations received their learning from the Greeks, it cannot be reasonably supposed that so remote and obscure an island, as Ireland must then have been, could have had the use of letters so early. Besides, we are told by a very celebrated writer, that before the destruction of Rome by the Gauls, in the year 388 before Christ, letters were then but in little use among the Romans. Now, as this is a time 370 years posterior to the abovementioned extract, we may justly conclude it to be a false and spurious relation, and that the use of letters was not then known in Ireland. Nay, according to a very judicious writer, 'tis certain, that Ireland was not peopled 'till the time of Julius Cæsar, which is near seven hundred years after the said extract is said to have been made.

That the use of letters was brought into Ireland with the preaching of the gospel, I think, is evident by Nennius; who tells us, that St. Patrick wrote above three hundred and sixty-five abietorias, abegetorias, or A, B, C's. That these were alphabets for the use of his new converts, is manifest from Ware, who says that Tirechan, an ancient writer of St. Patrick's life, has explained what is meant by the word abietoria, by telling us, that St. Patrick baptized men daily, and taught them letters or abegetorias, whereof he gives us divers instances; which he thinks are demonstrations sufficient to shew, that by abegetoria is meant the alphabet, or A, B, C, which St. Patrick wrote and taught his new converts, which, I think, is beyond dispute; for had letters been in use in Ireland, and so many books wrote therein before this time as their writers endeavour to make us believe, it would have been a trouble, both ridiculous and needless, for St. Patrick to have wrote the said abegetorias, when there would have been schools enough wherein the same were taught. But that there were neither letters nor schools in Ireland before the time of St. Patrick, I think, will appear by the following observation.

Could no other proof be brought to shew that the Irish had at first the use of letters from the Latins, or from those who spoke the Latin tongue,

tongue, the very terms whereby they express them, viz. a letter, a book, to read, to write, &c. would alone be sufficient to convince all disinterested persons, that the Irish were at first taught to read and write by persons who wrote and spoke that language. And it being certain, that the Romans never were in Ireland, the Irish could not have learned these terms from them: they must therefore undoubtedly have been taught them by St. Patrick and his assistants, who finding no words in the Irish tongue for the said terms, by their never having been in use in that country, they introduced them with an Irish inflection, calling *littera*, *lietar*; *liber*, *leabar*; *lego*, *leagmi*; *scribo*, *scriabmi*; *leagham*, to read; *scriobam*, to write, &c. In like manner they were obliged to use Latin terms with an Irish turn for things belonging to Christianity, viz. *Croisd*, Christus; *crosh*, crux; *eaghuish*, ecclesia; *ceile*, cella; *epic*, or *easbug*, episcopus; *baisleadh*, baptisma, &c.

A modern Irish writer foreseeing that their antiquities were not to be supported, unless the use of letters could be ascertained to have been very early in Ireland; to shew they were, tells us, that their pagan ancestors wrote many books: and, that proof might not be wanting, he has done it to some purpose by Forchern, an Irish poet; who acquaints us, that Finius Farfaidh, or Finiusa Farfa, composed (about one hundred years after the deluge, as already observed) the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Irish alphabets. But this writer, instead of proving what he was brought for, only shews his own ignorance, by not knowing that there were no such people as the Hebrews at that time. For the first person that was denominated a Hebrew was Abraham, who was born about two hundred years after the Hebrew alphabet is said to have been made by Finius, above one thousand years before letters were in use among the Greeks, above one thousand four hundred years before the Romans were a people, and above two thousand six hundred years before letters were brought into Ireland by St. Patrick.

Oflahert.
Ogyg. pars 3.
c. 30. p. 217.
221.

These things duly considered, I think it will, to every impartial and unprejudiced reader, appear, that the Irish could not have had the use of letters before the time of St. Patrick; therefore all their pretended antiquities, before that period, instead of being genuine histories, must appear to be the vilest and worst devised fables: nor can they well be otherwise, seeing they are the productions of their poets, who were a very wicked set of men; whose works, according to the best Irish historian, tended chiefly to corrupt youth, or raise sedition. And by other writers they are said to have been men of such wicked principles, and debauched morals, that they were by publick authority, no less than three times, ordained to be expelled the country for their intolerable impostures, flatteries, and calumnies. These are the Irish antiquaries and historians so greatly applauded by their modern writers, at the expence of honour, justice, and truth! by saying,

War. Antiq.
Hibern. c. 5.
p. 31.
Clog. Triad.
Thaum. p.
430, 431.
Keat. Gen.
Hist. Irel. p.
370.

" We have the same evidence to prove the authority of the Irish
" annals, and the publick manuscripts, as is sufficient to prove the
" histories of other nations; and perhaps it would be no more than
" truth to affirm, that no people, except the Jews, whose writings
" were divinely inspired, have more genuine or earlier accounts of the
" concerns of their ancestors, than the chronicles and ancient records
" that give being to the present history; and for this reason, among

Ibid. p. 339,
340.

“ many others, because no nation in the world could possibly be more
 “ exact in preserving their records, and transmitting them uncorrupt
 “ to posterity, than the ancient Irish!”

Kenned. Pref.
 Chron. &c.
 Dissert. p. 20.

Another writer of the same stamp, in raptures, cries out, “ Could
 “ a nation, let me ask you, with any colour of justice be esteemed
 “ barbarous, that, so many ages before Christ, set so great a value
 “ upon learning, and gave the masters of it so extraordinary an
 “ honour?”

Answer. Yes, they might very justly, from the barbarous custom
 of chusing their kings, which, by Giraldus Cambrensis, we are told,
 was as followeth.

Cambr.
 Topog Hi-
 bern. distinct.
 3. c. 25.
 Keat. Gen.
 Hist. Irel.
 Pref. p. 6.

“ At Kenilennie, in the most northern part of Ulster, the people
 “ chuse their king after a very barbarous and execrable manner: the
 “ whole nation being assembled, a white labouring beast (by Keating
 “ called a mare) was placed in the midst of them, to which he that
 “ was to be created, not a prince, but a beast, not a king, but an out-
 “ law, made his approach like a beast,” I suppose upon his hands and
 “ feet, “ in presence of the convention; with no less impudence than
 “ want of sense, professing himself to be a savage beast. The mare
 “ was killed, cut in pieces, and boiled; in the broth of which he
 “ bathed himself; and sitting upright in the caldron or boiler, as it
 “ were on a throne, was served with the flesh, whereon he and his
 “ people feasted till it was devoured; and putting his mouth to the
 “ liquor, or broth, wherein he was washed, without the use of his
 “ hands, or help of a vessel, drank part of the said broth, which was
 “ a confirmation of his royalty.”

War. Antiq.
 Hibern. c. 4.
 p. 16.

And at the election of O'Neal, king of Ireland, the ceremony of
 confirmation was throwing a shoe over the head of the elect. And so
 late as the year 1422, the Irish appear to have been as barbarous as
 ever; for their wicked practices at that time were so enormous, that,
 in the first year of king Henry VI. of England, the following act of
 parliament was made against them.

Raft. Stat.
 1 H. VI. c. 3.
 p. 218.

“ Forasmuch as divers manslaughters, murders, rapes, robberies,
 “ and other felonies, ryotes, conventicles, and divers other offences,
 “ now of late have bin done in divers counties of the realme of Eng-
 “ land, by people born in the countrey of Ireland, repairing to the
 “ towne of Oxeford, and there resiant and dwelling under the jurif-
 “ diction of the university of Oxeford, to the great feare of all man-
 “ ner of people of the realme of England dwelling thereabout, as by
 “ the commons of the same realme assembled in the said parliament
 “ it was grievously complayned: our said soveraigne lord the king,
 “ by the assent aforesaid, and at the request of the same commons,
 “ hath ordained and stablished, that all people borne in Ireland shall
 “ be voided out of the realme, within a month next after proclama-
 “ tion made of this ordinance, upon paine to lose their goods, and to
 “ be imprisoned at the king's will.

“ Except graduates in the schooles, and men having benefice of
 “ holy church in England; and men of the law in England, and those
 “ which be inherit in England; and those that have father and mother
 “ being English people; religious persons professed; merchants, bur-
 “ gesses, and other inhabitants within cities or buroughs of good
 “ fame, which can find surety of their good bearing; and Irishwomen
 “ married to Englishmen, and Irishmen married to Englishwomen,
 “ which

“ which be of good fame ; and that all those Irish people, which
 “ have benefices or offices in the land of Ireland, shall abide there
 “ upon their benefices and offices, upon paine to lose and forfeit the
 “ profits of their benefices and offices, for the defence of the land of
 “ Ireland aforesaid, according to the ordinance made in the time of
 “ king Henry the fifth, the first year of his reigne.

“ And that the graduates and beneficed men shall find suretie of
 “ their good bearing ; and that they take not upon them the principa-
 “ litie of any hall, or hostell, but to dwell amongst the English schol-
 “ lers, under the principalitie of another. Moreover, that these
 “ schollers of Ireland, which be no graduates, and be of the king’s
 “ obeisance, shall find suretie of their good bearing, in the manner
 “ as the said graduates should do, after the manner and forme
 “ aforesaid.

“ And that all the schollers of Ireland, being now in England,
 “ which will here dwell, every of them shall bring to the chancellor
 “ of England, for the time being, before the feast of St. John next
 “ comming, letters under the seale of the lieutenant or justices of
 “ Ireland, testifying, that they be of the king’s obeisance ; and of
 “ them that bring not such letters, betwixt this and the said feast of
 “ St. John Baptist, it shall be done as of rebels to our soveraigne lord the
 “ king ; and that, from the said feast of St. John forward, no Persons
 “ borne in Ireland shall enter the realme of England to dwell in the
 “ said university of Oxeford, or of Cambridge, or elsewhere within
 “ the realme of England, unlesse he bring to the said chancellor of
 “ England such letters testimonials, upon paine to be punished as a
 “ rebell to our soveraigne lord the king.”

It is very remarkable, that though the Irish have, with the greatest assurance, assumed to themselves the appellation of Scots, and to their country that of Scotland ; yet, instead of producing vouchers for the same, their chief historians have all along called the people by the name of Irish, their island, Ireland, and their princes, kings of Ireland. And that neither the Irish nor their country were anciently known by the names of Scots and Scotland, is manifest by their best historians, who have cut off from the list of their kings and queens all those persons from whom the said appellations are said to be derived. For Tigernach, in his annals, says, that all their antiquities to the reign of Kimbathius, their seventy-fourth king, are very uncertain. And sir James Ware, the most judicious and impartial historian Ireland ever produced, being ashamed of their pretended antiquities, has cut off no less than one hundred and twenty-one of their kings, being all they are said to have had before Laogaire : for the transactions of those times are either fabulous, or very much mixed with fables. And elsewhere he says, it is undeniably evident, that very little knowledge remains of what past in Ireland before the promulgation of the gospel in that country by St. Patrick, about the year 432 ; and the most of their accounts, said to be ancient, are the productions of modern writers.

Oflahert.
 Ogyg. Do-
 met. p. 238.
 War. Antiq.
 Hibern. c. 4.
 p. 18.

Now, the Irish not being able to prove, from their own impartial historians, that ever they or their country were denominated Scots or Scotland, they and their abettors are forced to have recourse to a foreigner of a very indifferent character to prove the same. For Oro-
 sius, who wrote about the beginning of the fifth century, is the first

Oros. Hist.
 lib. 1. c. 2.
 p. 18, 19.

writer

Ifid. Orig.
lib. 14. c. 6.

Casaub. exer-
citat. 1. in
Baron. n^o. 12.

Lipf. in Tacit.
Ann. lib. 4.

Higd. Poly-
chron. lib. 1.
c. 37.

Dupin. Hist.
Ecclef. cent. 5.

War. Antiq.
Hibern. c. 4.
p. 19.

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. lib. 1.
c. 12.

Martyr.
Roman. vulg.
16. Decemb.

Ush. Brit.
Ecclef. Antiq.
c. 16. p. 378.

writer who says that the island of Ireland was inhabited by the Scots : whereby he has led Isidor Hispalensis to say, that Scotland and Ireland are the same. And to shew the Irish what an accurate historian they have to depend upon, for their being anciently called Scots, I shall subjoin the character given him by several very judicious antiquaries and criticks. The first says, " If I have charged Orosius with being too credulous, I may quote many ancient men whose example justifies me ; not to mention his ignorance in the Roman history, which Baronius himself, more than once, confesseth." The second says, " I do not regard such writers, whose works are a disgrace to true history." And elsewhere, in bewailing the loss of some of Tacitus's works, he cries out to him, " Thus these good fathers chose to employ their pains and leisure in transcribing such writers as Orosius, Vopiscus, and such other trash, rather than your gold." Another writer says, " That Orosius was unacquainted with the Greek language; that he often blunders against chronology, and gives too much credit to common reports." And the last speaking of his history, says, " It has many faults against history and chronology: he had not read the Greek historians, and easily believed whatever might help his subject, without examining whether it were true or false."

That Orosius was greatly mistaken in this affair is evident by all the Irish writers, both good and bad, by whom it plainly appears, that at this time that island was called Ireland, the people Irish, and their prince king of Ireland. And that the northern parts of Britain were inhabited by the people called Scots, above one hundred years before this period, is evident by Bede; therefore it was the country of the Scots, or Scotland, and not the island of Ireland, as mentioned by Orosius: and as to what Bede says of the Scots being in Ireland, that was only the tattle of the times, according to his own declaration; which is corroborated by the ridiculous relation it is attended with, of the Picts landing in that island, and their treaty with the Scots to grant them wives. This, I think, could only have its rise from Orosius's placing the Scots there, which I take to be owing to his having mistaken the Irish Hibernia for the British Hibernia, Erin or Ierne, mentioned by the ancient and modern Romans, as well as by the English and our own.

The Irish, taking the advantage of Orosius's mistake, have invented the appellations of the greater and lesser Scotlands, and that too so very late as the thirteenth century: and the authority produced for it is no less, forsooth, than a letter from Dovenald O'Neil, a petty prince of Ulster, to pope John XXII. who was pontiff in the year 1276, wherein he says, " Beside the kings of lesser Scotland, who all came originally from our greater Scotland;" and by a patent from the emperor Sigismund, in the year 1422, to the convent of the Scots and Irish of greater Scotland in Ratisbon!

These are falsehoods so notoriously gross, that none, but men of the most consummate ignorance and assurance, could have had the impudence to assert them for facts to the emperor and the pope. For at that time, 'tis well known, that Ireland was under the dominion of the English, whose king, intitling himself lord of Ireland, knew no other name for his new conquered vassals than that of Irish, which being their common appellation at that time, is not controverted by

any historian that I can learn. Beside, 'tis allowed by all, that the northern part of Britain was then denominated Scotland, as was our neighbouring island Ireland; which is in some measure acknowledged by Usher, by his telling us, that Nubienfis Geographus, about the year 1150, describes Ireland by the name of Hibernia, and our country by that of Scotland, some ages before they are said to have been called Scotland the greater and lesser. And that that island has gone by no other name than that of Ireland, since the conquest thereof by the English in the year 1171, is evident by all historians, who call it by no other name since that period.

Bede, in another part of his history, tells us, that the plague committed great ravages in Ireland, where there were many, both of the nobility and commons of England, who, in the time of the bishops Tinan and Colman, repaired thither to prosecute their studies, or for the more strict observance of a religious life. These the Scots entertained in the most hospitable manner, and generously supplied them with food, books, and learning gratis; and speaking of one Ecgbert, who was among them, adds, that he was not only a good example to his own people, but also to the Scots and Picts, among whom he lived a stranger.

Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 27.

That the Ireland here meant was the Scottish isle of Hy, or Icolmkill, I think is very plain, by the English being said to have lived among the Scots and Picts; for the greatest of our adversaries, of the least reputation, never had the assurance to say, that the Picts ever inhabited the country at present called Ireland; which is confirmed by Ecgbert's having resided in the convent of the said isle of Hy, for the space of thirteen years. Besides, 'tis said they came from England on account of the bishops Tinan and Colman, who were our countrymen, and whose chief residence was in the island of Hy; and as the same is well known to have anciently belonged to Albany, or Scotland, it might probably at first have been denominated Hibernia, from the Scottish Erin, before the country at present called Hibernia, or Ireland, either received its name or people from the northern parts of Britain, as I shall hereafter endeavour to make appear.

Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 23.

We are told by a modern writer, that Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury, in the beginning of the seventh century, is the first person who gives the name of Scotland to Ireland, in his letter to the bishops and clergy of that kingdom. This is a great mistake, for Ireland is not mentioned in that letter, which is addressed thus; "To the lords our most dear brethren, the bishops and abbots throughout Scotland, Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus, servants to the servants of God."

Innes Crit. Essay, vol. 2. ch. 2. p. 520.

I must confess Bede says, that Laurence not only took care of the English church, but he endeavoured to extend his pastoral care to the Britons, and also to the Scots in Ireland. That this is applicable to us, and not to the Irish, I think is evident from the subject, which is, a letter of advice to conform to the observation of Easter, wherein the Scots, who followed Columba, differed from the church of Rome; and if Camerarius may be believed, George Newton, archdeacon of Dumblain, who wrote the acts of that church about the year 1500, tells us, that this letter was preserved in the archives of the said church; which plainly shews it to have been written to the Scottish inhabitants of those parts.

Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 4.

Camer. in append. lib. 3. p. 231.

Bed. Hist. Ec-
clef. lib. 2.
cap. 19.

Mar. Scot.
Chron. l. 2.
ad ann. 632.
Ibid. lib. 3.
ætat. 6.

Bed. Hist. Ec-
clef. lib. 4.
cap. 26.

Bede, in the 19th chapter of the second book of his history, tells us, that the popes Honorius and John IV. wrote letters to the Scots concerning the celebration of Easter. That we are the people these letters were sent to, I think the greatest cavillers cannot justly deny, since neither the Irish, nor Ireland, are mentioned in the said letters. This is confirmed by Marianus Scotus, who says they were sent to us. And the said Marianus says, that about the year 1016, Brian king of Ireland was killed; and a little after, that Malcolm, king of Scotland, died, anno 1034, and was succeeded by Duncan his grandson; and at the year 1040, tells us, that Duncan, king of Scotland, was killed, and the son of Tinlay (whom he afterwards calls Mache-tad, or Macbeth) succeeded him. This agrees exactly with our history, and shews, that our neighbouring island went then by the name of Ireland.

And by what Bede says of Ecgfrid king of Northumberland's sending an army into Ireland, wherein they committed great ravages, 'tis manifest that this was in our country, by our author's telling us, that the reverend father, Ecbert, advised him not to infest the Scots, who did him no harm. And in the following year Ecgfrid having invaded Pict-land, contrary to the advice of his friends, was cut off with the greatest part of his army, which occasioned the Picts to recover their lands, which had been long in possession of the English and Scots which inhabited Britain.

And to shew that our neighbouring isle and its inhabitants were not known till the time of Orosius, in the beginning of the fifth century, or to any foreign writer, by any other appellations than those of Ireland and Irish, is evident. For by Cæsar, Tacitus, Pliny, Ptolemy, and Solinus, the country is denominated Hibernia; by Orpheus, Aristotle, and Claudian, Ierna; by Juvenal and Mela, Inverna; by the Britons, Yverdon; by the English, Ireland; and by the natives in their own language, Erin, and themselves Erenach. So here is not the least mention of Scotia, Scotland, or Scots: and Ptolemy, who has been so very particular in describing the several districts in that island, with the names of the respective nations who inhabited the same in the second century, surely had there then been such a people in this country as the Scots, would not have failed to mention them. His silence in this respect has more weight with me than all that has been brought by the Irish legendaries, and their abettors, to the contrary.

Now as by what has been said, I think it appears, that neither the Irish, nor their country, are said to be called Scots and Scotland before the fifth century, and then only by two foreigners, who seem to have known but little of the country; and as the Irish historians may justly be said to disclaim those names, by their continually calling the people Irish, their country Ireland, and their prince, king of Ireland; there's little reason to believe, that the appellations of Scots or Scotland were anciently applied to them or their country, by any other person than Orosius and Isidor abovementioned.

And I shall hereafter endeavour to shew that Ireland was peopled from Scotland, the Irish, as descendants from the Scots, may probably have thought themselves intitled to a share of the honour their predecessors had obtained, by their many great and glorious exploits both at home and abroad. Be this as it will, they have insolently endeavoured

voured to rob us of the antiquity of our country, faints, learned men, monasteries, and greatness abroad. Nay, their assurance has been such, as to arrogate to themselves the honour of the treaty concluded between Charles the Great and us; though the same is attested to have been made with us, by many of the most eminent French and other historians, as well as by the confirmations of many kings of France, and Scottish acts of parliament. Whereas the Irish have nothing to shew for their ridiculous pretensions, but their unparalleled assurance: for, having been a nation so little regarded in all ages, I have not been able to discover so much as one alliance made between them and any foreign power.

And Orosius, as above observed, being the first writer who says that the island of Ireland was inhabited by the Scots; I take that to be owing either to his having been unacquainted with the Scottish Hibernia, or Erin, the great theatre of action between the Romans, Scots, and Picts, in the northern parts of Britain, as is evident by their numerous camps, castles, forts, and military ways, still to be seen in that country; or to the insular Irish having spoken the same language with the genuine Gael or Scots in Britain; as a foreigner at present would undoubtedly take the inhabitants of Ireland for English, by that language's being generally spoken throughout that kingdom. And if ever the Irish were denominated Scots, it must be owing, I think, to certain of our countrymen going over and settling in Ireland, in the fourth or fifth century; and continuing to live there, the name might be preserved, to distinguish them from the natives, as is still done by the descendants of our countrymen, who went thither in the reigns of James and Charles the first, and time of the governing parliament in the seventeenth century; who settling in the northern parts of the island, to distinguish them from the Irish, assumed the appellation of Scotch Irish, which is said to be continued by their posterity, as an honourable name of distinction at this time.

And if ever the Irish had used the appellation of Scots, there is little reason to believe they would have laid aside a name so famous in history for great actions and glorious exploits, and, in lieu thereof, have assumed the obscure and no ways famous name of Irish, as natives of that island: for the renowned name of Scots, so highly celebrated by Roman and other writers for their martial feats, were the Irish of the British Hibernia, or Erin. And, 'till the Irish can assign better reasons for their country's having been called Scotland, than those hitherto brought, I shall be of opinion, that having no actions of their own worthy of commemoration, they have pirated the appellation of Scots, to rob us of the great and noble feats performed by our brave ancestors, against the mighty Romans, Cumri, or Welsh, Picts, Saxons, and Danes.

Now to give a true account of the fabulous antiquities of the Irish, we need only consider that they, like other northern nations, no sooner began to have some knowledge of the Greek and Roman learning, than they endeavoured to deduce their pedigree from some of the most celebrated nations, which were the Egyptians, Greeks and Trojans; and observing that the Romans had drawn their origin from the last, many nations of Europe, at the dissolution of the Roman empire, unwilling to fall short of them in point of antiquity, sundry fabulous writers devised founders (as they vainly imagined) for the honour

honour of their respective nations, viz. the French for theirs, Antenor a Trojan ; the Britons, their Brutus ; the Goths their Gothus ; the Danes, their Danus ; the Franks, their Francio ; the Saxons, their Saxo ; and the Scots, their Scotia. But these, in regard to the Irish, in point of antiquity, are as it were but of yesterday, as will presently appear.

And of all the devisers of fables that ever wrote, surely none have rendered themselves more obnoxious to censure than the Irish : and what is still more to be admired at, is their persisting to vindicate their said fables, after the learned, judicious, and virtuous part of men in other nations, have laudably rejected their romantic antiquities and fables, as dishonourable to their several nations. Yet such is the propensity of the Irish to fable and romance, that their modern writers, Oflaherty, Walsh, and Kennedy, have transmitted to posterity the said wicked and detestable fables, as subjects worthy of their pens, to their no small reproach, and dishonour of their country. The aforesaid pretended Irish antiquities, I take to have been written in the twelfth century, in imitation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's pretended history of Britain, as on comparing them will plainly appear, by their authors following Geoffrey in many things, such as that their founders came from remote countries, made divers long and dangerous voyages, consulted oracles, subdued nations, built cities, founded kingdoms, and drew their succession from many ages.

Now as by what has been said it appears, that the romances of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Geoffrey Keating, falsely intituled, the histories of Britain and Ireland, consist chiefly of the most detestable fables, we cannot in the least depend upon them, either as to the peopling of Britain and Ireland, or by whom they were denominated, no more than there is of Scotland's being peopled from Ireland, or that they received their first king from thence. Wherefore we must have recourse to another quarter, to discover the true origin of the Scots, Picts, Britons, and Irish, and by whom our island was at first denominated Albion and Britain ; which I shall endeavour to do with the greatest impartiality and regard to truth, in the best manner I can.

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.
BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The origin of the Gael, or Scots, from the earliest accounts, together with several accounts of their antiquities, and martial atchievements performed by them during their republican governments, and before the commencement of monarchy.

ALBIN, Albion, or Britain, was by the ancients held to be the largest island in the world; and notwithstanding the late discoveries of Madagascar and Japan, which are brought in competition with it, we are yet uncertain as to the contrary. However, it is of a triangular form, bounded on the south by the British ocean; on the east, by the German sea; on the north, by the Diucaledonian ocean; and on the west by the Atlantic ocean and St. George's channel. It is situated between the fiftieth and sixtieth degrees of northern latitude, and from the south foreland in the county of Kent, on the east, to the land's end of Cornwall, on the west, twenty degrees of longitude; and in length, from Dungsby head, in the county of Caithness, in the north, to Rye, in Suffex, on the south, about six hundred miles; and in breadth, from Yarmouth in the county of Norfolk, on the east, to St. David's in South Wales, on the west, about two hundred miles. And it is allowed by all to be the most agreeable and considerable island of any hitherto discovered; especially if we consider how bountiful nature has been in bestowing her choicest blessings upon it, namely, temperate air, delightful and pleasant plains, charming vales, beautiful hills and eminences, a rich soil, plenty of fine woods, a number of navigable rivers, and safe natural harbours, a great variety and in-
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credible number of wild beasts, but few of prey; amazing numbers of fowls, both wild and tame; and vast quantities both of sea and river-fishes, which, with the excellencies of nature, was at first not only sufficient to invite, but to attract people from all the neighbouring countries to settle therein.

For plenty, Britain was antiently the magazine of the western empire, from which the Romans yearly in eight hundred ships transported great quantities of corn for the subsistence of their armies on the frontiers of Germany: and such is the fertility of the soil at present, that it produceth great quantities of corn of all sorts, vast numbers of beasts, fishes, and fowls for food as aforesaid; amazing plenty of fine wool for raiment; great store of wood, coals, and turf for fuel; timber and stones for building; and the most useful metals for all occasions. For commerce and manufactures of all sorts, its happy situation and numerous harbours render it more convenient than perhaps any other country upon earth; and its excellent and beautiful verdure, so much admired by strangers, gave occasion to some of the ancients to think, that these were the Fortunate Islands, and the Seats of the Blessed, where the poets tell us, that the whole face of nature always smiled with a perpetual spring.

In short, the excellency of this island, especially the southern parts of it, is apparent from those transcendant eulogies bestowed upon it, both by ancient and modern writers; who pronounce it, happy above all other countries, which nature has enriched with all the blessings of heaven and earth; in which nothing is hurtful, nor any thing that is desirable wanting; a master-piece of nature, performed when she was in the best and gayest humour, which she placed as a little world by itself, upon the side of the greater, merely for the delight of mankind; the most accurate model, by which she proposed to herself to beautify the other parts of the universe; whose vallies are like Eden, hills as Lebanon, springs as Pisga, rivers as Jordan; whose walls are the ocean, and its defence the Lord Jehovah.

Plin. Hist.
Mund. lib. 4.
cap. 16.

Camd. Brit.
col. 5.

Sam. Brit.
Antiq. p. 48,
49.

Before the Roman invasion, this island went by two names, viz. Albion and Britain, concerning which various are the opinions of writers: some think it was denominated Albion, from a giant of that name, the son of Neptune; others, from Albina, a daughter of Dioclesian, a certain king of Syria. But these being fables so very gross, they are justly exploded by the learned. Another writer brings it from the Greek Alphon, white, from the chalky hills along its southern coast; from which, probably, the Welsh poets called it Inis wen, that is, the white island. Camden, not satisfied with this etymology, calls it an imposition of the Greeks, for distinction's sake.

Others deduce it from the Phœnician, Alben, and Alpin, the former part of the compound implying white; therefore the white hilly country, or the island of white hills, from the cliffs or chalky hills along its southern shore; adding, that Alban, or Albin, are of a Phœnician extract. Whereas, had this writer been acquainted with the Gaelick, or ancient Scottish language, he might have discovered, that our ancestors had no occasion to be beholden to the Phœnicians, Greeks, or other foreigners, for a name to their country: for to the Gaelick, or Scottish compound, Alben, or Albin, of Al and Ben, is

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undoubtedly owing the first name of this island: the former part, Al, signifying a rock, and the latter, Ben, a hill; that is, the rocky-hill country, or the land of rocky hills, as aforefaid: which answers both to the southern and northern extremities of the isle of Britain.

Now as the southern coast of this island abounds with a number of chalky hills or cliffs, it might as well have received from the Gauls on the opposite shore, or southern side of the frith, or British channel, the appellation of Albin, before they crossed the said frith, or narrow strait, to settle in, or plant this island with people: wherefore the Greeks, by an easy transition, might from Alben vary it to Albion. And although the general appellation of Albion has been obliged to make way for that of Britain, yet the ancient name is still preserved amongst the Gael in the highlands of Scotland, the genuine offspring of the ancient Gauls, who at first peopled this island. Wherefore I think there is no room to doubt of this island's having received its first and most ancient name of Albin from the Gauls, and not that of Albion from the Greeks, the latter being rather a corruption of the former.

The appellation of Britain is by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a fabulous Welsh writer, derived from Brutus, a fictitious British king; as it is derived, by another writer of the same country, from a Roman consul of the same name and stamp, without the least appearance of truth. Somner says it comes from Brydio, rage; from the impetuous motion of the sea that surrounds it. This is a great mistake, for it is well known that the sea is not so strongly agitated here, as it is in many other parts of the ocean. Lhuyd and Elliot, other Welsh writers, imagine they have discovered the true and genuine meaning of the appellation Britain: the former says, that instead of Britannia it ought to be written Prudainia, or Prudiania, from Pryd, beauty, and Cain, white. This derivation, being so weak and wild, has occasioned both laughter and contempt. And the latter thinks it should be called Prytania, from its greatly abounding with all the necessaries of life. This seems to be as far out of the way as the former, for when it received the name of Britain, it cannot be supposed then to have abounded so much with all the necessaries of life, as to have deserved the name of Prytania; more especially considering that the name of a country is at latest coeval with its plantation or settlement.

Camden deduceth the word Britain from the Cumrian British or Welsh, Brith, painted, and the Greek, Tania, a country; therefore the country of painted people. A foreign writer, being of the same opinion, tells us, that from the Celtick or Galick, Brit, or Brith, are derived Britto and Brittus, in the plural Brittones and Britti, painted men; such as some of the inhabitants of this island are by Roman writers said to have been, by painting themselves with a bluish colour, to appear terrible to their enemies.

A learned antiquary derives the appellation of Britain from the Phœnician, Barat-Anack, or Bratanack, that is, the land or country of tin, with which the south-west parts of this island so much abounds, and to which the Phœnicians used to trade for that commodity, lead, and skins; in return for which, they brought hither salt, earthen and brazen wares. This profitable commerce the Phœnicians are said

carefully

Mon. Hist.
Brit. cap. 2.
Nen. Hist.
Brit. cap. 2.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 1.

Camd. Brit.
Gal. cap. incol.

Pezron. Antiq.

Cæs. de Bel.
lib. 5. cap. 5.

Bochart. Geo.
sacra, Chan.
lib. 1. cap. 39.

carefully to have concealed from their prying and growing rivals in trade, the Greeks; who having at last discovered it, they converted the name of Barat-Anack into that of Cassiterides, which, in Greek, is of the same signification with Barat-Anack.

Gild. Hist.
Brit.

The opinions of writers appear to be various concerning the origin of the Britons, who inhabited the southern parts of this island at the arrival of the Romans, and continued in possession thereof during their government in Britain. But the Roman dominions at home being invaded by divers barbarous northern nations, they were obliged to recal their troops from Britain, to defend their paternal territories in Italy. The Romans were no sooner gone, than the Scots and Picts re-entered the northern part of Britain, and destroying all before them, committed the most unheard-of ravages; and the Britons expecting no farther assistance from Rome, called in the Anglo-Saxons to their aid; who being arrived, and having performed what they were sent for, made peace with the Scots and Picts, and, dishonourably turning their arms against their injured and helpless friends the Britons, by fire and sword reduced them to the greatest degree of misery and distress. The poorer sort submitted for bread; whilst many of the nobility, and persons of distinction, retired into the countries of Wales and Cornwall, to shelter themselves amongst woods and inaccessible mountains, against the cruelties of their barbarous foes; and many others seeking refuge beyond the seas, gave birth to a story, that those seas were the British channel betwixt Britain and Gaul: therefore they must have landed in Armorican Gaul, where having taken refuge, they gave the name of Britain to that part of the province they settled in.

Ibid.

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. Angl.

Now the seas mentioned by Gildas, over which he tells us that the Scots and Picts used to pass and repass to and from their invasions of Britain, are, by Bede, said to have been the friths of Clyde and Forth, in the northern part of Britain or Scotland. I think it is much more probable that these were the seas the Britons crossed, than that of the British channel aforesaid, for the following reasons:

1. The first mention we have of the Britons taking refuge in Gaul, is by Eginard, secretary and son-in-law to Charles the Great, about three hundred years after it is said to have happened, without assigning the least authority for this his belief. Nor, indeed, could he, seeing there was no other foundation for this story, than Gildas's declaration of their going beyond the seas. Now as the seas mentioned by Gildas are explained by Bede, to have been the friths of Clyde and Forth in Scotland, they could not be the sea between Britain and Gaul; therefore they did not depart the isle of Britain.

2. As Gregory of Tours, the most ancient French historian, wrote above two hundred years before Eginard, he had a better opportunity to hear of the removal of the Britons into Gaul: but that he never did, is in some measure manifest, by his not mentioning that great event, which had he been apprized of he undoubtedly would.

3. As to our being told by the said Gregory of Tours, that the Armorican Britons were always subject to the sons of Clovis, the French king, who is said to have conquered them; that does not in the least shew them to have been insular Britons: for had they been of the an-

tient

tient Armorian stock, he might as easily have subdued them, as if they had come from Britain.

4. And as it is asserted by divers historians of Bretagne, that the Britons in Gaul were governed by their own kings, I am of opinion, that, could nothing else be brought to invalidate the story of the British refugees settling in Gaul, this of their being governed by their own kings, is of itself sufficient to destroy the idle story: for a prince who grants refuge to a people in distress, to divest himself of his royalty, and to appoint another to rule in his stead, is a downright absurdity.

5. And as other authors that have mentioned the insular Britons taking refuge in Armorica, they being writers of the eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth, and eighteenth centuries, they cannot be supposed to have had better intelligence of that event, than authors who wrote of it many years before them, and that only by tradition, are of equal authority.

By what has been said, the story of the flight of the Britons into Gaul, appears to be the effect of a mistake in not understanding Gildas's *transmarinas regiones petebant*: by which we see, what a hopeful foundation the patrons of the British refugees have to build their story on.

Wherefore I shall attempt to shew, I hope to the satisfaction of all, that the Britons, instead of flying from this island to Armorica, and giving the name of Britain to part of that province, that the Britons from the Armorican Britain, or Bretagne, in Gaul, now called France, not only peopled the southern part of this island, and were the predecessors of the present Cumri, or Welsh, but gave the appellation of Britain to the country they settled in, from that of the Armorican Britain they came from as aforesaid,

That which chiefly gave rise to the story of the insular Britons taking refuge in Armorica in Gaul, in the province at present denominated Bretagne in France, is the not understanding Gildas's retiring beyond the seas as aforesaid, to avoid slavery, and the people of Armorica speaking the British or Welsh language. I shall attempt to refute the former; and to shew that our Britons (instead of retiring to Gaul for refuge, and to plant Armorica with people) were natives of, and original inhabitants of that country, whence they came into this island, and not only peopled the southern part thereof, but conferred on it the appellation of Britain, the name of the country they came from.

For the better illustrating the above account of Britain, I shall subjoin a relation thereof by the ingenious and learned Mr. Toland, from his history of the druids, touching its origin, and by whom it was at first planted and denominated.

“ That Great Britain was denominated from the province of Britain
 “ in Gaul, and that from Gaul the original inhabitants of all the British
 “ islands (I mean those of Cæsar's time) are descended. Listen
 “ for a moment to Parthonius: 'Tis said that Hercules, as he drove
 “ away from Erythia the oxen of Geryon, had penetrated into the
 “ region of the Gauls; and that he came as far as Bretannus, who
 “ had a daughter called Celtina. This young woman, falling in love
 “ with Hercules, hid his oxen, and would not restore them 'till he
 “ should enjoy her first. Now Hercules, being desirous to recover his
 “ oxen, and much more admiring the beauty of the maid, he lay
 I “ with

Tol. Hist.
 Druid. p. 128.
 chap. 3.

Tol. Hist.

p. 128. c. 3.

“ with her ; and in due time was born to them a son named Celtus,
 “ from whom the Celts are so denominated.

“ Many of the ancient writers mention the incursion of Hercules
 “ into Gaul, when he made war against Geryon in Spain ; which the
 “ judicious Diodorus Siculus shews to have been at the head of a
 “ powerful army, not with his club and bow, as the poets feign :
 “ and that it was he who built the fortress of Alexia, whereof the
 “ siege, many ages after by Julius Cæsar, became so famous. Dio-
 “ dorus likewise tells us this very story of Parthonius, but without
 “ naming Bretannus or Celtina : he only says a certain illustrious man,
 “ that governed a province in Gaul, had a daughter exceeding the rest
 “ of her sex in stature and beauty ; who though despising all that
 “ made court to her, being of a very high spirit, yet fell in love with
 “ Hercules, whose courage and majestick person she greatly admired.

Ibid. p. 130.

“ With her parents consent she came to a right understanding with
 “ this hero, who begot on her a son, not unworthy the pair from
 “ whom he sprung, either in body or mind. He was called Galates,
 “ succeeded his grandfather in the government, and, becoming re-
 “ nowned for his valour, his subjects were called Galatians after his
 “ name, as the whole country itself was Galatia. This is plainly the
 “ same story, only that one writer supplies us with the names, which
 “ the other omits : and Armorican Britain being probably the province
 “ wherein Bretannus lived, (since we find it insinuated that Hercules
 “ had penetrated far to come to him) 'tis still more than probable,
 “ that it was denominated from him ; as I shall prove, beyond the
 “ possibility of contradiction, that our Britain had its name from that
 “ of Gaul, as New England has from the Old.

Ibid. p. 131.

“ Hesychius, in the word Bretannus, is of the same opinion with
 “ me ; so is Dionysius Periegetes, with his commentator Eustathius :
 “ and I am not a little countenanced by Pliny the elder, who places
 “ Briton on the maritime coasts of Gaul, over against Britain. But
 “ I have more evidence still. To say nothing at present of Cæsar,
 “ so many ages before Eustathius, Tacitus likewise among the an-
 “ cients, Beda among those of the middle ages, and some of the most
 “ celebrated modern writers, are as express as words can possibly make
 “ any thing, that Britain was peopled from Gaul. Nor is the epithet
 “ of Great, added to our Britain, any more an objection to this asser-
 “ tion, than the coast of Italy, formerly called Magna Græcia, could
 “ be made the mother-country of Greece, when the cities of that
 “ coast were all colonies from thence.

Ibid. p. 132.

“ Besides, Great Britain was anciently so called with respect to
 “ Ireland, which (before the fable of the Welsh colony in Gaul was
 “ invented) was called Little Britain, as you'll see anon. These dis-
 “ quisitions come not into the history of the Druids, but into the an-
 “ nexed dissertation concerning the Celtick language and colonies.
 “ There you'll see the folly of deriving Britain from the fabulous Irish
 “ hero, Briotan ; or from the no less imaginary Brutus the Trojan :
 “ nor is the word originally Pridcain, Prytania, Bridania, or descended
 “ from either Phenician, or Scandinavian, or Dutch, or even any Bri-
 “ tish words.

Id. ibid.

“ The insular Britons, like other colonies, were long governed by
 “ those on the continent, and by the neighbouring provinces, who
 “ joined in making settlements here. It was even so low down as a

“ little

“ little before Julius Cæsar’s conquest; in whose commentaries it is
 “ recorded, that those of Soissons had within their memory (say the
 “ ambassadors of Rheims to him) Divitiacus for their king, the most
 “ potent prince of all Gaul, who swayed the scepter not only of a
 “ great part of those regions, but also of Britain.

“ In the same dissertation, after exploding the Welsh fable about Tol. Hist.
 “ Britain in France, you’ll read as positive proofs, that the ancient P. 133.
 “ Irish, not one of their colonies excepted, (the Nemetes, the Fir-
 “ bolgs, the Dananans, and the Milesians) were all from Gaul and
 “ Great Britain, whose language, religion, customs, laws and govern-
 “ ment, proper names of men and places, they constantly did and do
 “ still use. Whereas (to forbear at present all other arguments) not
 “ one single word of the Irish tongue agrees with the Cantabrian or
 “ Biscaian, which is the true old Spanish; the present idiom being a
 “ mixture of Latin, Gothick, and Arabick. Besides this, all the an-
 “ cients knew and held the Irish to be Britons; as Ireland itself is by
 “ Ptolemy called Little Britain. They were reckoned Britons by
 “ Aristotle, who, in his book *de Mundo*, calls the country Ierne; as
 “ Orpheus before him Iernis, if Onomacritus be not the author of the
 “ Argonautica, or rather, as Suidas asserts, Orpheus of Crotona, co-
 “ temporary with the tyrant Pisistratus. And if this be true, arch-
 “ bishop Usher did not gasconade, when he said that the Roman people
 “ could not any where be found so anciently mentioned as Iernis.

“ Dionysius Periegetes, before cited, is of the same opinion, in his Ibid. 134.
 “ description of the world, that the Irish were Britons; as Stephanus
 “ Byzantius names it British Juverna, the least of the two islands.
 “ Diodorus Siculus mentions the Britons inhabiting the island called
 “ Iris; a name better expressing Ere, (vulgarly Erinn) the right name
 “ of Ireland, than Ierne, Juverna, Hibernia, or any name that has
 “ been either poetically or otherways used. Strabo styles Ireland
 “ British Ierna; as his ancient abridger calls the Irish, the Britons in-
 “ habiting Ierna: and Pliny says, in express words, that every one of
 “ the British islands was called Britain; whereas Albion was the dis-
 “ tinguishing name of the Britain so famous in the Greek and Roman
 “ writings.”

Having accounted for the origin of the appellation of Britain, and
 the country the people came from who inhabited the southern parts of
 this island; and shown that the Armonican Britain, said to have been
 peopled and denominated from this island, is a great mistake, as al-
 ready hinted, and is owing to the not understanding Gildas’s *transma-
 rinas regiones petebant*; there is one thing still remaining to be accounted
 for, which, seemingly, is not easy to be done. However, in this great
 uncertainty, I shall endeavour to account for it in the best manner I
 can.

The inhabitants of Wales call themselves Cumri, their language
 Cumraeg, and their country Cumria, or Cambria, which probably
 was changed from Britons, British, and Britain, on the following
 occasion.

We are told by Cæsar, that the Belgick Gauls were descended from Cæf. de Bell.
 the Cimbrian Teutones, who, on their march to invade Italy, left six Gall. lib. 2.
 thousand men near the river Rhine; who, on the defeat of their country-
 men by the Romans, were attacked by their neighbours, against whom
 they maintained a war for some time with various success: but a peace
 being

being at last concluded, they settled in the country or province now called Hainault in Flanders; and, as conquerors, they probably gave the name of Cumbria or Cambria to the country, since the chief city of that province still retains their name, by the appellation of Camerick, or Cambray, which lying near the strait of the British channel, betwixt Dover in England and Calais in France, where the passage is shortest, and most easy to cross, their posterity, by the appellation of Cumri or Cimbri, might come over in company with the Belgick Gauls, and, as aforesaid, give the names of the several countries they left to their new settlements in Britain; as the English Saxons since gave name to the several kingdoms of the heptarchy, together with the appellation of their language, to the whole: and very probably the Cimbri, as chief adventurers in the expedition, gave the general appellation of Cumbria, or Cambria, to all the countries possessed by the said Belgick Gauls in Britain; which seem to have extended as far into this island northward as England at present doth, by one of the most northern counties thereof still bearing the name of Cumbria, or Cumberland.

Although I have already treated of the appellation of Britain, I think it will not be amiss, as aforesaid, to remind the reader, that many have racked their brains to discover the etymology thereof, but seemingly to little purpose. For to derive it from Brutus, a Trojan, or Roman consul; Brydio, rage; Prudcania, a beautiful white; and Prytania, from its abounding with all the necessaries of life; are so very trifling as to deserve little or no notice. But Camden and Bochart being of weight with many, I shall observe that the former deduceth the origin of Britain from the British or Welsh Brith, painted, and Tania, a country; therefore, the land of painted people. That this is a mistake is manifest; for it is not the southern Britons, or Belgick Gauls, that Cæsar tells us painted themselves, but the inland Britons, which he seems not to have seen. Besides as, by what has been said, 'tis apparent, that the Britons had that appellation from Armorican Britain, which, no doubt, they conferred on this island at their arrival: by this is likewise set aside the appellation of Baratanack, or country of tin, from its abounding with that commodity, seeing it had the name of Britain from that of Armorica in Gaul. But how it came to be so denominated, must remain a secret 'till discovered.

CHAP. II.

The origin of the Gauls, their country, and religion.

BEING about to treat of the origin of the Scottish nation, and to shew the country they came from into this island; and as it will appear that Britain was peopled from our neighbouring country of Gaul, now denominated France, I think it will not be amiss to give the reader some account of the origin and ancient state of the Celtick or Gaulick nation, before they arrived in this island; which I shall do in a very concise manner, from some of the most celebrated historians and antiquaries, especially from the curious and elaborate work of the learned and judicious Paul Pezron, intituled, *The Antiquities of the Nation and Language of the Celts or Gauls*; wherein it does appear, that the ingenious author has spared no pains to come at the most valuable

valuable authorities to ascertain the antiquity of that celebrated people; and, to prove the facts brought for that purpose, has not only had recourse to the writings of the Old and New Testament, but likewise to the most ancient and celebrated prophane writers who mention the said nation.

The Celts or Gauls being descended from Gomer, grandson of Noah, by his eldest son Japhet, they were from him called Gomerians, at which time they are thought to have inhabited the countries of Hircania, Margiana, Bactriana, and Sogdiana, lying between Media and Tartary. But the people increasing greatly in number, many commotions ensued, which occasioned the expulsion of the weakest faction, who, crossing the mountains, invaded, subdued, and settled themselves in the country of the Arii; and receiving the opprobrious appellation of Parthians, or exiles, from their brethren who expelled them, communicated the same to their country, and were afterwards greatly renowned in the Roman history for their gallant exploits. This expulsion is said to have preceded the reign of Ninus, the founding of the Assyrian monarchy, and the birth of Abraham the patriarch.

The Parthians, to revenge themselves on their brethren, for expelling them their country, gave them the detestable name of Scacæ, or Sacæ, that is, murdering thieves and robbers. However, the Sacæ, continuing greatly to increase, in an excursion made themselves masters of the best parts of Armenia, and that part of Cappadocia adjoining to the Euxine sea: and prosecuting their success, made an irruption into the greater Phrygia, under the conduct of their ambitious and warlike prince Acmon; and, subduing the country, not only settled therein, but changed the dishonourable appellative of Sacæ for that of Titans; under which name they performed so many great and amazing actions as would be incredible, were they not attested both by sacred and prophane writers of the greatest reputation.

Acmon, the prince or leader of the Titans, departing this life, was succeeded by his son Uranus, who, being of an enterprising genius, crossed the Thracian Bosphorus, and penetrated into Greece: but not stopping there, fell furiously on other parts of Europe, carrying all before him to the utmost boundary of Spain; and, crossing the straits of Gibraltar, subdued Mauritania, or Barbary: and, as if all were not sufficient to satisfy his boundless ambition, he over-ran the other parts of Europe, which was probably no difficult matter in so early a time, when there were few to oppose him.

The joy occasioned by this great success was soon allayed by an unnatural rebellion in his own family; for his youngest son Saturn (since called the father of the gods) wickedly seized on his father Uranus, committed him to prison, and confined him closely, the grief whereof in a short time occasioned his death; which no sooner happened than Saturn possessed himself of all his dominions, and, not satisfied with the title of chief, which his predecessors had, assumed the royal epithet of king. But his wicked and unnatural rebellion went not long unpunished; for his son Jupiter (since called the great god), being apprized of the wicked designs of his father against his life, provided for his own safety, and declared war against him; which being carried on with success for the space of ten years, after many defeats, Saturn fled, as 'tis thought, into the island of Sicily, where 'tis said the fugitive god died of grief.

K

Jupiter

Pezron. Antiq.
de Celt.

Jupiter in possession of a vast empire, which extended from the Atlantick ocean on the west to the river Euphrates on the east, the western part whereof, at present known by the names of Italy, France, and Spain, he conferred on his brother Dis, or Pluto; who was also classed amongst the gods by the title of the god of riches. Pluto was no sooner in possession of his new dominions, than he planted divers colonies of Titans in Gaul and Spain, which afterwards received the appellation of Celts or Gauls. This plantation is said to have been made about three hundred and thirty years before the birth of Moses the prophet.

Ibid.

Dis not continuing long in possession of his new territories (probably occasioned by death), the same were given by Jupiter to his own son Mercury; who being a wise and prudent prince, well versed in all the learning of the times, by his great eloquence and good address, began to soften his fierce and warlike subjects, by prevailing on them to receive laws for the conservation of peace; and not only devised divers arts for the good of his people, but endeavoured by trade and commerce (which he introduced amongst them) to unite them in interest and affection: and his subjects, having reaped numerous benefits from the wisdom of their prince, gratefully erected a number of statues in commemoration of him; and not only honoured him as a god, but regarded him as the inventor of arts, and protector of merchants and travellers.

By this sketch, relating to the Celts, I think it does appear, that the Gallick language is an original, and probably as old as any extant; and that the said language is still in being, and spoken in different dialects in the highlands of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, as hereafter shall be demonstrated.

Dis having planted divers colonies of Titans, as aforesaid, their ancient name of Titans was converted into that of Celtæ; but what occasioned the change is unknown. However, as the Celtick words *Celta* and *Gaul* signify both powerful and brave, the former, which was conferred by the Greeks, was probably on account of the many great and gallant exploits performed by them; as likely the latter was given by the Romans for the same reason.

Cæs. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 1.

The Gauls, it seems, having taken a dislike to kingly government, as the Romans anciently did, formed themselves into a number of republicks; for, at the time of the Roman invasion by Julius Cæsar, Gaul consisted of three great and powerful nations, *viz.* the Belgæ, Celtæ, and Aquitains, people of different languages. This by some is reckoned a mistake of three for two tongues; but that it was not so, is evident, by Cæsar's telling us, that the Belgæ were anciently descended from the Germans, who, tempted by the beauty and fertility of the country, crossed the river Rhine, expelled the Gauls, and possessed themselves of their country. This is one of the said languages, that of the Celtæ another, and that of Aquitain, according to Strabo, the third. Now, by what has been said, and hereafter will appear, the difference in those tongues seems to have been a dialect only, and not a diversity of languages. Be this as it will, 'tis manifest that the Belgæ, by discouraging luxury, and their vicinity to and continual war with the Germans, were the most warlike people of the three. Their country, which lay between the Germans and the Celtæ, was bounded on the north by the river Rhine, and on the west by the

Strab. Geog.
lib. 4.

Cæs. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 1.

river Seine. That of the Celtæ, lying between Belgium and Aquitaine, is separated from the former by the river Seine, and from the latter by the river Garonne and the ocean. And the country of Aquitaine, lying between the Celtæ and Spain, is bounded by the river Garonne, the Pyrenean mountains, and the sea.

These three countries contained about sixty large states or republics, whose governments were aristocratical: the commons being vassals to the nobility, had no share in the administration. As to what Cæsar says of some of them having had kings, it seems to have been only a title conferred by himself, as an addition to his own honour (which was customary amongst the Romans); for whenever he mentions one of the said states to have had a king (which is very rare) or a prince, it is only to be understood the chief magistrate, who was a person of the greatest interest in the state, whose title seems to have been *virgobret*, that is, general of the army: by which epithet 'tis plain, that he had not a greater share in the government of the country, than Cæsar had in the administration of Rome, by his epithet of *imperator*, or emperor, which is demonstrable by their children not succeeding to their offices, whereof we have divers instances in his commentaries; but not one, that I could discover, that succeeded by virtue of such an office.

Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 6.

The country of Gaul was not only divided into states or communities, which had their respective governments, but also into families or clans; the heads whereof being men of the greatest interest, to them were submitted the direction and management of affairs belonging to the respective tribes. There were only two degrees of men concerned in the administration of publick affairs, namely, the nobility and clergy: to the former belonged the direction of all affairs relating to war (which, before the arrival of the Romans, happened almost yearly, either offensive or defensive), on which occasion they were severally attended by a number of vassals, according to their quality and revenues, which was the only mark of grandeur amongst them. To the Druids, or priests, belonged the care of the publick and private sacrifices, explanation of religion, education of youth, the decision of all controversies; and whoever refused to submit to their decrees, were excommunicated; which was a punishment then so shocking, that a person under that dreadful sentence was not only deprived of the benefit of the law, but restrained from the execution of all publick offices; and, being deemed the most abandoned of men, his company was avoided as pestiferous.

Id. ibid.

Over the priests presided an arch-druid, at whose demise the most respected succeeded; but if divers candidates offered, an election ensued, which was sometimes decided by the sword. They yearly held a convocation, in a consecrated place in the middle of Gaul, for hearing and deciding controversies. 'Tis thought their manner of government was instituted in Britain; for all who intended to qualify themselves for the priesthood, repaired thither to be educated. The first thing they were taught was a number of verses, which they got by memory; for not committing them to writing, many practised therein for the space of twenty years; not that they were ignorant of letters, for, on other occasions, they used Greek characters. Among other articles of their faith, they believed the soul to be immortal, and, after death, was transmigrated from one body to another. They instructed their pupils

Id. ibid.

Plin. Hist.
Mund. p. 1.
lib. 16. c. 44.

pupils in astronomy, concerning the dimensions of the world, nature of things, and power of the gods. Mistletoe being esteemed the most sacred of all things, especially when it grew upon an oak-tree, it was gathered with the greatest solemnity; for a priest, dressed in a white cassock, on the sixth of the moon, ascended the tree with a golden hook or bill in his hand, and, cutting it down, delivered it to certain persons clothed in white; then proceeding to sacrifice two white young bulls, entreated the gods would be pleased to bless it for the benefit of those it was intended for, it being deemed an infallible cure for barrenness in all sorts of females, and an effectual remedy against poison.

Cæs. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 6.

The Druids, being exempt from martial services, seldom attended the army; and being free from taxes, and enjoying all manner of immunities, their encouragement was such, that many endeavoured to be admitted into their order, and to devote themselves to the service of the altar: and such was the iniquity both of priests and people, that they who were dangerously ill, and those exposed in war, offered human sacrifices, thinking the gods were only to be appeased by the death of one man for another. The sacrifices being committed to the care of the Druids, they had large wicker statues, into which they put the victim, and consumed it by fire. They believed that thieves, and the most notorious offenders, were the most acceptable sacrifices to the gods; but when, through the practice of virtue, they were not to be had, the innocent poor were obliged to supply their places.

Id. *ibid.*

Mercury was their tutelar god, to whose honour many statues were erected: him they esteemed the inventor of arts and commerce, and protector of merchants and travellers. Their other gods were Apollo, Minerva, Jupiter, and Mars, of whom they had the same notions with other countries; that Apollo had the cure of diseases, Minerva the care of manufactures, Jupiter was the great god, and Mars presided over war and martial actions; therefore, before they commenced hostilities, they devoted to Mars great part of the spoils they might happen to get, and, when they obtained a victory, offered their prey of cattle on his altars.

Id. *ibid.*

The Gauls, believing themselves to be descended from Pluto, computed their time by nights, and not by days like other nations. They were also singular in this, that they permitted not their sons to appear before them in publick, 'till they were of age to bear arms; the contrary they held dishonourable. Whatever marriage fortune was brought by the wife, the husband was obliged to equal it, and both sums, with the profits arising therefrom, were laid up for the benefit of the survivor. The men had power of life and death over their wives and children. On the demise of a man of quality, his nearest relations had a right to inquire into the cause of his death, with a power, on the least suspicion, to interrogate his widow concerning the same, with as little ceremony as a common domestick, and, if found guilty, was burnt alive. Their funerals were very pompous and magnificent, according to the quality of the person: every thing that was held most valuable by the deceased, was cast on his funeral pile; and anciently the most beloved of their vassals were obliged to accompany them into the other world.

The above is Cæsar's account of the Druids; to which I shall add those of Toland, who seems to have had a better opportunity of knowing their government and practices than any other person.

He

He tells us, that never was any religion better calculated than theirs to beget ignorance and an implicit disposition in the people, to procure power and profit to their priests: they dextrously led the people blindfold, by committing no part of their philosophy to writing; for, by the druidical plan, they only conveyed learning to their pupils by traditional poems, alterable occasionally. They had the decision of all controversies at law or equity, and the distribution of all rewards and punishments in matters of religion. Most dreadful were the effects of their excommunications on every person who did not implicitly follow their directions, and submit to their decrees, not only by excluding them from society and all the benefits thereof, but to the deposing of princes that did not please them, whom they frequently devoted to destruction. No less intolerable was their power of engaging the nation in a needless and dishonourable war, and making a disadvantageous peace, while they had the address to get themselves exempt from bearing arms, and to contribute nothing to the publick charge but their charms and delusions.

Tol. Hist.
Druids.

And their persons being deemed sacred, they were greatly revered and held in high esteem; which allured great numbers to enter into their society, and become Druids; and it requiring many years to become masters of their delusive arts, frequently not less than twenty, they were at last great proficient in sophistry and juggle. The children of their princes, nobility, and other persons of distinction, were committed to their tuition; whereby, contrary to good policy, they had an opportunity of bringing them up in their own interest, and thereby they were taught to mislead the people. These, with their pretences to work miracles, to foretell future events by augury, and to have a familiar intercourse with the gods, being confirmed to the people by their calculating eclipses, they were held as real oracles, and adored accordingly.

Having endeavoured to trace the Gauls from their origin, and given some account of their government, customs, and religion, I shall now attempt to shew their first settling in Gaul, as near as a thing so remote, obscure, and involved in the dust of time and fables will admit; and, by a certain allowance, shall endeavour to shew the time when this island was at first peopled by them; with a probable account how their descendants the Gael, our predecessors, at first came to be called Scots.

Now as 'tis said that the Celts arrived in our neighbouring country of Gaul, at present called France, above three thousand six hundred years ago, it may be reasonably presumed, that at that time, when people multiplied so fast, it could not be long ere a colony from thence came into this island, especially considering the many natural advantages which invited them hither. Now, allowing three hundred years for that space, which I take to be too much, Britain must then have been planted above three thousand three hundred years ago; which is in some measure corroborated by the vast number of its inhabitants at the arrival of the Romans, under the command of Cæsar, in the year 54 before the incarnation.

Pezron Antiq.
de Cels. c. 14.
p. 115.

This being all I could learn concerning the Gauls in their own country, other than their wars with the Romans, I shall now proceed to treat of the affairs of Britain. But as there is no coming at the origin of the Scottish and Pictish nations in a regular manner, without giving an account of the Roman transactions in the southern part of this island, I shall, by a proper gradation, shew the several advances they made therein before their arrival in Caledonia, or the northern part of Britain;

tain; on which I shall make certain remarks, and intersperse the same with other occurrences, and observations thereon as they happened.

C H A P. III.

Account of the Roman transactions in the southern part of Britain.

PROvidence having decreed the sovereignty of the world to the Romans, Caius Julius Cæsar, after his conquest of Gaul, cast his eyes towards Britain, as if the Roman empire was not wide enough for his ambition; so that, subduing all both by land and sea, he might join those countries by conquest which nature had separated: and being fired with a prospect of new glories, or provoked by the supplies sent by the Britons to the assistance of their friends, the Gauls, against him during the late war, in the year 54 before the incarnation, as already hinted, he resolved upon an expedition into this island; to which, according to a certain writer, he was excited by hopes of the British pearls.

Sueton. in
vit. Cæs.

This, which is undoubtedly false, I take to be a mean and malicious device of an impotent enemy. For Cæsar, instead of being of a mercenary disposition, was one of the most generous men, who fought not riches but honour; and if we consider him in other things, he appears to have been a person of the greatest magnanimity, munificence, clemency, and temperance, the greatest of generals, orators, and masters of learning; and of such a prodigious capacity, that he was not only justly esteemed the greatest man of his time, but by many since, to have excelled all others both before and after that time.

Cæs. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 4.

Cæsar having subdued the several states of Gaul, and reduced the country to the state of a Roman province, prepared a fleet of ninety-eight ships, in eighty whereof he embarked two legions of infantry, and on the other eighteen all his cavalry; and setting sail from the coast of the Morini, (now Bologne in France) landed near Deal in the county of Kent, where, in a short time, he compelled the Britons to sue for peace, which was concluded, on their promising to send a certain number of hostages; and the season being far advanced, he returned with his fleet to Gaul, whither only two of the British states sent hostages.

Ibid. lib. 5.

Cæsar, to revenge himself on the Britons for their not performing the articles agreed on, prepared for a second expedition into Britain; and having provided a mighty fleet, consisting of above eight hundred vessels, shipped on board the same five legions and two thousand horse. The Britons, greatly terrified at the approach of so numerous a navy, retreated from the coast, and suffered the Romans to land without opposition, and marching towards the enemy, they, after divers defeats, and the loss of their capital city, submitted to Cæsar, who imposed upon Britain a certain yearly tribute, to be paid to the Romans, and, for the performance thereof, commanded a sufficient number of hostages to be immediately delivered; and reembarking his army, soon arrived in Gaul. Having rather shown Britain to the Romans, than given them possession of any part of it, he rather increased the glory, than the dominion of Rome, and gave this country the honour of being the last triumph of that mighty republic, which had before subdued so many kingdoms and commonwealths in Europe, Asia, and Africa. It is generally agreed, that the Roman army under Cæsar's command,

command, advanced no further in Britain than to Verulam, twenty miles north of London.

REMARK. The account given us by Cæsar of his two expeditions into Britain, seem rather calculated for his own honour, than a plain relation of his transactions in this island. For if Cassibelan, the British general, had been reduced to such a miserable condition, by the loss of divers battles, that of his capital city, and the defection of his allies, can it be reasonably supposed that Cæsar would have granted the Britons such honourable terms as the payment of a small annual tribute only, without fortifying one place, or leaving any troops in the island to keep them in subjection?

This seems as if Cæsar was satisfied with the bare name of a new conquest, and glad to end an adventure with some honour, which otherwise was like to be attended with a great expence of time and much danger; which is in some measure confirmed by Lucan's *territa quæstis ostendit terga Britannis*, that is, fled from the Britons whom his arms had fought. To which may be added, the declarations of other Roman writers, who mention the great losses sustained by Cæsar in this island; and that Britain in Augustus's time was not regarded as a conquered country. From all which it is pretty plain, that the reputation gained by Cæsar in those expeditions, was not so great as he represents it.

Be that as it will, 'tis evident that, at the arrival of the Romans in Britain, the country abounded with such a multitude of men, that they not only made head against the great and formidable Roman armies under Cæsar, the best of generals, but probably beat him in some engagements, notwithstanding his army, the best disciplined of any, according to his own account, amounted to no less than five legions of foot, and two thousand horsemen. But as the number of men the legions consisted of is unknown, I shall endeavour to discover the same in the best manner I can.

Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 5.

We are told by Cæsar, that on his return from Britain to Gaul, in his first expedition, two of his transports, with about three hundred men on board, were separated from the fleet; and that the number of vessels in his second expedition amounted to above eight hundred, including those built by private persons for their own use, which I shall admit to have been one hundred in number, though I take this to be more than they were; for Cæsar tells us, that, before he marched his army into the country of Treves, his troops had built about six hundred ships and twenty-eight galleys, without mentioning the number of old vessels repaired by his order, which must have been considerable. I am therefore of opinion, that the number of his ships, exclusive of those said to have belonged to private persons, must have amounted to above seven hundred.

Ibid. lib. 4.

Ibid. lib. 5.

But, to proceed with all the precaution imaginable, I shall allow two hundred ships to have been employed in transporting his two thousand horsemen, which is only ten horses to a vessel, and fifty ships for the use of the officers and their equipages, and the remaining four hundred and fifty to have been employed in transporting the infantry: and instead of allowing one hundred and fifty men to a vessel, as above-mentioned, I shall only allow one hundred to each ship, which will make the number total of the infantry, brought hither by Cæsar, amount to forty-five thousand; which, with the two thousand horsemen, shews that the Roman army which invaded Britain amounted to

forty-

forty-seven thousand men, without reckoning the hundred vessels belonging to private persons as aforesaid, which, being in the fleet, were undoubtedly employed in the embarkation for the service of officers and others.

Xiphil. in vit.
Neron.

This great army gives reason to suspect, that Cæsar, in his first attempt upon this island, was not only roughly handled by the Britons, but must have been opposed by a very great army in his second expedition; which shews, as already hinted, that Britain then must have been very populous, and consequently planted many centuries before: and if we consider that, but about a century after, the Britons brought an army into the field against the Romans, consisting of no less a number than two hundred and thirty thousand men; which is a further proof of the ancient settlement of this island, which probably happened about the year of the world 2123; that is, about three thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine years since.

Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 5.

Ptol. Geogr.
Tabul. Brit.

We are told by Cæsar, that Britain in his time was inhabited by two nations; the inland by the natives, or first inhabitants; and the maritime by the Belgick Gauls, who came hither either to conquer or plunder the country. The former painted themselves of a bluish colour, to appear the more formidable to their enemies. Now, as 'tis evident that the coasts were occupied by the Belgick Gauls, who gave the names of the countries they came from in Gaul to their new settlements in this island, namely, Belgæ, Icini, Attrebatii, and Parisii, the last whereof, according to Ptolemy, was settled as far northwards as Yorkshire. Which shews that Cæsar's account of the natives, or inland Britons, was by information; for, having been but a little way in the island, he had no opportunity of seeing or knowing them. Now as, by Ptolemy, it appears, that the Belgick Gauls extended at least as far northward in Britain as the county of York, which they occupied, the native or inland Britons must have dwelt beyond or to the northward of them: wherefore, I think, there is not the least room to doubt but the said natives, or inland Britons, were the Gael or Caledonians, predecessors both to the Scottish and Pictish nations, as hereafter more plainly will appear.

Lhuyd. Archæol. Brit.
Welsh Pref.

And, as a proof that Cæsar's natives or inland Britons were the ancestors of the Gael, or Scottish highlanders, I shall give the opinion of a learned and judicious Welsh antiquary concerning them.

This learned writer, having discovered the names of many towns, mountains, rivers, &c. both in England and Wales, which were not understood by the inhabitants, nor to be found in either of their languages, resolved to travel into the highlands of Scotland and kingdom of Ireland, to learn whether the said words or names were to be found in their tongue. Pursuant to this laudable resolution, our author set out for those parts, where, after divers years indefatigable application, he became so great a master of the Gaelick or Highland language, as to write a Gaelish and English dictionary, denominated *Archæologia Britannica*, wherein is to be found all the aforesaid great number of words, not contained in either the English or Welsh tongues. Wherefore he justly concludes, that the highlanders of Scotland are the remains of the Celts or Gauls (by the Cumri or Welsh corruptly called Guydhels or Guydhelians), who at first peopled this island, and inhabited the southern parts thereof, now called England, before the arrival of the Cumri or Welsh; who, invading Albion with a mighty force, drove the Gael or ancient Britons from time to time northward.

This supposed invasion of Lhuyd's seems to answer to that of the Belgick Gauls mentioned by Cæsar: be that as it will, he has given us his sentiments thereof as follows.

"Nor was it only North Britain that these Guydhelians inhabited, but also England and Wales: whether before our time, or cotemporary with us, or both, cannot be determined. But to me it seems most probable, that they were here before our coming into this island; and that our ancestors did, from time to time, force them northward; and that from Kintire, or foreland of Scotland, where there is but four leagues of sea, and from the country of Galloway and the isle of Man, they passed over into Ireland: nor was their progress into this island out of a more remote country than Gaul, now better known by the names of France, Flanders, and Holland."

Lhuyd. Archæolog. Brit. Welsh Pref.

And the learned and judicious antiquary, author of the *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, in his manuscript notes on Lhuyd's Gaelick and English dictionary, says, "The Irish (Gaelick) Focloir, or dictionary, so industriously compiled by our learned antiquary, and supplied with a large appendix of omitted words from Scotland and Ireland, cannot but be judged of mighty use to criticks in the British; the Guydhelian (Gaelick) part of that language being the tongue of the most ancient colony of the Celts in this island, and consequently contains the etymologies of a vast number of British derivatives and compounds, otherwise not to be accounted for."

Baxter's Remarks on Lhuyd's Archæol. Britan.

Those, together with what we are told by Cæsar and Tacitus, leave no longer room to doubt of Albion's being at first peopled from Gaul, now called France; yet as we are in the dark with respect to the time when the two colonies, wherewith the same was planted, came hither, I shall, in matters so obscure, endeavour to come as near the time as possible.

We are told by Pezron, as already mentioned, that the Titans or Celts were planted in Gaul by Dis, son of Saturn, who was cotemporary with Isaac the patriarch, about three thousand six hundred years ago; and as I have allowed the space of three hundred years, as aforesaid, between the settling of Gaul and the coming of the first colony of Gauls into this island, it must at least be three thousand three hundred years since they came hither. And as to the time when the second colony arrived, we are in the same uncertainty as to that of the first; for Cæsar only tells us, that the Belgick Gauls invaded this island as plunderers, or to subdue the same, (without mentioning the time when it happened) who, it seems, having obtained what they came for, and liking the country, settled therein; and beginning to cultivate the same, gave the names of the several countries they came from to their new possessions in Britain.

Pezron. Antiq. de Celt. c. 14. p. 115.

Cæf. de Bell. Gall. lib. 5.

And as their descendants the Welsh still call that part of their ancient dominions they now inhabit by the name of Cumry, themselves Cumri, and their language Cumraeg, it is evident, that their origin must be from a people somewhat different from the ancient Gael or Scottish-highlanders; who, by their retaining the appellation of Gael or Gauls, and the Gaulish language, manifestly shew, that they are the immediate descendants of the ancient Celts or Gauls, in their primitive or unmixed state, and consequently the first and most ancient inhabitants of this island, as abovementioned. And by the language of the Cumri or Welsh not coming so near the ancient Celtick or

M

Gaulish

Gaulish tongue as that of the Gael or Scottish highlanders, I take that to be owing to its being mixed with that of the Cimbri, who settled among the Celtick Gauls as aforesaid; for, before that period, the Belgick language must have been the pure Celtick or Gaulish, as well as that of the said Gael; and by a mixture of Latin, introduced by the Romans during their long stay in Britain, both the Gaelick and Welsh languages are considerably altered. Yet, though I reckoned them different languages, they are only so many dialects of the said Celtick or Gaulick language, as is manifest by the vast affinity still between them, after a lapse of such a vast number of years.

C H A P. IV.

The Gael or Scots are demonstrated to have been Gauls, from the affinity of language, &c.

HAVING attempted to shew the origin of the several colonies which planted this island, and of the country they came from, with probable conjectures of the times when they arrived in Britain, I shall now endeavour to demonstrate, by the language, religion, customs, buildings, and manner of fighting of the Gauls and Britons, that the latter are certainly descended from the former, and that this island at first was peopled from our neighbouring country of Gaul, now called France; and not by companies of strolling free-booters from Troy, Greece, Egypt, Spain, Ireland, and Scythia, as has been falsely and wickedly asserted by Scottish, Welsh, and Irish romantick writers and their followers.

Now, as language is the surest means to deduce the origin of a nation from, and its evidence so certain, I think every one will allow, that people who speak the same language must necessarily be derived from the same origin: and this is so sure a method to proceed in, that were all records and histories lost, and had we never heard that the English are descended from the Germans, the Britons or Welsh in this island from the Britons of Armorica in France, or the Irish from the Gael in Britain; yet the great affinity of language would alone be sufficient to prove it; nay, it would be of much greater weight than the authority of the best historians. Now if I can make it appear, that the Celts or Gauls, the ancient inhabitants of Gaul or France, spoke the same language as the Gael or Scottish highlanders do at present, (exclusive of the small mixture of Latin, as aforesaid) all men, I think, will readily acknowledge them to be of the same origin: and to demonstrate that they are, I shall subjoin a table of words, or comparative account of the several languages at present spoken by the inhabitants of all the nations along the sea-coast, from the straits or gulph of the Mediterranean sea to that of the Baltick sea, including those of the chief countries round the latter, and to the extremity of Norway westward.

And for the more effectually discovering the country from which the Gael came into this island, I have taken a certain number of Celtick or Gaulish words (which compose the second column of the said table) from the learned Pezron's antiquities of the Celts or Gauls; whereby the reader, by comparing the words in the different columns with those of the second, will readily discover the country from which the said Gael or predecessors of the Scots came, without being otherwise told either by history or historians.

A T A B L E, or comparative view of eleven languages, to shew the origin of the Gaelick, or ancient Scottish language, improperly so called.

ENGLISH.	GAULISH.	GÆLICK.	WELSH.	SPANISH.	FRENCH.	FLEMISH.	GERMAN.	POLISH.	SWEDISH.	DANISH.
A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Anchor	Aer	Aear	Awyrr	Aire	Air	Lugt	Luft	Wiatrek	Wader	Luft
Apple	Oil	Ule	Oll	Todo	Tout	Al	Alle	Wfelki	All	All
Arms	Angor	Ancoir	Angor	Ancora	Ancre	Anker	Anker	Kotwica	Ankar	Anker
Arrow	Aval	Abal	Aval	Mancana	Pomme	Appel	Apffel	Jablko	Aple	Eble
As	Arm	Airm	Arfan	Arm	Arme	Wapen	Waffen	Zbroia	Wapn	Vauben
	Saeth	Saighad	Saeth	Flecha	Fleche	Pyl	Pfeil	Strzala	Pil	Pyl
	Asen	Asal	Afyn	Afno	Afne	Ezel	Efel	Ofiek	Afna	Efel.
B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Bar	Baar	Barra	Bolht	Tranca	Barre	Boom	Schlagboom	Zapora	Stangbom	Stangboom
Bastard, a	Bastard	Bastard	Bastardd	Bastardo	Batard	Bastaard	Horunge	Bekart	Horunge	Horeunge
Bench, a	Banc	Binf	Eisteddfa	Banco	Banc	Bank	Banc	Kawa	Bank	Benk
Bonnet	Bonet	Bonnaid	Penwisg	Bonete	Bonnet	Muts	Mutze.	Czapka	Mosia	Bonett
Boundary	Termen	Teoran	Terfyn	Terminos	Borne	Limit	Grantze	Granica	Granfa	Grantz
Brother	Beur	Braithier	Brawd	Ermano	Frere	Broer	Bruder	Brat	Brodur	Broder
Bubble, a	Buil	Bolgan	Clochardwddr	Empola	Bouteille	Water Bobbel	Wasserblafs	Bania	Water Bladra	Boble
Budget	Bulg	Bolg	Codgroen.	Mochila	Bongette	Knapzak	Sattellafche	Torba	Paffe	Pofe
Bull, a	Tarn	Tarbh	Tarw.	Toro	Taurea	Stier	Stier	Byk	Tiur	Tyyr
C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Cabbage	Caol	Cal	Kabethen	Repollo	Chori	Kool	Kohl	Kapufia	Kal	Kael
Cable, a	Cabl	Cabla	Rhasfangor	Cable	Cable	Kabel	Schiffheil	Lina	Kablar	Kabel
Cancer, a	Cuner	Cainfeir	Cruban	Cancer	Cancer	Kanker.	Krebs	Rak	Krafweter	Krabe
Candle, a	Cantal	Cainnil	Canwyl	Vela	Chandelle	Kaars.	Licht	Swieca	Lins	Lyys
Capon, a	Capon	Cabon	Capwilt	Capon	Chapon	Kapoen	Kappaun	Kapkan	Kapun	Kapun
Cart, a	Carr	Cairt	Car	Carro	Charette	Kar	Kar	Woz	Karra	Kare

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

45

ENGLISH.	GAULISH.	GÆLICK.	WELSH.	SPANISH.	FRENCH.	FLEMISH.	GERMAN.	POLISH.	SWEDISH.	DANISH.
Friend	Car	Cara	Car	Amigo	Ami	Vriend	Freund	Mickowae	Wan	Ven
Fry, to	Fritta	Frighean	Tfris	Freyr	Frise	Fruiten	Pfan-rosten	Smazyc	Steka	Stege
Furnace, a	Fournes	Foirneis	Tfwrn	Fornaza	Fournaise	Vier-oven	Ofen	Pic	Ugn	Oven
Garden, a	Gard	Gairde	Gardd	Jardin	Jardin	Hof	Garden	Ogrod	Tragard	Hange
Glory	Gloar	Gloir	Clod	Honra	Gloire	Glory	Rhum	Chwala	Ara	Ære
Glutton, a	Gluth	Glutaind	Dyngluth	Glouton	Glouton	Glutzig	Fras	Zarlok	Frassar	Fradsere
Goose, a	Goaz	Geadh	Gwydd	Gufar	Oye	Gans	Gans	Ges	Gaas	Gaas
Gold	Aour	Or	Aur	Oro	Or	Gond	Gord	Kioto	Guld	Guld
Grace	Gras	Grafa	Gras	Gracia	Bonté	Goedheid	Gutigkeit	Dobug	Wad	Naade
Grain	Greun	Grainid	Gronyn	Grano	Grain	Graan	Korn	Ziarno	Korn	Korn
Green	Glas	Glasnaine	Gwyrd	Verde	Verd	Groen	Grun	Zielony	Gron	Gron
Glas	Glas	Gloine	Gwydder	Vidrio	Verre	Glas	Glas	Sklo	Glas	Glas
Grief	Dolur	Dolas	Dolyr	Pesadumbro	Douleur	Droefheid	Betoubnus	Bot	Sorg	Sorg
Grind, to	Mala	Meilt	Malu	Moler	Moudre	Maalen	Mahlen	Mlec	Mala	Male.
Hall, a	Hall	Halla	Neyodh	Sala	Sale	Zaal	Saal	Sala	Saal	Sall
Hemp	Canab	Cnab	Cywarch	Canamo	Chanvre	Hennip	Hanff	Honopie	Hampa	Hamp
High	Alt	Ard	Uchel	Alto	Haut	Hoog	Hoch	Wifoki	Hog	Hoi
Honey	Mel	Mil	Mel	Miel	Miel	Honig	Honig	Miod	Honing	Honing
Hundred, a	Cant	Ceantr	Cant	Ciento	Cent	Honderd	Hundert	Sto	Hundrade	Hundrede
Image	Imaich	Iomaigh	Delw	Imagen	Image	Beeld	Bild	Obraz	Belate	Billed
Innkeeper	Hofis	Hofiore	Llettywr	Hofalero	Hotelier	Herbergier	Wirth	Gofe	Gastgiware	Giestgevere
Knee	Glin	Glin	Glin	Kinojo	Genou	Knie	Knie	Kolano	Kna	Kne
										Labour

ENGLISH.	GAULISH.	GAELICK.	WELSH.	SPANISH.	FRENCH.	FLEMISH.	GERMAN.	POLISH.	SWEDISH.	DANISH.
Labour	Labour	Lobair	Lafur	Trabajo	Labeur	Arbeid	Arbeit	Praca	Arbete	Arbeide
Lake, a	Laquen	Loch	Grellyn	Lago	Lac	Meer	See	Seziofo	Sio	Soe
Lamp, a	Lampr	Lampe	Lamp	Lampara	Lampe	Lamp	Lampe	Pochodnia	Lampa	Lampe
Lance, a	Lance	Lans	Gwayw	Lanza	Lance	Speer	Lantze	Wloznia	Lantz	Lantz
Lantern, a	Latern	Lainteir	Tanllestr	Linterna	Lanterne	Lantaarn	Lanterne	Laternia	Lyckta	Lyckta
Leather	Leder	Leather	Lledr	Cuero	Cuir	Leder	Leder	Skora	Lader	Ledder
Lilly, a	Lilly	Lile	Llyfenyn	Lirio	Lis	Lelie	Lilie	Lilia	Lilia	Lilie
Line, a	Lin	Line	Llynyn	Linea	Ligne	Lyn	Lini	Powroz	Linea	Linie
Lip, a	Lap	Slloip	Gwest	Labio	Levre	Lip	Lippe	Warga	Lapp	Lappe
Man, a	Dyn	Dane	Dyne	Hombre	M.	Man	Man	Messezyzna	Man	Mand
Mantle, a	Mante	Mantil	Llawdr	Manto	Homme	Mantel	Mantel	Oponeza	Mantel	Kappe
Market, a	Marchata	Margadh	Pryniad	Mercado	Manteau	Markt	Marckt	Targowisto	Marknad	Market
Marle	Marl	Marlad	Marlbridd	Greda	Marne	Mergel	Mergel	Il	Kley	Kley
Master	Mestr	Maighifter	Meistr	Maestro	Maitre	Meester	Meister	Pan	Mastare	Mester
May-month	Mae	Madh	Mai	Mayo	Mai	May	Mey	May	May	Maj
Metal	Metal	Miotal	Mettel	Metal	Metal	Metaal	Metal	Kruffel	Metal	Metal
Mill, a	Meul	Muilinn	Melin	Molino	Moulin	Meul	Muhle	Mlyn	Qwarn	Molle
Mingle, to	Misgn	Cumngiu	Mygn	Mesclar	Meler	Mengen	Mengen	Meisac	Mangia	Blande
Mint, a	Mintys	Miontas	Bathwr	Moneda	Monnoye	Munt	Muntze	Minca	Mynt	Mynt
Mist, a	Niul	Neillin	Cummwyl	Mebla	Brouillard	Mist	Nebel	Mgla	Dimba	Fog
Month, a	Mis	Mi	Mis	Mes	Mois	Maand	Monat	Miesiac	Manad	Maanet
Mustard	Mustard	Mustard	Mwstard	Mostara	Moutarde	Mostaart	Senf	Gorczyca	Senap	Sinnop
Naked	Noeth	Nofugte	Noeth	Encarnes	N.	Naakt	Blofs	Nagi	Naken	Nogen
Nature	Natur	Natur	Natur	Mundo	Nature	Natuur	Natur	Bryrodzenie	Naturen	Natur
Nest, a	Neis	Neadh	Nyth	Nido	Nid	Nest	Nest	Krwzyk	Nafte	Rede
New	Nen	Nuadh	Newydd	Nuevo	Neuf	Nienw	Nen	Nowy	Ny	Nyyt
Nine	Naon	Naeidh	Naw	Nueve	Neuf	Negen	Neun	Dziewioty.	Nijo	Ni

[illegible]

Though to the foregoing catalogue, consisting of one hundred and fifty Celtick or Gaulish words, might be added hundreds of others of the same language, as near the Gaelick or ancient Scottish as the afore-said; yet these, for brevity's sake, shall suffice to shew, that the nation by which this island was at first peopled were the ancient inhabitants of our neighbouring country of Gaul, now denominated France.

And, without mentioning that the word Gaelick is a Gaulish derivative, we need only compare the Gaulish and Gaelick words in the second and third columns in the above table, whereby the reader will undoubtedly be surpris'd to find them to be almost the same, after an elapse of such a vast space of time as three thousand three hundred years, since the Gael or first colony from thence is supposed to have come hither; which will be greatly increased when he considers the numerous invasions made into Gaul by the Cimbrians, Romans, Huns, Goths, Vandals, and Germans, who severally settling therein, it might be thought that their languages were sufficient to expel that of the natives, as their power in many parts did the people: but that they did not, is manifest; for though the said Gaulish words are become obsolete, in regard to the modern French, yet they are still in use amongst the peasants in divers countries of France; as the original thereof, by the appellation of Gaelick, is the common speech of the Gael or Scottish highlanders at this time.

And a farther demonstration that the Gael or Scottish highlanders are descended from the Gauls, or ancient inhabitants of Armorica, or Bretagne, in the country now called France, is, that the present French continue to curtail their words, by pronouncing them as differently from what they write as the Gael or Scottish highlanders do at this time, and both to such a degree as is not practis'd by any other nation, that I can learn; which evidently shews, that the French are chiefly descended from the Gauls, notwithstanding of the numerous invasions made by the several nations abovementioned: the last whereof being the Franks, a German people, they converted the name of Gaul into that of France, and that of the people from Gauls to Franks or French, their own name.

Lhuyd's Ar-
chæolog. Brit.
tit. 1. p. 23

And by comparing the second, third, and fourth columns of the above catalogue of words, it will appear, that both the Gaelick and Welsh tongues, by their great similitude, were anciently the same with that of the Gaulish, as already hinted; and that the difference between them, at present, is owing to a mixture of the Cimbrian and Latin languages, whereby many Gaulish words have been compelled to make way both for the Cimbrian and Roman.

The reader, by comparing the third and fifth columns, will observe a great resemblance betwixt the Gaelick and Spanish tongues; which is owing to the colonies of Gauls anciently planted in Spain, and not to the Irish coming from thence, as is asserted by fabulous Scottish and Irish writers, whom I have elsewhere sufficiently refuted.

Pezron. Antiq.
des Celt.

Gaul anciently so abounded with people, that they were necessitated to send out numerous colonies, many of which being sent into Spain, Gaul, according to Strabo, extended as far as Cadiz in Spain; and, if Pomponius Mela may be believed, the Celts or Gauls do inhabit from the mouth of the river Duero to cape Finister: and we are told by Cæsar and Tacitus, that there were many Gaulick colonies in Germany, and other countries; therefore it is not to be doubted but

Britain was peopled from thence. And as to the resemblance between the Gaelick, Flemish, and German languages, in the third, seventh, and eighth columns, that is owing to the affinity between the Celtick and Teutonick tongues.

Tacit. de
Morib. Germ.
c. 45.

We are told by Tacitus, that the *Æstrian* nations, who dwelt on the right hand of the Suecian sea, and gathered amber, spoke a language resembling the British: wherefore some are of opinion, that the Picts, the ancient inhabitants of part of Scotland, were descended from them, which I shall hereafter more particularly inquire into. That the countries inhabited by the *Æstrians* were those of Prussia and Pomerania, on the southern side of the Baltick sea, is evident, from their being the only countries in those parts that produce amber. But the people by Tacitus called *Æstrians*, being by Pliny, his cotemporary writer, denominated Sarmatians, their language, which was anciently the Vandalick or Polish, is well known to be a dialect of the Slavonian, which has little or no affinity with the Gaelick or British; as will appear by comparing the third, fourth, and ninth columns of words in the above table, which manifestly refutes what Tacitus says concerning a resemblance between the said tongues.

Plin. Hist.
Mund. lib. 4.
c. 13.

But if it should be alleged, that the said *Æstrians* were expelled their country by the Poles, who subdued those parts about the beginning of the eleventh century; admitting they were, they could be no other nation than either Teutones or Goths, whose languages, in the aforesaid table of words, I have inserted under the appellations of German, Swedish, and Danish; whereby it appears, that there is no other affinity between the said languages and the Gaelick, or ancient Scottish, than the distant relation of the Celtick, Teutonick, and Gothick tongues.

And as divers writers, without the least authority, have deduced the origin of the Scottish nation from the western Scythians, inhabitants of Swedland and Norway, I have, in the third, tenth, and eleventh columns of the aforesaid table of words, drawn parallels between the Gaelick, Swedish, and Danish languages; whereby there appears to be but a small affinity betwixt the said tongues. Now as it does not appear, that I can learn, that ever the countries of Swedland, Denmark, and Norway, were subdued by a people of a different speech, theirs, the Gothick, must have remained uncorrupted. Therefore, as it cannot be said that the great difference betwixt the Gaelick and Gothick languages is occasioned by corruption, it necessarily follows, that the Gael and western Scythians, or Goths, have all along been different nations.

To corroborate what has been said concerning the Gael, I shall, from divers writers, add several Gaulish titles of office; and allow for the difference of letters between the Latin and Gaelick, the former using the *v* consonant, and the latter, wanting that letter, use *f* instead thereof, as will appear in the following words.

Cæs. de Bel.
Gall. lib. 7.
Lhuyd's Ar-
chæolog. Brit.
Welsh Pref.

In the Gaulish the general of an army was called *vercingetorix*; in the Gaelick he is denominated *fear cean go turus*, that is, the head man of the expedition. In the Gaulish a certain commander was intitled *vergaslanus*; in Gaelick, *fear go saelan*, that is, the standard-bearer. And *vergobretus*, in Gaulish, signified a chief magistrate; and in Gaelick *fear go breath* imports a judge, or one that judgeth. The reader may please to observe, that the words said to be Gaulish are only

only latinized by Cæsar; for had he given them in Gaulish, without doubt they would have been the same with the Gaelick words afore-said.

Though the affinity of languages is an infallible proof of the descent of one nation from another, it is so in a more particular manner in the case of the Gael being descended from the Gauls, by the authority of Tacitus, who tells us, that in his time the Gaulish and British or Gaelick tongues were almost the same, that is, they only varied in dialect: which is in a great measure confirmed by the above table of words, though the former have been separated from the latter thousands of years. And as a farther instance of their being anciently the same people, I shall subjoin a comparative account of the religion and customs of the said Gauls and Gael, from the most celebrated historians.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agric. c. 11.

That the religion of the Gauls and Britons was the same, is evident from Cæsar's telling us, it was thought that the sacred rites and ceremonies thereof were instituted in Britain, and transmitted into Gaul, from whence all persons, intending to become masters of it, repaired to Britain to learn the same.

Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 6.
c. 8.

The Gauls and Britons were governed, both in their religion and laws, by their priests the Druids, who, being the only persons of learning in the respective nations, were both priests and judges: their office, as to the first, was to instruct the people in the doctrines of religion, forms of divine worship, and rules of morality, which consisted in justice and fortitude; and by observing the motions of the celestial bodies, presaged future events, wherein the vulgar were chiefly concerned: by which they obtained such an authority and veneration amongst the people, that no laws were instituted by princes, or conventions appointed, without their proposal or approbation: no person was punished with bonds, stripes, or death, but by their sentence or judgment, from a belief that men would not submit to the loss of their lives or liberties, unless the punishments were inflicted by divine authority. And after being told by Tacitus, that the religion and sacred rites of the Gauls and Britons were the same, as was almost their language, he thence justly concludes it to be most probable, that Britain was at first peopled from Gaul.

Id. ibid.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agric. c. 11.

We are told by Cæsar, that the country of Gaul was divided into many states or governments, and they into tribes or clans; so were the Caledonians anciently in both, as their descendants the Scottish highlanders are at present in the latter. The Gauls fought in chariots; so did the Caledonians or Gael. The Gauls wore an upper garment or plaid of divers colours, called bracæ; so did our highlanders 'till the year 1747, when that, with other parts of their ancient dress, were abolished by act of parliament, for their rebellion. The Gauls for their arms had a shield and a lance, with a short sword or dagger; so have our highlanders at present, all but the lance, which, by a change of military weapons, is now rendered useless. The Gauls, to render their children hardy and robust, bathed them in cold water; so do our highlanders at this time. The greatest mark of grandeur amongst the Gaulish nobility was their numerous attendance; this is well known to be the principal ambition of our highland chiefs at present: and the houses of the Britons were of the same fashion with those of the Gauls.

Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 6.
c. 7.

Diod. Sic.
lib. 5. c. 2.
Id. ibid.

Pezron. Antiq.
des Celt. §. 18.

Id. ibid.

Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 6.
c. 9.

Now

Now as I have, by the infallible proofs of language, religion, government, customs, military practices, houses, and dress, effectually demonstrated that Albion or Britain was at first peopled from our neighbouring country of Gaul, now denominated France; and that the Gael or Caledonians, the predecessors both of the Scottish and Pictish nations, were the first colony sent hither, I think these are reasons sufficient to stop the mouths of all cavillers against the antiquity of our nation hereafter.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 1.

The origin of Scotland, like that of other ancient nations, being founded in fiction and fable, seems to be chiefly owing to the indolence and pride of our writers; the former by not giving a due application to study, and the latter, as the easiest task, have fallen in with it; and bringing our ancestors from the Greeks and Egyptians, have settled them in the northern parts of Britain, and conferred on them the appellation of Scots: but not knowing how to reconcile the Scots and Gael, have falsely and wickedly given them the appellation of Scots, from one Scota, a foreign princess, said to have been daughter to one Pharaoh, king of Egypt, forsooth.

Now, as the only way to come at truth is to avoid partiality, I shall, with the greatest sincerity, endeavour to detect the imposture, and expose the fraud, by showing that the people unjustly called Scots were Gauls or Gael, and came from the country of Gaul, many centuries before its conquest by the French.

Now that the fable devised by Fordun, in calling the Gael Scots, is a wicked untruth, devised by the folly of its author, is manifest by our highlanders, who, being the true descendants of the Gauls, call themselves Gael, their language Gaelick, and their country Albin; and by their despising the epithets of Scots and Scotland, as foreign impositions. Fordun, to make his invention go down the better, has given us a fabulous race of about forty kings, which he seems in some measure to be ashamed of; for he could not learn above three or four of their names: but he was soon followed by Hector Boece, principal of the college of Aberdeen, who supplied the defect to some purpose, by giving us not only the names of this spurious race, but likewise the accounts of many great and glorious actions performed by them.

This pretended historian was soon after followed by George Buchanan, who was so much addicted to fable and fiction, that he has followed lying Hector in almost all his fables; and instead of his being a new history, as all people believed it to be at the time of its publication, it is only, as it were, a new translation of Boece, put into a more elegant Latin stile; for which Buchanan is celebrated as the greatest master of his time, and for which he undoubtedly deserved praise. But when an historian becomes the father of fable and falsehood, and palms lies on his readers for facts, words are not sufficient to punish his memory; but rather that an indelible mark of reproach should be thought of, to perpetuate his infamy to posterity, in order to get rid of such spurious and fabulous works.

These are the pretended historians who brought on our country the despicable and infamous epithets of fable and falsehood, which has justly made us the mock of our neighbours; and that these things may ever be buried in oblivion, I shall now proceed to show the very country and people our ancestors at first came from into Albin or Britain.

C H A P. V.

Containing an account of the ancient boundaries of the Gael or Scots, and the Cumri or Welsh.

HAVING traced the Belgick Gauls, by themselves called Cumri or Cimbri, to Yorkshire in the northern parts of England, I shall now attempt to shew that their settlements in Britain extended no farther northward than the county of Cumberland, so denominated by the English Saxons from its being inhabited by the said Cumri or southern Britons: and that this county was the boundary of the Roman province in Britain for many ages, is evident, by the prætenturæ or walls erected by the emperors Adrian, Antoninus Pius, and Severus, for its defence against the Caledonians, or extraprovincial Britons.

The first wall which was erected by Adrian, about the year 127, as a barrier to separate the Roman province from the barbarians, (so the Caledonians, like other conquered nations, were called by the Romans) extended from east to west across the island, through the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland: but this fence proving insufficient to prevent the incursions and depredations of the northern enemies, Antoninus Pius soon after erected another wall to the northward, called Graham's dike, &c. Severus, who began his reign in the year 193, is said to have built a stone wall across Britain, from sea to sea, for the better defence of the province. This mighty fortification (which will hereafter appear not to have been erected by Severus) run over hills and vales, rivers and rivulets, according to a late survey thereof, appears to have been sixty-eight English miles and one hundred and sixty-nine paces in length, fortified with four hundred and eighteen stations, castles, and turrets: and by other writers it is said to be about eight feet in thickness, and, exclusive of the battlements, above fifteen feet in height. This stupendous wall is by divers writers said to have been erected by Severus, during his expedition in Britain; but that being a space not exceeding two years, (which a late writer will not allow to have been so long) it is no ways adequate to so great a work: for, instead of two years, it is much more likely to have required an age or two to have accomplished so prodigious an undertaking. But of these walls I shall speak more fully, when I come to treat of the Roman antiquities in Scotland.

Spart. in Vit.
Hadr. Script.
Aug. p. 51.

Ibid. in Vit.
Sever. p. 354.

Gord. itiner.
Septent. p. 83.

Hist. Brit.
Rom. p. 122.
Camd. Brit.
in Com.
Northumb.

Eachar. Rom.
Hist. vol. 2.
p. 388.

Now as Cumberland appears to have been the utmost boundary of the Cumrian settlements in Britain, I shall endeavour to shew the countries possessed by the Gael in this island.

Having already given it as the opinion of a learned and judicious Welsh antiquary, that the Gael or first inhabitants of Britain (by Cæsar called the native or inland Britons) were, by his predecessors the Cumri, from time to time forced northwards.

The country opposite Cumberland towards the north, and separated from it by the æstuary of Solway frith, is denominated Galway, anciently called Gal-weales, which being a Gaelick and English compound, Gal, the former part, it received from the Gael its inhabitants, and the latter from the English, which being contracted into Galwallia, or Galloway, imports the seat or country of the Gael, to distinguish them

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from

from their southern neighbours the Cumri in Cumberland, to whom they likewise gave the appellation of Wealh or Weales: so that on the northern side of the said frith inhabited the Gael-weales, and on the southern the Cumrian-weales, who gave name to both the countries, at present corruptly denominated Galloway, (from its being called in Latin Galwallia) and Cumberland; which shews the frith of Solway to have been the ancient boundary between the Gael, or first inhabitants of Britain, and the Cumri, the descendants of the Belgick Gauls, mentioned by Cæsar. And that Galloway was inhabited by the said Gael is evident, by the Gaelick or Highland language being spoken there so late as the middle of the last century; as without doubt was the Cumrian or Welsh tongue in Cumberland, long after the English possessed themselves of that country. Now as it appears that Galloway owes its name both to the Gael and the English, the county of Galway in Ireland, I imagine, must owe its name to ours; which is strongly corroborated by the Irish calling themselves Erenach, instead of Gael: which I think is, in some measure, a double proof of Ireland's having been peopled from Scotland, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to make appear.

The name of this country, which, about the end of the fifth century, had been by the English denominated Gal-weales, appears, by divers charters of our kings, in the twelfth century, to have been converted into the Latin Galwalia and Galovidia, and at last corruptly to Galloway. And in a bull of pope Alexander III^d, towards the close of the said century, the inhabitants are called Galwellen; which is a further proof of the country's being denominated Gal-weales, or the country of the Gal-welsh. And the better to corroborate what has been said concerning the inhabitants of the provinces of Galloway and Cumberland being called Gal-weales and Cumri-weales by the English, I shall instance divers other places being called by them after the same manner; namely, the country now denominated Wales they named Brit-weales; Cornwall, Corn-weales; and the inhabitants of Gaul, or Armorica in France, Gal-weales. Now our predecessors in Galloway retaining the appellation of Gauls or Gael, they were by the English called by the same name as the people of France.

And as I have shewn that Galloway was the most southern province belonging to the Gaelick nation, I shall soon endeavour to prove, that all the countries which at present compose Scotland were likewise occupied by the said Gael, and not by new-comers, as has been vainly and falsely asserted by the enemies of our antiquity, without the least proof or appearance of truth.

Camb. Brit.
in Com.
Cornwall.

I think it will not, in this place, be amiss to observe, that we are told by Camden, that the Saxons, who called every thing that was foreign or strange Wealh, denominated the inhabitants of the western parts of Britain Corn-weales and West-weales; therefore they received not their names from the Gauls, as alleged by some, out of a compliment to that nation: therefore Weales must denote a stranger.

REMARK. That this is a very great mistake is manifest; for the appellation Wealh or Weales, in the Saxon tongue, does neither import a foreigner nor stranger; for the former, in that language, is called an outlander, and the latter a frembd: and the genuine and true meaning of Wealh or Weales is a Gaul or Gauls, as is evident by the Germans

mans still calling Italy Welshland, and the people Welsh, from part of it being anciently inhabited by the Cisalpine Gauls. Thus we see what a hopeful foundation Camden has to build his *Wealsh* or *Weales*, for a foreigner or stranger, on; or that Cornwall was denominated from its being inhabited by *Wealsh* or strangers, and not by Gauls, which is the real origin of the word *Wealsh* or *Weales*: which is corroborated by the French their calling the prince of Wales, prince de Gaul, that is, the prince of Gaul, and not prince of foreigners or strangers, which were an absurdity.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Roman transactions in Britain, after Julius Cæsar's time.

AFTER the second invasion of this island by Julius Cæsar, the Britons were free from Roman oppression for upwards of ninety years; which was chiefly owing to intestine wars, insurrections in divers provinces of the empire, ambassadors from Britain who sued for peace, and the pusillanimity of that wild and dissolute tyrant Caligula the emperor. But Claudius, his successor, in the year 45, being irritated against the Britons by one Bericus, (who was obliged to fly his country for sedition) commanded Aulus Plautius, then prætor of Gaul, to repair to Britain with his army; where being arrived, he overcame Caractacus and Togodumnus, and beat the Britons in divers battles before the coming of the emperor. But Claudius, at his arrival, having joined his army, crossed the river Thames, engaged and routed the Britons, took many prisoners, with Camolodunum, the royal seat of Cynobelin; for which, contrary to the Roman custom, he was divers times saluted emperor by the army: and after a short stay only of sixteen days in Britain, returned to Rome; where his victory was esteemed so great and of such service to the empire, tho' he subdued but a small part of this island, that anniversary games, triumphal arches, and a glorious triumph were decreed him by the senate, with the title of Britannicus to his son. This name, which he had some time before obtained for himself, was deemed as glorious as either those of Germanicus, Africanus, or Asiaticus.

Dion. Cass.
lib. 60.

Plautius, after the departure of Claudius, prosecuted the war with such diligence and success, that he extended his conquests to the western part of the island, for which the emperor granted him an ovation or petty triumph; and meeting him at his entrance into Rome, honoured him with the ceremony of the right hand. During the progress of this war, Vespasian, since emperor, began to be first taken notice of; for he fought thirty-two battles, took twenty towns, and the isle of Wight.

Id. ibid.

Tacit. Ann.
lib. 14. c. 32.
Eutrop. Hist.
lib. 7. c. 19.

To Plautius, Ostorius Scapula succeeded proprætor in Britain, who at his arrival found the Roman affairs in great disorder; for the unconquered Britons broke in upon their neighbours who had either entered into a league, or submitted to the Romans, and ravaged and destroyed their countries. But Ostorius, well knowing that his first action would either encourage or intimidate the foe, vigorously attacked the Britons, and having dispersed them, proceeded to disarm all those he had reason to suspect; and, to prevent incursions, placed
divers

Tacit. Ann.
lib. 12. c. 31.

divers garrisons on the rivers Avon and Severn, and reduced the southern parts of this island into the form of a province.

Tacit. Ann.
lib. 12. c. 31.

These proceedings were so highly resented by the Iceni, (inhabitants of the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon) a powerful nation, not weakened by war, as being in alliance with the Romans, that they prevailed on the neighbouring states to join them, formed an army, encamped on a commodious spot of ground, fortified with a ditch, and expected the coming of the Romans. Ostorius, without waiting the arrival of his legions, attacked them with his auxiliaries, forced their entrenchment, and broke in upon the enemy, who, conscious of their guilt, and animated with despair, performed many notable feats of bravery.

Ibid. c. 32.

The overthrow of the Iceni confirmed those in obedience, who before were wavering; and Ostorius, leading his army against the Cangi, (thought to have inhabited the western parts of Somersetshire) who, not daring to meet him in the field, plundered and destroyed their country, and arriving near St. George's channel, or the Irish sea, was recalled by an insurrection of the Brigantes, whom he soon reduced, and put to death those who occasioned the revolt. But the Silures, (supposed to have inhabited South Wales) whom neither clemency nor severity could prevail on to desist from war, were only to be reduced by force. To facilitate this enterprize, a powerful colony of veterans was settled at Camalodunum, in the new conquests, to prevent insurrections.

Ibid. c. 33,
34, 35, 36.

But the Britons, relying on their courage, and the valour and great abilities of their leader Caractacus, renowned for his numerous exploits, and having overcome many difficulties, had gained such a reputation as to be deemed the best of the British commanders: but, being overmatched in power by the Romans, endeavoured to supply the defect by policy; for marching into the country of the Ordovices, or North Wales, a country by its mountainous and craggy nature almost inaccessible, he strongly fortified his camp, on the tops of steep mountains, with ramparts of large dry stones; and at the feet of the hills, where ran a river dangerous to be forded, he made a breastwork of large rough stones, as an additional security on its bank. As nothing could withstand the Roman power, the Britons, after a vigorous defence, were routed, the wife and daughter of Caractacus taken prisoners; his brethren surrendered at discretion, and himself flying to Cartismunda, queen of the Brigantes, for protection, was cruelly bound, and delivered up to the conqueror, after he had bravely signalized himself in the defence of his country, during a war of nine years.

Ibid. c. 38,
39.

Though for this great service Ostorius had the honour of a triumph decreed him, yet he seems to have been deserted by fortune: whether this was owing to an imaginary security, by the removal of Caractacus, the object of his valour, or to the Britons stimulated with revenge, cannot be ascertained. However, the Silures fell furiously on the legionary cohorts, employed in erecting forts amongst them, cut off the camp-marshal, and eight centurions, with a number of soldiers; and had not speedy relief come from the neighbouring garrisons, they had been all cut in pieces. Soon after, they routed the Roman foragers, and the troops sent to their assistance; and, had not Ostorius opportunely marched the legions to their assistance, probably they would

would have undergone the same fate with the legionary cohorts. But that which irritated the Silures most, was the Roman general's threatening to extinguish their name and nation. Thus animated, they surprized and carried off two auxiliary cohorts, (as they carelessly plundered the country, to satiate the avarice of their officers) and by distributing the spoil and captives amongst the neighbouring nations, drew them into the revolt; and Ostorius, sinking under the weight of his anxieties, expired, to the great joy of the Silures, that so great a commander, though he fell not in battle, yet was worn out by an adverse war.

The emperor, apprized of the death of his lieutenant, appointed Aulus Didius to succeed him; who, on his arrival in Britain, found the publick affairs in a bad situation: for the Silures not only defeated the legion commanded by Manlius Valens, but were daily making incursions, till repulsed by Didius, who gained some other little advantages against Venufius chief of the Brigantes. But Didius being old and infirm, and fitter to direct than execute, used the ministry of others, thinking it sufficient to keep what his predecessors had gained, and, by building certain fortresses, only restrained the foe.

Tacit. Ann.
lib. 12. c. 40.

This was the situation of affairs in Britain at the demise of Claudius the emperor, who being succeeded by Nero, he appointed Veranius to succeed Didius, who dying within the year, had not an opportunity of performing any remarkable action.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol.

To Veranius succeeded Suetonius Paulinus, a person highly celebrated for his valour and conduct, who, during the space of two years, subdued divers nations, erected fortresses for their security, and proceeded to new conquests, particularly the isle of Mona, or Anglesey, where, having beat the Britons, cut down their sacred groves, and easily subdued the island, he built strong holds therein for its security.

Id. ibid.

During these transactions, many of the British states being justly enraged against the Romans for their cruel and grievous oppression, presuming on the great distance of the Roman army, made a general insurrection under the conduct of Boadicia, fell on the Romans in many places, destroyed their cities and colonies, and pursued their advantages with such slaughter and revenge, that seventy thousand Romans, or their auxiliaries, were destroyed by the fury of this revolt. But Paulinus returning with his army, encountered the Britons, consisting of two hundred and thirty thousand men, overthrew them, pursued his victory with the slaughter of about eighty thousand persons, and forced Boadicia to poison herself: here not only ended the liberties of the Cumri, or southern Britons, but even the hopes of ever recovering them again.

Tacit. Ann.
lib. 14. c. 31.

Ziphil. Epit.
Dion. Cass.

Julius Classicianus being sent over by Nero to succeed Catus Decianus as procurator in Britain, on a difference between Suetonius and him, by mean artifices procured the removal of Suetonius; who was succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus, a commander who, as he never offered to molest the enemy, received no insult from them. To this slothful and inactive life he gave the specious name of peace; and without performing any memorable action, surrendered his province to Trebellius Maximus, a man as inactive, and more indolent, than the former; who, as he wanted both experience and conduct,

Tacit. Ann.
lib. 14. c. 38.

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was despised and hated by the army for his avarice and fordidity, and being deserted by them, was forced to fly to Vitellius for protection.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol. c. 16.

The emperor Nero having put an end to his wicked life, the Britons, during the short reigns of Galba and Otho, enjoyed peace and tranquillity, and, instead of a consular lieutenant, were governed by the commanders of the legions; only Célius, who occasioned the disgrace of Trebellius, bore the greatest sway. In the mean time, Vitellius having obtained the empire, sent hither Vectius Bolanus to succeed Trebellius, who being no better qualified for the office than his predecessor, proved as little troublesome to the Britons, as he was careless in reforming the abuses crept into the army. However, being of an obliging temper, he gained the love of his troops, though he wanted the authority of a general.

Ibid. c. 17.

But Vespasian succeeding Vitellius in the empire, then were seen great commanders and noble armies in Britain; for having sent Petilius Cerialis to be governor of this island, he struck a general terror into the enemy, by attacking the formidable community of the Brigantes, whom he overthrew in divers battles, and either ravaged or subdued the greatest part of their country. Cerialis on this occasion gained a reputation likely to eclipse the fame of a successor; yet the courage and conduct of Julius Frontinus, who succeeded him, was such, that he entirely subdued the intrepid and warlike nation of the Silures, in whom he had not only a potent enemy to encounter, but almost insuperable difficulties from the nature and situation of the country.

C H A P. VII.

Agricola's Transactions in Britain.

Ibid.

TO Frontinus, by appointment of the emperor Vespasian, succeeded the celebrated Julius Agricola, a commander of the greatest renown both for valour and conduct; who, at his arrival in this island, entered upon the most memorable expedition that had ever been known in Britain.

But before I proceed, it will be necessary to acquaint the reader, that the accounts given us by Tacitus of the transactions of Agricola in this island, are very confused, which is not to be wondered at, they being only a series of relations which he received from Agricola, who, by the perplexed manner wherein they are set down, seems to have kept no journal of his actions: now as memory is very treacherous, he might easily have forgot the names of places, and thereby mistaken one for another, which I think will soon appear; and Tacitus our author never having been in Britain, he must in those early times have been unacquainted with the geography of our country, therefore could not rectify the mistakes of Agricola.

Ibid. c. 18.

Agricola, at his arrival in Britain, about the year 78, having received the disagreeable news that the Ordovicans (the people of North Wales) had lately cut off a party of Roman cavalry, without loss of time joined his army, and led them against the enemy, who were unwilling to leave their advantageous post by descending into the plain. Agricola, to inspire his men with courage by sharing the same danger with them, marched at their head to the encounter, ascended the hill, and

and almost cut off the whole nation of the said Ordovicans; and soon after, reducing the isle of Anglesey, put his army into winter quarters; and by making certain regulations for its better government, and reforming abuses and grievous impositions on the people, gained the love of his soldiers, and that of the subdued Britons.

Agricola in the second year of his government having taken the field, vigorously prosecuted his conquests, and, not allowing the Britons a moment's repose, reduced a great part of their country, as appears by the several salt-marshes, friths and woods he examined during this campaign. These friths and marshes were undoubtedly the æstuaries of the rivers Dee, Mersey, Wyr, Lon, Docker, Ker, and Esk, in the countries of Cheshire, Lancashire, and Scotland, which I take to be the extent of this year's expedition. And Agricola having learnt, that by the misconduct of his predecessors, the Romans generally lost in winter what they had gained in summer, by not erecting fortresses to awe the inhabitants, to remedy this evil, and prevent the like disasters for the future, he caused forts to be built of such strength and situation, that his troops could safely winter therein, without the least fear of the attacks of their enemies.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol. cap.
20.

The following winter was employed in measures exceedingly advantageous and salutary, by endeavouring to effeminate the people by a state of inaction and repose; and the more effectually to engage them by alluring pleasures, he introduced amongst them the Roman language, learning, customs, habits, baths, feasts, and manner of building, preferring the natural capacity of the Britons to the studied acquirements of the Gauls.

Ibid.

In the third year Agricola, in pursuit of his conquests, discovered nations hitherto unknown, and continued his devastations through the several states to the river or frith of Tay; which so intimidated the Britons, that instead of attacking the enemy, they gave them an opportunity to erect forts to secure both themselves and conquests, wherein they passed the winter without the least apprehension of danger.

Ibid. c. 22;

REMARK. The martial feats of the Romans, during this year, I take to have been transacted in the countries lying between the friths of Solway and Forth; for what we are told by Tacitus of Agricola's marching this year as far as the river Tay, is a very great mistake; for it is manifest that he did not cross Bodotria, or the frith of Forth (which is twenty miles south of the said river Tay) till three years after, or the sixth year of his government: wherefore the mistake must be owing to our author's taking the river Tay for that of Forth, as will in some measure appear in the transactions of the next year, by Agricola's erecting forts on the neck of land between the æstuaries of Glota and Bodotria, or the friths of Clyde and Forth, to secure his conquests on the southern sides of the said æstuaries. And to put it beyond dispute, that the mistake must have happened after this manner, Tacitus adds, that the Romans were masters of all the countries on this (south) side, and the enemy drove as it were into another island, by being cut off from the Roman province by Agricola's prætentura, and the said friths of Clyde and Forth.

The fourth summer Agricola employed in settling and securing his new conquests; and would (says my author) the bravery of the Romans, and the glory of their name, have permitted it, at the æstuaries

Ibid. c. 23.

æstuaries of Glota and Bodotria might have been found a boundary to the empire in Britain: for the two friths, (now denominated Clyde and Forth) arms of opposite seas from the eastward and westward, extend so far into the country, that they are only parted by a narrow neck of land. This Agricola strongly fortified with castles and garrisons; so that the Romans were entirely masters of all the countries south of the same; and thereby shut up their enemies the Caledonians as it were in another island, as aforesaid; whereby it is evident, that the Romans hitherto had not reached the river Tay, as above-mentioned. However, by these great exploits and successes, Agricola not only acquired great fame, but to the emperor Titus also redounded much honour, by his being on this occasion saluted Imperator the fifteenth time; for which he gratefully rewarded Agricola with triumphal honours.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol. c. 24.

Agricola, at the setting out on his fifth expedition, crossed a certain water on board the first ship, to nations hitherto unknown, and after many successful battles, subdued and placed garrisons in that part of Britain regarding Ireland, not for fear of trouble or an invasion from thence, but with a view to the conquest of that island on a proper occasion. For the Caledonians north of Bodotria being all in motion, Agricola judged it much more for the honour and safety of the Romans to subdue that fierce and warlike nation, than to lose time in the mean conquest of a country, which one legion, and a few auxiliaries were sufficient both to conquer and keep in subjection, as is evident by the declaration of an Irish nobleman or chief, who assured the Roman general, that Ireland might be subdued and kept under by so small a force.

Milton's Hist.
Engl. b. 2. p.
86.
Each. Hist.
Engl. b. 1.
Tyrrel's Hist.
Engl. vol. 1.
b. 2.
Rapin's Hist.
Engl. b. 1.

REMARK. By this ambiguous account given us by Tacitus of Agricola's fifth year's expedition, the English historians, as well as our own, are quite confounded; for not having duely considered our author's relation concerning this year's campaign, they have wildly imagined, that Agricola in this year subdued the Orkneys, and other northern islands. Others are of opinion, that he crossed the Bodotrian æstuary, and overcame divers nations north of it. These mistakes are undoubtedly owing to Tacitus's telling us, that the Romans were masters of all the countries south of Agricola's frontier garrisons in the neighbourhood of Glota and Bodotria. But that they were not, is evident; for Agricola, willing to secure all behind him, before he made an attempt on Caledonia, instead of sailing to the Orkneys, or crossing Bodotria, 'tis plain, march'd his army to the south west, and crossing the æstuary of Glota, or frith of Clyde, landed in Galloway, subdued the country, and raised forts in divers other parts of it, as well as in those opposite to, and in sight of Ireland. And that this is the country by Tacitus said to have had garrisons placed in it over-against Ireland, is demonstrable at this time; for neither in the country of Kintyre, (which is likewise within view of Ireland) in the shire of Argyll, nor in any other country in the western parts of Scotland near the sea, is there the least appearance of a Roman work, that I could learn, after the strictest search, and most careful inquiry; nor indeed can there be, for, by a tradition amongst the people, the Romans never were in their country.

Thus again we learn, that Tacitus was unacquainted with the geography of our country; which is not to be admired at, considering he never

never was in Britain, by his telling us, that the Romans were in possession of all the countries on the southern sides of Glota and Bodotria; whereas that the frith passed by Agricola in this year's expedition could be no other than that of Glota or Clyde, is plain, by his having erected in the country wherein he landed divers fortresses in view of Ireland, as aforesaid.

C H A P. VII.

Agricola advances towards Bodotria, crosses the æstuary, marches to the Grampian mountains, fights and beats Galgacus, and returns into the country of the Horestians.

THE Roman conquests being so far advanced in Britain, they were only parted from the Caledonian territories by the æstuary of Bodotria, or frith of Forth. This occasioned great uneasiness to the Caledonians, who were justly apprehensive of their designs against them; as they also were of the fatal consequences that would attend their disunion at this perilous juncture: for the country, consisting of a number of states, or petty republicks, (like those of Gaul, Germany, and Spain, before they were subdued by the Romans) seldom joined in the common defence; for as 'twas rare to find two or three of the said states unite to withstand a publick danger or invasion, so, whilst they fought separately, they became an easy prey to their powerful enemies: wherefore, according to my author Tacitus, nothing contributed so much to the conquest of such mighty nations, as their not acting in a body for the security of the whole.

This dangerous disunion being taken into consideration by the Caledonians, they resolved that nothing could so effectually prevent their destruction, at this time of imminent danger, as an union of all the states; to which end it was, by a general confederacy of the several republicks, agreed to send their respective troops into the field, to act in conjunction for the defence of the whole. Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 29.

Agricola, for the better accomplishing his design of subduing the Caledonians, fitted out a powerful fleet, to attack them by sea as well as at land; and, every thing being ready for the expedition, began the operations of his sixth campaign, by ordering his fleet to explore and view the maritime communities, with their respective harbours, beyond or on the northern side of Bodotria: and with his army crossing the frith, about the same time entered Caledonia, where he erected divers fortresses for the security of his troops. Nay, the same camp often contained the foot, horse, and marine forces, where, being merry, the military would recount their several exploits and adventures. Here were displayed the horrors of steep mountains, and dismal forests; there the outrages of waves and tempests: these boasted their feats against the enemy by land, those theirs over the vanquished ocean, endeavouring to outvie one another, according to the usual vaunts of soldiers and mariners. Ibid. c. 25.

This naval armament is said to have struck the Caledonians with great terror and dismay, though probably not so great as reported; for, instead of saving themselves by flight, which is the effect of fear, they boldly assembled their forces, and, marching against the Romans, Id. ibid.

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bravely assailed their forts; which occasioned such a dread and confusion in Agricola's army, that many endeavoured to persuade him to recross Bodotria, rather than be reproachfully compelled thereto by the enemy. In the interim, Agricola having learnt that the Caledonians intended to attack him in divers places at the same time, he divided his army into three bodies, and marched to prevent their design; which the enemy receiving advice of, reunited their troops, and with their whole power attacked the ninth legion in their intrenchments, with such intrepidity that they broke into their camp with great slaughter: but Agricola, having luckily received previous notice of their march, with the utmost expedition hastened to the relief of his troops; and causing the lightest of his men, both foot and horse, to charge the Caledonians in the rear, and the army giving a mighty shout, the ninth legion, perceiving there was help at hand, bravely maintained the fight, and, being inspired with fresh courage, returned the charge on the Caledonians. Now a bloody encounter ensued in the very gates of the camp: here death rode triumphant; for the Romans, fighting like men in despair, discomfited our men, insomuch, according to our author, that had not the woods and marshes favoured their retreat, this victory, in all probability, had put an end to the war.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol.

Now as Agricola crossed the Bodotrian æstuary, or frith of Forth, and entered the country of Caledonia, in the beginning of his sixth year's expedition, the camps or stations at Ardoch, Innerpeffery, and Dalgen-Ross in Strathern, from their vicinity to the said æstuary, must have been the work of that year; as probably was the station at Bertha on the southern bank of the river Tay, which I take to be the utmost extent of the Roman conquests in Caledonia in the said year.

In the beginning of the seventh year's expedition, I imagine, Agricola crossed the river Tay or Ta, (that is, the hot water, so denominated in the Gaelick or Highland language, from its source the loch Ta, and, from its warmth, its water is said never to freeze) and entered the country of Horestia. The numerous fortresses therein, as likewise those in the country of Merns, I take to be the work of this year; and the camp attacked by the Caledonians at this time, I suppose, from Tacitus's description of its neighbourhood, to be either that at Forfar or Caerbody in the county of Angus, where, after the defeat of the Caledonians, their retreat was favoured by the neighbouring woods and marshes.

Ibid. c. 27.

The Romans, flushed with this success, recovered their courage; and those who just before were for repassing the Bodotrian æstuary, now, in conjunction with the rest of the army, cried out, that to their bravery nothing was insurmountable, they must penetrate into the heart of Caledonia, and, by a continued series of battles, force their way to the utmost bounds of Britain. Tacitus, on this occasion, justly observes, that such is the hard fate of war, that in success all men claim a share, whilst disasters are all imputed to the general.

The Caledonians, imputing this success not to a superior courage in the Romans, but to the good address and conduct of their general, were not in the least dismayed; but, making preparations for the following campaign, armed their youth, conveyed their women and children into places of safety, and, in conventions of the several communities or states, engaged in a league, which they ratified by solemn sacrifices, and retired for the winter with minds greatly irritated.

Our Caledonian ancestors, having resolved either to avenge themselves on the Romans, or suffer bondage, as their last effort, drew together the forces of their several communities, to the amount of thirty thousand men, besides a number of youth, and vigorous old men, formerly inured to war, who still retained the scars and badges of their bravery. But of all the leaders of the troops of the several communities, Galgacus, for his family, valour, and experience, was the most eminent: him the several states chose to be general of the confederate army, who, putting himself at its head, took the field, and marched to the Grampian mountains, to decide the fate of Caledonia.

Agricola, on his part, was not wanting, in this eighth year of his expedition, to put his army and fleet in the best condition: the former he considerably augmented with some of the bravest provincial Britons, who, through a long course of years, had been proved by the Romans, and were therefore to be confided in. The season for action being come, Agricola with his army marched to the Grampian hill, on which the Caledonians were already incamped; and the time for an engagement approaching, Galgacus ranged his men in order of battle as follows. The army, for the greater show, was drawn up on the side of a hill, in such manner that the first line stood on the plain, and the rest rose gradually one above another; the cavalry and chariots occupied the interjacent fields: and Galgacus, the general, to encourage his men, is said to have made the following incomparable speech.

“ When I consider the causes of this war, and the necessity we are reduced to, great are my hopes, that this day, and our union, will prove the beginning of an endless liberty to Britain. For, besides bondage, which we never have born, we are so situated, that beyond us there is no land; nor, in truth, are we secured by the sea, whilst the Roman fleet is hovering on our coasts. Thus the expedient which proves honourable to brave men, is likewise to cowards the safest of all others, to have present recourse to arms. The southern Britons, in their conflicts with the Romans, with various success, had still a remaining source of hope and succour from our nation: for of all the Britons we are the noblest, and, being placed in the interior regions of Britain, have not even so much as beheld the lands of such as are slaves: thus our eyes remain free and unprofaned by the sight of usurpation and lawless dominion.

“ To us, who are the utmost inhabitants of the earth, and the last who enjoy liberty, our situation, in this remote corner and extremity of the globe, has hitherto proved our protection and defence; but the boundary of Britain being now discovered, to subdue parts unknown is deemed great and glorious. Beyond us are no people to be found, or aught but seas and rocks; and against the pride of the enemy, who is already in the heart of our country, it were in vain to seek a remedy by an humble and obsequious deportment. These plunderers and robbers of mankind, in their general devastations, when countries fail, rob the sea. If an enemy be rich, he inflames their avarice; if poor, their ambition: so that neither the eastern nor western world can satiate their boundless covetousness. They, of all men, thirst the most after the possessions and goods of others, and make both wealth and poverty their prey: to butcher,

“ spoil,

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol. c. 29.

Ibid. c. 30.

“ spoil, and commit all manner of violence, they falsely stile govern-
 “ ment; and in a general desolation, they wickedly call it peace!

“ Our children and relations, who, by nature, are of all things the
 “ dearest to us, are forced to serve in their armies, and doomed to sla-
 “ very in foreign parts; and though our wives and sisters are not
 “ ravished as by enemies, yet they are debauched under the pretence
 “ of friendship and hospitality. Our estates are exhausted for tribute,
 “ our corn for their provisions, and our bodies and limbs worn out by
 “ cutting down woods, draining bogs, stripes and outrages. They
 “ that are born slaves are sold but once, and then nourished at the
 “ expence of their lords; but Britain is daily buying and maintaining
 “ its own servitude: and as amongst domestick slaves the last comer
 “ becomes the sport of his fellows, so, in this state of slavery the
 “ world is reduced to, we, as the last discovered, are held the most
 “ contemptible, and destined for destruction; for we have no fields
 “ to cultivate, mines to dig, or ports to make, whereby they might
 “ be tempted to spare our lives: and as magnanimity and a daring
 “ spirit in subjects is very distasteful to their lords, our situation, so
 “ solitary and remote, the more security it affords to us, the greater
 “ jealousy it creates in them. Now, having lost all hopes of mercy,
 “ let us, like men, who above all things love liberty and glory, rouse
 “ all our courage, and encounter the foe.

“ The Brigantes, even under the leading of a woman, burnt their
 “ colony, took their forts, and, had not success degenerated into sloth,
 “ might have broke the yoke of slavery. Let us then, who still pre-
 “ serve our power, remain unsubdued, born to be free, and not vas-
 “ sals to proud Rome; let us shew them, at our first meeting, what
 “ kind of men Caledonia has reserved for her defence ’till last.

“ Do you believe the Romans to be as brave in war, as they are
 “ vicious and dissolute in time of peace? No; for from our quarrels
 “ and intestine divisions they derive their renown, and convert the
 “ faults of their enemies to the glory of their own army, which, being
 “ composed of different nations, is upheld by success: for misfortunes
 “ and disasters will surely dissolve it, unless you suppose, that the Ger-
 “ mans and Gauls amongst them, and many of the Britons, (whom
 “ I am ashamed to mention) who have been much longer their ene-
 “ mies than their slaves, are in their interest by real affection, and by
 “ their blood establish an unnatural usurpation. This is not to be
 “ imagined; for they are only restrained by the feeble bands of awe
 “ and terror, which when removed, they will straight begin to hate
 “ those they cease to dread. But amongst us is found whatever can
 “ stimulate men to victory. The Romans have no wives to raise
 “ their courage, nor parents to upbraid their flight: they have no coun-
 “ try to defend, or ’tis at least elsewhere: they being few in number,
 “ and ignorant of our climate, are struck with dread, whilst all around
 “ them appears wild and strange, even the earth, air, and sky, with
 “ the woods and sea; so that the gods have in a manner delivered
 “ them, inclosed and bound, into our hands.

“ Be not discouraged at bare appearances, or a glare of silver and
 “ gold: this is what neither can hurt nor save. In the host of our ene-
 “ my we shall find bands of our own: the Britons will surely remem-
 “ ber their country’s cause; the Gauls cannot forget their former
 “ liberty; and the Germans, like the Usipians, will abandon the
 “ Romans:

“ Romans: then nothing remains to be feared. Their garrisons are
 “ drained, their colonies filled with aged and infirm men; and be-
 “ tween the people and their magistrates, whilst the former are
 “ averse to obedience, and the latter rule with injustice, their cities
 “ are weakened and full of dissensions. Here you see the general
 “ and the army, there tributes and mines, with all the train of dire-
 “ ful calamities and curses attending slaves; which you must suffer, or
 “ avenge yourselves for the attempt, as this day must determine.
 “ Therefore, as you advance to battle, remember your ancestors, and
 “ think on your posterity.”

This speech being delivered in a very emphatical manner, it was joyfully received by the army, with songs, many dissonant shouts, and confused acclamations, according to the custom of the country, and they expressed great eagerness to engage the enemy.

Though Agricola saw his soldiers very chearful, and hardly to be restrained from entering on action, yet he judged it proper to remind them of the numerous battles fought, and victories obtained by them over the Britons, in the following speech.

“ It is now the eighth year, my fellow soldiers, since, by the virtue
 “ and auspicious fortune of the Roman empire, and your faithful ser- Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol. c. 33.
 “ vices, that the conquest of Britain has been prosecuted; and in the
 “ numerous expeditions you have been engaged in, and battles fought,
 “ have bravely exerted yourselves against the foe, and have patiently
 “ undergone the obstacles of opposing nature. Nor during those
 “ mighty struggles have we had cause to lament, I in having you
 “ for my soldiers, or you to have followed me as your commander.
 “ We have passed the ancient boundaries; I, those known to former
 “ governors; you, those of preceding armies. And we have not
 “ only discovered and subdued, but we possess the extremity of Bri-
 “ tain, not by fame or common report, but with our camps and
 “ arms.

“ During our march and fatigues in passing mountains, bogs, and rivers,
 “ I have often heard the brave cry out, When shall we see the enemy?
 “ when be led to battle? They now appear, roused from fastnesses and
 “ lurking holes. Here you see the end of your wishes, and scope for
 “ all your valour: all things promising and propitious, should we
 “ conquer; but cross and disastrous, should we be overcome. For as
 “ to have marched over a country so great, passed through gloomy
 “ deserts, and crossed many seas, is matter of glory and applause,
 “ whilst we advance against the enemy; so, if we fly, whatever is
 “ favourable at present will prove dangerous and hurtful to us. We
 “ know not the country so well as they, nor have provisions in such
 “ plenty; but we have hands and arms, and in them all things. I am
 “ satisfied, that in flight there is no safety, either to the general or
 “ the army; wherefore an honourable death is preferable to a base
 “ and ignoble life: for security and renown arise both from the same
 “ source, nor can it be inglorious to fall in the utmost boundaries of
 “ earth and nature.

“ Were the people in array against you new and untried, I would ani-
 “ mate you by the examples of other armies: but reflect on your own
 “ numerous exploits, and consult your eyes; these are they whom the
 “ last year you discomfited, only by the terror of your shoutings,
 “ when, under the cover of night, they attacked a single legion.
 “ These,

“ These, of all the Britons, are the most abandoned to fear and
 “ flight, which occasions their now surviving the rest. We are like
 “ those who attack forests, and by force expel the mighty monsters
 “ of the wood; for the timorous fly at the cry of the hunters. So
 “ the boldest and bravest Britons being long since fallen by the sword,
 “ they that remain are a crowd fearful and effeminate; nor ought
 “ you to consider them as men resolved to fight, but such whom you
 “ have surprised, as the last and forsaken of all, who, struck with
 “ fear, and bereft of spirit, stand amazed before you; over whom you
 “ may obtain a glorious and signal victory. Put an end to your
 “ labours, and let this day close the mighty struggle of fifty years; so
 “ that to the army may not be imputed either the continuance of the
 “ war, or cause for reviving it.”

Tacit. in Vit.
 Agricol. c. 36.
 A description
 of the battle
 of the Gram-
 pian moun-
 tains.

Thus prepared, the battle began at a distance with showers of darts: the Caledonians, who were possessed both of bravery and skill, and armed with huge swords and small shields or targets, eluded or put by those of the Romans, whilst of their own they poured in a torrent upon them. This disadvantage being observed by Agricola, he commanded three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts to engage them with their sharp-pointed bucklers in a close fight, a method of fighting our men were unacquainted with; for their pointless swords of an enormous size, with small targets, were rather offensive than defensive, therefore unfit for grappling, or a close encounter, which gave their enemies a great advantage over them; who, pushing with the bosses of their shields, so mangled the faces of the Caledonians, that they retired with great precipitation. This advantage being seconded with emulation by the other cohorts, they furiously bore all down before them, with such impetuosity, that many were left on the spot but half dead, and others not so much as wounded.

In the mean time the Caledonian cavalry fled; and the chariots breaking in upon the foot, they, who so lately were a terror to others, were now distressed themselves, being penned up by their close ranks, as well as by the unevenness of the ground. Of a horse-fight this had not the least appearance; for, pressing breast to breast, they endeavoured, by the weight of their horses, to bear down each other. Now were to be seen chariots without drivers, and horses affrighted, without riders, overturning all that came in their way.

Ibid. c. 37.

The Caledonian infantry on the tops of the hills, who had not yet engaged, despising the small number of the Romans, began to descend the hill to attack them in the rear; which Agricola being aware of, dispatched four squadrons of horse, (reserved for sudden exigencies) who drove them back, and soon routed them; and some squadrons of horse, who charged in front, wheeling about, flanked the troops on the plain. Now was to be seen a melancholy and tragical scene; incessant pursuits, wounds, and captivity; the present captives slaughtered, when others were taken; whilst many, unarmed, ran desperately on their enemies swords. Others in arms, betaking themselves to flight, left the field bestrewed with heaps of arms, carcases, mangled limbs, and blood. Many expiring persons still retained their courage and fierceness, and the vanquished frequently distinguished their bravery by acts of revenge. The dispersed Caledonians, having rallied and joined in the neighbourhood of certain woods, cut off many of their pursuers; and had not Agricola assiduously provided for the security of
 the

the rest, they would undoubtedly have received a notable overthrow. Night and fatigue having put an end to the pursuit, the Romans greatly rejoiced in their victory.

But the unfortunate Caledonians, both men and women, wandering in a desolate and deplorable manner, spent the night in calling their friends, carrying off their wounded, burning their houses out of despair, and shifting from one corner to another: sometimes consulting together, they conceived some hopes; then again were broken with pity and compassion, and often almost distracted at the sight of their wives and children, several of whom they dispatched with their own swords, to prevent their falling by those of the enemy. In this battle ten thousand Caledonians are said to have been slain, and only three hundred and forty Romans.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agric. c. 38.

The life of Agricola, wherein is contained the above account of the battle of the Grampian mountains, being written by Tacitus his son-in-law, it seems rather to be an eulogy on that great general, than a plain narration of his actions; and as I am of opinion, that there is something omitted in the said account, I shall presume to make the following remarks thereon.

1. We are told, that the Caledonian army consisted of thirty thousand men, besides a number of old and young men from all quarters; and that the Roman army was composed of legions, (without mentioning their number) eight thousand auxiliary foot, and three thousand horse. Now as our author writes in the plural, legions, there must have been at least two, though I think they may reasonably be presumed to have been more, especially if we consider that Cæsar, when he invaded Britain, had no less than five legions, besides cavalry, and that there were at least three legions employed, besides auxiliaries, in erecting the Roman wall called Graham's dike. But, lest I should exceed the real number, I shall reckon that Agricola had only two legions in his army. Now, as a legion consisted of six thousand men, the Roman army must have amounted to twenty-three thousand at least: therefore Tacitus had little reason to complain of the great superiority of the Caledonian army, which Agricola seems to have been so much afraid of being surrounded by, more especially if we consider that the Romans were all veterans, and the best disciplined troops on earth; whereas the Caledonians were only raw new-raised men, who knew little of war in respect to the Romans, whose only business and trade it was.

2. That Agricola, willing to obtain a victory over the Caledonians, without the effusion of Roman blood, placed the legions for safety in the rear of his army; and for fear of having it flanked by the enemy, extended its front answerable to that of the Caledonians, by thinning the lines to such a degree, that many were apprehensive of the bad consequences that might attend it, insomuch that they (undoubtedly the officers of his army) applied to Agricola to change his disposition, but to no purpose. This very ungeneral-like action of Agricola's, seems much to lessen the great character given him by Tacitus; for were a general at this time guilty of such dangerous practices, he would justly be deemed unworthy of so great a trust thereafter. Besides, such partiality as this was sufficient to have raised a mutiny amongst the auxiliaries, to find themselves made dupes, and as it were slaves to the legions, which might have ended

in

Tacit. in Vit.
Agric. c. 27.

in the destruction of the whole army; and if we consider the dangerous and desperate battle that Agricola and his whole army were engaged in some time before against the Caledonians, in defence of the ninth legion, which, according to Tacitus, was gained with great difficulty, and amazing bravery and renown, by the Romans, 'tis not to be presumed that Agricola would have ventured to fight on such unequal terms, an enemy so desperate, who, nothing daunted, and besides animated with the good issue of the former battle, were now, and with a much more powerful army, resolved either to take vengeance on the Romans, or suffer perpetual bondage.

3. Galgacus, the Caledonian general, is brought in guilty of the like indiscretion and mismanagement as Agricola, whether with a view to justify the Roman general, by making them equally culpable, I know not: but I think it cannot be reasonably supposed, that Galgacus, or any prudent general, could patiently look on, and see his cavalry and chariots, the best of his troops, cut in pieces, without marching to their assistance before it was too late, as by Tacitus it appears it was, before he descended the hill to their relief.

Upon the whole, it looks as if something was concealed, that did not suit with Agricola's honour; for, after this great victory, which he is said to have obtained over the Caledonians, 'tis amazing we are not told that he erected forts and garrisons to keep that fierce people in subjection: but, instead of that, he left the Caledonians to shift for themselves, and by slow marches, to intimidate the people, led back his army into the country of the Horestians, or county of Angus, and having there put it into winter quarters, ordered the admiral of his fleet to sail round Britain, in which voyage he is said to have discovered and subdued the isles of Orkney.

C H A P. VIII.

Etymology of Caledonii. Commotions in Britain. Adrian comes in person; his wall. Caledonians burst through. Are restrained by Lollius Urbicus, who builds a wall between the friths. The author projects a canal there. Farther disturbances under the emperor Aurelius Antoninus, repressed by Calphurnius. Break out more violent under Commodus. Quelled by Ulpius Marcellus; who is no sooner recalled, than the Romans begin a mutiny, destroy Perennius, and almost kill Pertinax, who quashes it. Succeeded by Claudius Albinus, who is removed by Commodus, and reinstated by Pertinax when chosen emperor.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol. c. 25.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 2.

THE first time I find the Gael mentioned in Britain is by Tacitus, under the appellation of Caledonii, the etymology whereof has employed the pens of many learned and ingenious men. Buchanan derives it from *calden*, a hasel-tree; whence he thinks, that the town of Duncalden, or Dunkel, that is, Hasel-hill-town, had its name, as well as the Caledonian forest, and the Deucaledonian ocean.

Toland. Hist.
Druid.

This etymology of Duncalden, or Hasel-hill-town, I cannot give into, as, instead of that appellation, it ought to have been called Church-hill-town; for wherever we find *kill*, or *kell*, part of a compound, 'tis generally understood to signify the cell of some saint, such as Kill-christ, Kill-patrick, &c. But a modern writer has of late made

made it appear, that in place of *kill*, or *kell*, it ought to be written *kele*, that is, dedicated or devoted; therefore Kele-christ imports Christ's church, and not improperly Christ's cell; and the same of others dedicated to saints. But that such an ugly craggy rock as that of Duncalden, or Dunkell, should give name to so large a country, is scarce probable, were the etymology thereof from Hasel-hill agreed to by our modern antiquaries, as it is not. However, from our author's calling this place the Caledonian town, a late duke of Athol, the proprietor of it, is said to have enjoined his tenants, the inhabitants, to call it by the name of Caledonia in all their writings.

The Caledonii of Tacitus being by Ammianus Marcellinus converted into Dicaledonii, an eminent antiquary is of opinion, they were so denominated from their western situation; for Dehen Caledonii, he says, implies the Caledonians living on the right hand, that is, to the westward; as their neighbours from their eastern situation were called Victuriones, derived, as he imagines, from Chwithec, which signifies as much in the Welsh tongue. This is opposed by a certain Welsh prelate, who says, that these words, by a British derivation, imply the southern Caledonians, and the northern men or Picts: the word Caledones he fetcheth from the Welsh Cilyddion, that is, borderers.

Marcel. Hist.
lib. 27.
Camd. Brit.
in cap. Pict.

Lloyd Hist.
Ch. Brit. p. 6.

This I think does not answer what it was brought for; for the bishop should have told us, to whom the Caledonians were borderers; to the Romans they could not, for at Agricola's arrival in Britain, they were advanced no farther than the Brigantes in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and to the Silures in South Wales; and as he says they were Britons, they could not be borderers to themselves.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol. cap.
17, 18.

Other writers are of opinion, that Dicaledones ought to be read Duncaledones, that is, inhabitants of the hills or mountains; and that the appellation of Victuriones is derived from Veach-dour; the former part implying painted, and the latter, water, that is, the Painted, or Picts, inhabiting the maritime lower parts of the country, in contradistinction to the Duncaledones, or Highlanders.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 2.

Maul. Antiq.
Gent. Scot.

To the above conjectures I shall add one of my own, which is, that as the Scottish Highlanders, who are undoubtedly descended from the Caledonians, (as I shall hereafter demonstrate) call themselves Gael, which anciently was the appellation of all the inhabitants of the northern parts of this island, at present called Scotland, I am therefore of opinion, that the said Gael, to distinguish betwixt the people in the higher and lower parts of the country, called the former Gael-Duni, for dun in the Celtick or ancient Gaelick language, signifies a hill, and duni the plural; which being by the Romans softened to Caledonii, I take it to be the true and genuine origin of the word Caledonii, or Caledonians, that is, the highland Gauls, or Gael, who inhabit the mountainous parts of the country.

Though we are in the dark with respect to the Roman transactions Britain from the lieutenancy of Agricola, to the reign of Adrian; yet from Spartian may be gathered, that there were great disturbances in Britain in the reign of Trajan. Surely they must have been very great, when his successor Adrian came over in person to reduce the revolted. Yet he seems to have had but indifferent success; for as the prætentura of strong fortresses along the neck of land between the æstuaries of Glota and Bodotria, erected by

Spart. in Vit.
Adr. August.
Script. p. 22.

T

Agricola,

Agricola, and garrisoned with the best of his troops, to prevent incursions from Caledonia, seems to have been taken, and the Caledonians to have penetrated far into the Roman province, Adrian found himself obliged to deliver up to the enemy all that large country lying between Agricola's frontier and the rivers Tyne and Eden in England, (containing at present no less than fourteen counties or shires) as is manifest, by his erecting a strong wall or barrier across the island in those parts.

Adrian's wall.
An account of
it, and his
transactions in
Britain.
Spart. in Vit.
Adr. Hist.
Aug. Script.
P. 51.

This wall, the first erected in Britain, to separate the Romans from the ancient Britons or Caledonians, and to secure the provincials from their incursions, was built by Adrian the emperor, about the year 127, of the length of eighty miles, as mentioned by Spartian.

Various are the opinions of writers concerning the situation of this fence, but none I think so wild and ridiculous as that of Sir Robert Sibbald, who makes a ditch in the county of East Lothian in Scotland, which extends from Tynningham to Musselburgh, (about eight miles in length) called the Long Syke, to be the wall of Adrian; which is so weak and trifling as to deserve no other remark.

The vestigia of this wall being discovered by two late surveys, it appears to have run from east to west through the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, in the northern parts of England, nearly parallel to the great stone Roman wall in its neighbourhood said to have been built by Severus.

Horfl. Britan.
Roman. p.
117.

This fence appears to have consisted of three earthen ramparts and a ditch, in a position different from the other Roman walls in this island; for the northern rampart is without the ditch, which occasioned a late writer to take it for a military way belonging to the ancient prætentura of stations, and since to the fortresses on the wall. Of this opinion I cannot be, for that were arraigning the Roman sagacity, to make them erect a way of communication, without their prætentura, in an enemy's country, whereby they would have been exposed to the incessant insults and attacks of their watchful foes.

Mackenzie's
Defence Roy.
Line, p. 83.

Spartian has given us some verses that passed between Adrian and one Florus a poet, whom Salmasius takes to have been the historian of that name; as those verses regard the hardships the emperor underwent when in this island, and are by some thought to relate to Scotland, please to take them as follows:

Spart. in Vit.
Adr. Hist.
Aug. Script.
P. 73.

Ego nolo Cæsar esse, ambulare per Britannos, Scythicas pati pruinas.

That is,

I would not be Cæsar, to travel through the Scythian hoar-frosts in Britain.

Gord. Itiner.
Septent. p.
48.

To make the poet speak of Scotland, Scythicas is read Scoticas; and to shew that Scotland is there meant, 'tis said, that Adrian never was in Scythia. This assertion will hardly do, for I take Scythicas to be an allusion to the colder climate of Scythia; and as to the negative of the emperor's never having been in Scythia, that will be difficult to prove, since divers historians expressly assert his having travelled through all the empire, visiting the several provinces and cities, repairing the fortifications, and taking cognizance of all that related to the army, &c. wherefore I think his having been in Scythia cannot be reasonably controverted. Add to this, that the appellative Scot

Xiphil. in Vit.
Adr. lib. 70.

was

was not then given to the Caledonians, as I shall in a proper place endeavour to make appear; and shall here only observe, that Adrian ill deserved the title of restorer of Britain, since he gave up so great a part of the province to the Caledonians. But this is not to be wondered at, if we consider how servile the senate of Rome was to their emperors, in granting them triumphs, coins, &c. when they had done nothing to deserve them: the cruel and wicked tyrants Caligula, Domitian, &c. are too evident proofs of this.

Eutrop in
Vit. Adr.
lib 8.

Though the wall of Adrian above specified appears to have been very strong, yet it proved insufficient to secure the province from the incursions of the Caledonians, who not only broke through it, but extended their ravages a considerable way beyond it. To suppress which, Antoninus Pius, the new emperor, appointed Lollius Urbicus his lieutenant in Britain, who, by his great care and pains, not only expelled the enemy the province, but drove them back to Agricola's prætentura, or ancient boundary, between the friths of Forth and Clyde, where he erected a strong earthen wall or rampart, with a broad and deep ditch, whereby were conjoined the several castles erected by Agricola, who made it a formidable barrier, the vestigia whereof are still to be seen almost the whole length of its course, as will appear by a particular description thereof hereafter. For this great success, emperor had the title of Britannicus conferred on him by the senate.

Capitol. in
Vit. Anton.
Pii, p. 132.
Aug. Script.

Antoninus
Pius's wall.

REMARK. By the appearance of the country in the neighbourhood of the last mentioned wall, it looks as if nature had designed a great work in this place; for by a vale's running between the rivers Forth and Clyde about the space of twenty miles, a communication might easily be made betwixt the eastern and western seas, by an artificial canal at a small expence, since nature has plentifully provided the chief materials required for such an undertaking: for all along where the said canal might run, are both free and lime-stones in great abundance, with coals to burn the latter. So it may reasonably be presumed, that a work of this kind might be erected in this place, for a quarter of the expence it would cost in any other part of Britain. Such a work would prove of great advantage to the trade of this nation; for in case of a war with France, ships of considerable burden might be brought through this canal to and from the Deucaledonian and German oceans, without being obliged to pass the British channel, in the very mouths of our enemies. But to return to our history.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, called the philosopher, having, about the year 161, succeeded Antoninus Pius in the empire, the Caledonians, impatient of a foreign yoke, raised great commotions in Britain; for the quelling of which, Calphurnius Agricola was sent over lieutenant, who, having repressed the insurrection, restored peace to the province. By this incursion it is manifest, that the Caledonians broke through the new wall erected by Lollius Urbicus, though the Roman writers are silent in that respect.

Capitol. in
Vit. M. Au-
rel. Aug.
Script. p. 169.

On the demise of Marcus Aurelius, he was succeeded by his son Commodus Antoninus, anno 180, in whose reign a dangerous war broke out in Britain; for the Caledonians, who neither by rewards nor punishments were to be kept in subjection, furiously forced a passage through the wall, and falling into the province, cut in pieces the Roman army with its general, ravaging the country far and near; and had not Ulpius Marcellus, the new lieutenant, by his prudent management

A new war
broke out in
Britain.

Xiphil in Vit.
Commodi.

ment put a stop to their proceedings, the whole province had been in danger of being lost. Marcellus having observed that this irruption was owing to the want of discipline in his army, began to restore the same, which he happily accomplished, to the peace and safety of the province. However, his great and eminent services were not sufficient to secure him from the perfidious practices of Commodus, who, being an enemy to virtue and merit, designed to have murdered him, but, fearing the consequence, only deprived him of his office.

Id. ibid.

Capitol. in
Vit. Pertin.
Aug. Script.
p. 301.

Ibid. p. 402.

Id. ibid.

Lamprid. in
Vit. Com-
modi.

Marcellus no sooner left Britain, than the army began to mutiny, and disown Commodus for their emperor. This disorder his favourite Perennius undertook to redress, by threats, removing officers, and putting in their places persons of inferior rank, which brought the whole storm on himself; for the soldiers accusing him of treason, gained so much credit as to procure his death. This dangerous sedition was quelled by Pertinax at the hazard of his life, being almost killed in a mutiny of one of the legions, and left for dead amongst the slain, for having introduced a severe discipline in the army, which occasioned him to apply for his discharge, which he having obtained, was soon after appointed proconsul of Africa, and some time after emperor. On the removal of Pertinax, Commodus conferred, it seems, the government of Britain on Claudius Albinus, who might have been honoured with the additional title of Cæsar, but declined it. Sometime after, on a false report of the emperor's death, Albinus declaring for the senatorian, against the imperial government, was discharged, and Junius Severus substituted in his stead. But Commodus, the most abandoned of men, who had lived for the mischief of his subjects and his own shame, being slain, Helvius Pertinax was chosen emperor, about the year 192, who restored Albinus to his office in Britain. But the reigns of Pertinax, and that of his successor Julian, being but short, nothing appears to have been done in Britain during the same.

C H A P. IX.

The Romans bid an eternal adieu to Britain. The answer of a Caledonian lady to the empress Julia.

Spartian. in
Vit. Severi.

SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, who in the year 193 was declared emperor by his army in Pannonia, having defeated Niger and Albinus his competitors, and his election being confirmed by the senate, began to think Britain a province too great and powerful to be trusted in the hands of one man, and therefore divided it into two governments; the southmost he committed to Heraclitus, and the northern to Virius Lupus, as proprætor or lieutenant, whom Ulpian calls president of Britain. But the northern Britons having committed great ravages in the province, and Lupus, unable to restrain their incursions without fresh supplies, (which could not be granted, since the emperor was deeply engaged in a war elsewhere) was obliged to purchase a truce of the enemy at a very high rate. But the Caledonians renewing their depredations soon after, Lupus wrote to Severus, that the devastations committed by the enemy were so great, that he must either send him a strong reinforcement to make head against them, or come over himself to subdue them, for both the legions and

Herod. in
Vit. Sever.

and province were in great danger. This gave great uneasiness to one of the most enterprising men that ever governed the empire, and to which he had made his way at the expence of two formidable competitors, supported with powerful Roman armies.

That the empire might not be diminished during his reign, by the loss of a country of so great importance, Severus resolved to come over in person, though far advanced in years, and much afflicted with the gout; and to prevent irregularities in his sons, brought them along with them, and landing in Britain with a great army, designed to make an entire conquest of the northern parts of the island. To which end, having left Geta his youngest son to govern the Roman province, or southern part of Britain, accompanied by Caracalla his eldest son, he marched to attack the enemy. Herod. in Vit. Sever.

The Caledonians receiving advice of the emperor's approach with a vast army, and dreading his power, by their ambassadors offered to accommodate matters to his honour: but the old hero, having a strong desire to add to his other titles the glorious epithet of Britannicus, detained the ambassadors in hope, till all things were ready to begin the operations of war, then rejected their proposals, and dismissing them, continued his march; in which, by cutting down woods, erecting bridges, draining bogs, and continual ambuscades of the enemy, he lost no less than fifty thousand men. The Caledonians not judging it proper to engage in a pitched battle in the open field with this intrepid hero, attended with so numerous an army of veterans, took all advantages to distress him and his army. The aged and valetudinary emperor encountered those miseries and difficulties with a noble bravery, and prosecuted his attempts with such a vigorous resolution to the extremity of the island, that he forced the Caledonians to submit and deliver up a considerable part of their country and arms. Id. ibid. Xiphil. in Vit. Sever.

And Severus, for the better security of the Roman province in Britain, erected a wall across the island, from sea to sea, strongly fortified with castles and a spacious deep ditch. This work was in such esteem, that although Severus had performed a number of great actions, overthrown Niger and Albinus, reduced the Parthians, Persians, Adiabeniens, and Arabians, and extended the bounds of the empire, for which great services the senate conferred on him the surnames of Parthicus, Arabicus, and Adiabenicus; yet all these were not deemed comparable to his subduing the Caledonians, and building the above-mentioned wall, for which he received the glorious and much desired title of Britannicus: and, at the conclusion of peace with the Caledonians, he caused a medal to be struck, with his head on one side, and the words *Fundator pacis* on the reverse; and on some of his coins *Britannicus maximus*, and on others *Victoria Britannica* is inscribed. Severus's wall. Spart. in Vit. Sever. Aug. Script. p. 354.

Historians differ greatly concerning the length of this wall: Aurelius Victor and Eutropius say it was thirty-two miles; and Cassiodorus and Orosius, that it was one hundred and thirty-two miles. Now as I take these differences to be the faults of transcribers, I think they may be reconciled by supposing that the two first carelessly wrote in Roman letters LXXXII, and by the heedlessness of copiers the L being left out, it became XXXII; and the L by the others being turned into C, made the number CXXXII. Aurel. in Sever. Eutrop. lib. 8. The great stone-wall in Northumberland and Cumberland.

REMARK. Various are the opinions of antiquaries concerning Severus's wall, some taking it to be the magnificent and stupendous stone-wall, the vestigia whereof are still to be seen in the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, in the northern parts of England. That this is a mistake does plainly appear from Bede, who tells us, that "Severus, after many dangerous battles fought in Britain, separated that part of the island he recovered from the unconquered nations, not by a wall, as some imagine, but by a rampart; for a wall is made of stones, but a rampart is made of turf, resembling a wall, with a ditch before it, and a strong pallisade on the edge thereof." And a little after, speaking of the aforesaid stone-wall, he tells us, "That the Romans, willing to provide for the security of their friends the Britons, built a strong stone-wall from sea to sea, along by the forts which had been raised as a barrier against the enemy, in the place where Severus's wall had formerly stood." Adding, "That this famous wall was built both at a publick and private expence, and joint labours of the Romans and Britons." As Gildas, the most ancient British writer, formerly declared much to the same purpose. Whereby 'tis manifest, that the stone-wall in the northern parts of England, called the Picts wall, was not erected by Severus, but by the Romans and Britons, long after his demise.

That the aforesaid stone-wall was not built by Severus, is beyond dispute; for, if so, it would have been, at the time when Camden surveyed it, no less than one thousand three hundred and seventy-four years old: and as it then in many places appeared to be of a considerable height, and in one above fifteen feet, without the battlements, and nine feet in thickness, it must have been built with the best materials. And as it appears, that Severus died in the year 210, which was but two hundred and twenty-five years before the Romans left Britain, it may be justly presumed, that had the said wall been erected in the reign of Severus, it would, at the withdrawing of the Romans from this island, have been in as good a state of defence as when at first built; and if the Caledonians had forced their way through it, that would have only occasioned one or more breaches therein, which, by a small expence of time and labour, might easily have been repaired. Hence it may be concluded, that had the wall been built by Severus, there would have been no occasion to erect another so soon after.

But that there was a stone-wall erected against the Scots and Picts, since the time of Severus, by the Romans and Britons, as abovementioned, is evident, by the concurring testimonies both of ancient and modern writers; whereas not one has been produced, that I can learn, to shew that Severus built a stone-wall in Britain. Besides, the short space of three years, which Severus is said to have lived in this island, (a late writer will not allow it to have been quite two years) was not sufficient to erect so stupendous a work in. For by two surveys lately made thereof, it appears to have been within a few yards of sixty-eight English miles and a half in length; to have had eighty-one castles of sixty-six feet square each, and three hundred and twenty turrets or watch-towers of twelve feet square each, which undoubtedly were higher than the wall, for exploration; which, together with the great number of bridges over rivers and rivulets therein, and its course over mountains, rocks, bogs, and vast declivities, shews it rather to have been

Bed. Hist. Ec-
cles. lib. 1. c. 5.

Ibid. c. 12.

Gild. Hist.
c. 14.

Camd. in
Com. North-
umb.

Xiphil. in Vit.
Sever.
Each. Rom.
Hist. vol. 2.
p. 388.

Gord. Itin.
Septent.
Hist. Brit.
Rom. b. 1.
c. 4. p. 63.

the work of ages, than the short space of two or three years. Yet, such is the unaccountable way of some mens thinking, that Horfly imagines it to have been only the work of one year! The notion broached by the people living in its neighbourhood, and mentioned by some writers, of a pipe of brass running through the same from tower to tower, to give intelligence of the enemy's approach, is entirely false; for, after the strictest search by the most curious and nicest observers, never was any such thing discovered.

Horfl. Brit.
Rom. b. 1.
c. 4. p. 63.
Boeth. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
p. 88.
Each. Rom.
Hist. vol. 2.

Now, to put an end to all disputes hereafter, I shall give Gildas the most ancient British historian's account of part of the transactions of those times, wherein is shewn the cause of building the said stone-wall, and by whom it was erected; which please take as follows.

The Scots and Picts having invaded and cruelly oppressed the provincial Britons, they sent ambassadors to Rome with letters, setting forth their grievous sufferings, and humbly praying for assistance against their dreadful foes; which being readily granted, a Roman army arriving soon after, unexpectedly fell on the enemy, killed a great number, and expelled the rest from the bounds of the province. By this great success the Britons being redeemed from bondage, were advised by the Romans to erect a wall across the island, between the two seas, as a fence against their enemies; but, being unacquainted with the art of masonry, they raised an earthen rampart, which proved of little or no service.

Gild. Hist.
c. 13.

The above account not being so explicit as it ought to have been, Bede judged it necessary to explain it as follows.

"The islanders not raising the wall with stones, but turf, as not having artists fit for such an undertaking, rendered it of little use. However, they drew it for many miles between the two seas we have spoken of, to the end that, where the defence of water was wanting, they might defend their borders against the incursions of their enemies; of which work there erected, that is, a rampart of an extraordinary breadth and height, are evident remains to be seen at this day. It begins almost two miles to the westward of the monastery of Abercurnig (Abercorn) on the east, at a place in the Pictish language called Peanuahel (Kinneil), but in the English tongue Penualtun, (by Nenius more properly Cenual, or Kenual) and running westward, ends at the town of Alcluid."

Bede. Hist.
Eccles.

By the above description of the wall it plainly appears, that the Britons, instead of having raised a new rampart on this occasion, only repaired that erected by Lollius Urbicus, at present denominated Graham's dike, as is manifest by its beginning at Alcluid on the river Clyde, near old Kilpatrick, in the west, and ending at Kinneil on the river Forth in the east.

After the defeat of the Scots and Picts abovementioned, the Roman army was no sooner gone than the said Scots and Picts returned; and committing greater depredations in the province than before, the distressed Britons, being in a worse condition than ever, renewed their application to their friends the Romans for aid; and they, in the year 418, generously sent them a powerful succour both by land and sea, who falling unawares upon the enemy, defeated and expelled them the province.

The aforesaid rampart being by the Scots and Picts broke through, and rendered useless, the Romans acquainted the Britons, that it did

Gild. Hist.
c. 14.

not

Lloyd's Hist.
Church.
Gild. Hist.
c. 14.

not suit with their security and interest to make such tedious, long, and expensive expeditions, both by land and sea, for their defence; and advised them to take arms, and oppose their enemies, for the security of their lands, wives, children, lives, and liberties; assuring them, it was owing to their indolence and cowardice that they became so easy a prey to their foes, who by nature were not better men than themselves: and the better to enable them to exert themselves in defence of their country, not only instructed them in military discipline, and in the art of making arms, but, both by publick and private assistance, erected an exceeding strong stone-wall a-cross the island for their defence; and, as an additional security, built divers forts at the western end thereof, on the southern side of Solway frith, and not the frith of Dunbarton, as is asserted by bishop Lloyd without the least foundation, to prevent the enemies passing at the western extremity. Those works were no sooner accomplished, than the Romans, in the year 446, set out for their own country; and, being never to return, bid the provincial Britons eternally farewell.

Now as it no where appears, that there ever was another stone-wall erected a-cross this island than the aforesaid, it must be that whereof the vestigia are still to be seen in the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland: and as it is beyond contradiction, that the fence said to have been built by the emperor Severus could not be this wall, it must have either been that of Adrian repaired by him, or, according to Bede, a separate work of the same kind, almost adjoining to that of Adrian; which running parallel with and near the southern side of the said stone-wall, it appears to have been a very strong barrier against the Scots and Picts: for, being erected after an unusual manner, it had no less than three strong earthen ramparts, and a formidable ditch; without which, on the northern or enemies side, was one of the said ramparts, which Horsly vainly takes to have been a military way belonging to the same, the madness of which I have mentioned above. I am therefore of opinion, that this northern rampart, together with that on the southern side, were both erected by the said emperor Severus, as an additional security to Adrian's wall; wherefore it might justly be called a great work, though not to compare with the stupendous stone-wall above described.

And as nothing tends more to the honour of our country than the erection of the four abovementioned prodigious fences or walls by the mighty Romans, to secure themselves and their provincials the Britons from the incessant attacks and depredations of their implacable enemies the Scots and Picts, whom yet neither walls nor forts could withstand, nor arms of Roman veterans inflave; I think it will not be amiss to appeal to all impartial and judicious men, whether there be the least probability of the sons of the petty king of Ulster subduing and settling themselves in the western parts of Scotland, when Ireland, with the whole power of its great monarch and vassal kings, became the easiest prey to every invader? They were ill qualified to make conquests abroad, when incapable of preventing their country from being inflaved by every petty invader: but more of this hereafter.

During the peace between the Romans and Caledonians, the empress Julia, consort to Severus, in discourse with the wife of Argentacoxus, a Caledonian, upbraided the Caledonian women for the great liberties

liberties they took in publick with their men, she smartly answered, Xiphil. in Vit. Sever.
 “ We British ladies satisfy the calls of nature openly with the best of
 “ our men, whilst you Roman ladies prostitute yourselves in private
 “ to the vilest of your slaves.” This confirms that the Caledonians
 were likewise called Britons by the Romans.

Severus, by his indisposition, being obliged to leave the army, con- Id. ibid.
 ferred the command on his son Antoninus, who, abandoning himself
 to all kinds of wickedness, gave the Caledonians an occasion to break
 the peace; and, joining their forces, endeavoured to shake off the yoke.
 Severus, highly enraged at these proceedings, commanded his army to
 re-enter Caledonia, and cut off all persons, without distinction of age
 or sex: but he being soon after removed by death, Antoninus renewed
 the peace, and returned to Rome, accompanied by his brother Geta,
 carrying along with them their father’s ashes.

This being the account of Severus’s transactions in Caledonia, ’tis
 manifest, that the preparations made by him to conquer the same must
 have been very great, since, in that expedition, he, by the Roman
 writers, is said to have lost no less than fifty thousand men. Yet that Id. ibid.
 he penetrated to the northern extremity of the island I cannot give Romans never
conquered the
north.
 into, notwithstanding the authority of Dion Cassius. Had his con-
 quests extended so far, we should have discovered a number of Roman
 camps and forts in the most northern countries; for no people were so
 careful as the Romans to secure both their armies and conquests by
 strong camps and castles. But, after the strictest inquiry, I could not
 discover any of their works in the most northern parts of Britain, ex-
 cept the camp on the southern side of the frith of Tain, in the
 county of Ross; which I take to have been Ptolemy’s *castrum alatum*,
 which by its situation answers well enough, and may be taken for
 one.

We are told by a certain Roman writer, that the Caledonians by
 treaty were obliged to deliver up part of their country to the Romans.
 That this is a gross mistake is evident; for the country delivered up by
 them, by virtue of the said treaty, by Bede, appears to have been part Bed. Hist. Ec-
cles. lib. 1.
c. 5.
 of the Roman province within the wall of Adrian, which they had
 broken through, and possessed themselves of. All the large country
 bounded on the south by the rivers Tine and Esk, and frith of Solway,
 and on the north by the æstuaries of Forth and Clyde, and Antoninus
 Pius’s wall, commonly called Graham’s dike, were left to the Cale-
 donians and Meats. The erecting this wall as a frontier or boundary
 by Severus, corroborates what Bede has told us, that the lands deli-
 vered up by the Caledonians lay on the southern side of Severus’s wall;
 which manifestly shews, that these lands were Caledonian conquests,
 and not part of their ancient dominions, as vainly imagined by most
 of our modern writers.

From the demise of Severus, in the year 210, to the reign of Dio-
 clesian and Maximian, anno 284, the Roman historians are almost
 silent with respect to the affairs of Britain, not having transmitted to us
 any thing worth mentioning; so that we know little of their trans-
 actions here, during that interval; only in the reign of Alexander
 Severus, and those of Dioclesian and Maximian, we have a rela- Eutrop. lib. 9.
 tion of the rebellions of Carcausius and Sixtus, who assumed the
 purple, and usurped the government of Britain: the former being mur-
 dered by the latter, who was some time after, in a tumultuary skirmish,
 killed

killed by Asclepiodotus, captain of the pretorian band or life-guard to Constantius Cæsar. To which may be added, the dreadful persecution carried on against the Christians in this and other parts of the empire.

C H A P. X.

The North Britons or Picts never went naked, nor painted their bodies. Origin and etymology of the Picts. Bede, Boece, and Usher refuted. Country inhabited by the Picts. Subversion of their empire.

HAVING treated of the Gael and Caledonians, I am now to give some account of the Picts, whose origin has been as much controverted as that of any other nation. Pomponius Letus, Antoninus, and other writers, derive them from the Germans; Hector Boece from the Agathyrsi; some fetch them from the Pictones in Gaul; and Bede from the Scythians.

Now as I am of opinion, that there is little probability of the Picts having painted themselves, or that they were so called from that practice, I shall, to the utmost of my power, endeavour to discover how they came to be so denominated, and whether they ever went naked.

Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 5.

Although Cæsar does not mention any of the Britons by the appellation of Picts, yet he tells us, that the native or inland Britons were clad with skins, and that all of them painted or dyed themselves of a bluish colour with woad, in order to appear terrible to their enemies.

REMARK. That the native or inland Britons mentioned by Cæsar, (who, for aught appears, never saw them) were our predecessors called the Gael, I think will not be controverted; more especially if we consider that the settlements in Britain of Cæsar's Belgick Gauls, and other new-comers from abroad, are by Ptolemy shewn, as already observed, to have extended to the Brigantes, now the county of York, and other vicinal counties to the northward. But as to the said Gael being clothed with skins, and painted, surely a more inconsistent relation never was transmitted to posterity; for the parts said to be painted and covered could not appear terrible to their enemies. I am therefore of opinion, that the painting must regard their shields, and not their bodies.

Xiphil. Epit.
Dion Cass.

We are told by Dion Cassius, that the northern Britons, or Gael, till no ground, live on prey and hunting, and the fruits of trees; and, though they have fish in great plenty, eat them not: they dwell in tents, naked and without shoes: they use their wives in common, and bring up the children in publick: their government is in a great measure democratical: they take pleasure in robbery and plunder: they fight in chariots: their horses are small and swift: the people run at a great rate, and, when engaged in battle, are firm and immovable: their arms are a shield, a dagger, and a short spear, at the handle of which is a brazen ball or rattle, to intimidate their enemies: they endure hunger, cold, and all manner of hardships, with wonderful patience; for in bogs they will continue many days, up to their very heads, without food: in woods they live on the bark of trees and roots: they have a certain sort of food always ready, of which if they take but the quantity of a bean, they are neither hungry nor dry for a long time after.

REMARK. The writings of the ancient Romans having by many been seemingly held as sacred, criticks have been as it were intimidated from censuring them: but that they have had devisers of fables amongst them, as well as the moderns, is manifest from the above story of the northern Britons, or Gael, standing in bogs for many days up to their very heads, without food. Of the same stamp seems to be their feeding on the bark of trees; and by taking of a certain food only the quantity of a bean, both hunger and thirst were prevented for a long time after: and that Severus, in his march through Caledonia, cut down forests, drained morasses, and levelled mountains. Whatever he may have done in respect to the two former, I know not, but as to the latter it is a monstrous mistake; for having traced the principal Roman military way (for which the pretended demolished mountains should have made room) in Scotland, whereon the chief stations were erected, from the English border to the neighbourhood of Kenymoor in the county of Angus, and divers of the said stations, as far as the district of Coway in the shire of the Mearns: yet in all that way, there is not the least appearance of levelling any mountain, hill, or eminence; nay, not so much as the summit of any of the said heights lowered, in all the long course of this military way, which runs over the natural tops of hills, over plains, and through vales and morasses, as roads do at present. Our author likewise tells us, that till this time (that is, about the year 210) Britain was not known to be an island; whereas Cæsar knew it to be an island about two hundred and sixty years before; as did also Agricola, the Roman lieutenant in Britain, about the year 84, who discovered it to be an island by his fleet sailing round it. Now as the above appear to be fables of the first magnitude, we see what credit is due to the above author's relation of our predecessors going naked.

Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 5.
Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol.

Another Roman historian says, the northern Britons painted their bodies with a diversity of colours, and a variety of animals, and went naked, lest they should hide the beautiful figures depicted thereon. About their necks and bellies they wear iron, as other barbarians do gold, both as an ornament and sign of wealth. They are a warlike and bloody people, armed with a narrow shield and spear, with a sword hanging at their naked sides. They use neither coat of mail nor helmet, to prevent their being encumbered in their marches through bogs and mosses; whence such a quantity of vapours is exhaled, that the air is always thick and cloudy.

Herod in Vit.
Sever.

REMARK. That Herodian never was in Britain is evident, by his telling us in one part of his life of Severus, that only the greatest part of the bodies of the northern Britons or Caledonians were naked; and in another part of the said life, that they wore no cloaths, but went quite naked. Now as this very heedless and inconsistent writer appears to have had what he wrote of our predecessors by hearsay, he cannot be depended on in respect to their having painted their naked bodies at all; which indeed would have been a practice very unsuitable with this our rigorous climate, which will by no means admit of going naked.

As the above is what I have been able to collect concerning the ancient Gael or Caledonians (by foreigners called Picts) painting themselves and going naked, the reader no doubt will be surprized to find

find the said writers differ so much in their relations touching those practices.

By Cæsar we are told, that the native or inland Britons were clothed with skins, and dyed or painted themselves. Dion Cassius says, that the northern Britons lived naked in tents, without mentioning their painting. Herodian, that they were partly clothed; and elsewhere, that they went quite naked. Pomponius Mela, that they painted their bodies, but for what reason he knew not. Pliny says, that the British wives and maidens dye their bodies all over with woad, and appear like negroes, and at certain sacrifices go naked. And Solinus, that the barbarous Britons (that is, the Gael) in their youth, have the figures of divers beasts so artfully cut in their flesh, that the incisions increase with their bodies.

Surely, the intelligence of the above writers must have been very bad, to occasion such contradictions; some saying the men were painted and went naked, another the women; and one, instead of painting, assures us, that incisions were made in the flesh, of the figures of beasts: which, together with the shameful fables, nay, impossibilities invented by them, plainly shew that they knew but little of our affairs.

Wherefore it will be necessary to hear what Tacitus, one of the most celebrated Roman historians, says concerning our predecessors the Gael, by him called Caledonians; and who had a much better opportunity of knowing their state and condition, than all the afore-said writers put together; for Agricola, his father-in-law, the Roman general in Britain, having subdued a great part of their country, supplied him with accounts of his transactions in these parts, interspersed with the state of the country; and Tacitus, as a faithful historian, in the life of the said Agricola, has given us an account of the people, their government, arms, manner of fighting, &c. And that Agricola, to civilize that fierce people, introduced amongst them the Roman literature, sciences, and habit, is manifest by the great number of Latin words and phrases in the Gaelick language at present, the remains of fortresses, baths, &c. and by their posterity, the Gael, or Scottish highlanders using the same habit ever since; which probably would have proved of the same duration with the mountains they inhabit, had it not been for an act of parliament made in the year 1748, to remove that mark of distinction, by abolishing it, on account of a dangerous rebellion carried on by them against the government in the years 1745 and 1746.

Now as it plainly appears that our highlanders are the descendants of the Gael or Caledonians, and retained the use of the Roman dress till the above period, it effectually destroys the several relations above-mentioned of their having painted themselves, and gone naked, since the year 84 of the Christian æra. But as the contrary is asserted by all the afore-said writers, exclusive of Cæsar, their vague relations, I think, deserve no other answer, than to refer them to the judicious reader, to decide in this affair as he shall think proper.

And as Tacitus does not mention the Caledonians painting themselves and going naked, before the year 84, his silence in that respect I take to be of much greater weight, than all that has been or can be said to the contrary: for, if there had been any truth in it, that renowned, faithful, and painful historian, who had so good an opportunity of know-
ing

ing, would not have failed to have acquainted us with customs so remarkably improper for so cold a climate.

And, to put it beyond dispute that the Britons did not go naked, which is the reason assigned for their painting, to prevent hiding the beautiful figures depicted on their bodies, we are told by Martial, that in the first century of the Christian æra, the Britons were clothed with the *bracchæ*, as will appear by the following verse,

Quam veteres bracchæ Britonis pauperis.

That is,

“ The old plaid the poor Britons wore.”

That the Britons brought this garment along with them from Gaul in their migration hither, I think in some measure appears from a people in that country's being called *Galli Braccati*; and that the people here called Britons, were the Gael or Caledonians, is evident, by their descendants, our highlanders, wearing the *bracchæ*, or plaid, by them called *braccan*.

Diod. Sic.
Hist. lib. 5.
cap. 2.

The first time we read of the Picts, is in Eumenius's panegyrick to Constantine the great, in praise of his father Constantius, towards the close of the third century; where, speaking of the great victory obtained by Constantius in Britain, he mentions the Caledonians and other Picts; which plainly demonstrates the Caledonians to have been part of the people called Picts. And as it will hereafter appear that the Caledonians were our progenitors, the people at present denominated Scots must have been one of the Pictish nations; which is confirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus about eighty years after, who tells us, that the Picts consisted of two nations, *viz.* the *Dicaledones* and *Vecturiones*. This is a double proof of the Picts being the Caledonians, or ancient Gael, and not a new people, as has been ignorantly asserted without the least authority: and it is observable, that although Eumenius and Marcellinus have both taken notice of the Picts, yet neither of them says that they were either naked or painted; which had they been, 'tis not to be questioned but they would have acquainted us with such amazing curiosities in so cold a climate.

Paneg. Constant. p. 235.

Marcel. Hist.
Rom. lib. 27.

And to corroborate what has been said, that the Picts were the same people with the Caledonians, Gael, or Scots, we need only view the eastern, southern, and northern parts of Scotland wherein they dwelt: there we shall find, that the names of the several counties, cities, towns, villages, hills, vales, lakes, &c. are (exclusive of a few English names introduced with that language) all Galick; and in those parts of the countries of Murray, Inverness, Ross, Southerland, and Caithness, the ancient seats of the northern Picts, where the English tongue has not reached, the speech is entirely Galick; as are also the names of the said countries, exclusive of that of Southerland, which is so denominated in English, from its southern situation to the county of Caithness, out of which it was taken not many years since. Hence I think it plainly appears, that the language of the Picts was the same with that of the Gael, at present spoken by the Scottish highlanders.

And as an additional proof that the Picts and Gael were the same people, we need only survey the numerous Pagan temples, or circles of stone, still to be seen both in the highlands and lowlands, the an-

Ric. Hagul-
stad. decem
Script. col.
316. n^o. 34.
Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. Angl.

cient seats both of the Scottish and Pictish kingdoms ; which, together with the uniformity of the great number of their camps, duns, or castles, and other military fortifications, I think are infallible proofs of their being the same people, only differing in government ; which is corroborated by an eminent English writer, who tells us, the Gawey-jences, inhabitants of Galloway, were Picts.

And that the Picts were the same people with the Gael, our highlanders, and that the inhabitants of Galloway, by Bede called the southern Picts, were the same, is beyond contradiction, by their having spoken the Galick language, and used the highland habit not a century ago, as is attested by the most curious and best antiquaries in that country ; which is confirmed by the name of the country, and those of towns, villages, duns, rivers, mountains, &c. in those parts, being almost all in the Galick language.

Having given the relations of divers foreign writers concerning the people by them called Picts, I shall now proceed to give the several accounts of that nation by our own writers.

Hist. Gild.
edit. Gale, p.
12, 13, 14.

Had the Picts been a people different from the Gael or Caledonians, Gildas, the most ancient British or Welsh historian would undoubtedly have given us his thoughts concerning their origin ; but as he has not, his silence I take to be a tacit acknowledgement of their being the first and most ancient inhabitants of Albion or Britain, and to be of a much greater weight than the idle tattle or report in Bede's time concerning them : for what Gildas chiefly observes touching the Picts, relates to the frequent incursions and great depredations committed by them and the Scots, in the Roman province, in the southern part of this island.

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. lib. 1.
cap. 1.

By a report in Bede's time we are told, that the Picts came from Scythia in a few ships, which being by a storm drove round Britain, put into the northern part of Ireland, which then was inhabited by the Scots, whom they entreated to grant them a place to settle in. But the Scots, it seems, not liking their company, answered, that the island was not sufficient to contain them both ; and told them, there lay an island to the eastward, which they could see in a clear day, and advised them to go thither, where they might obtain a residence ; and withal told them, if they were opposed, they would assist them in procuring a settlement. The Picts, confiding in their promise, set sail for Britain, and landing, possessed themselves of the northern parts of the country ; but having no wives, entreated the Scots to supply them with women ; to which they agreed, on this condition, that whenever a difficulty should arise touching the succession to their crown, they should, in consideration of this favour, chuse a king from the royal female line, and not from that of the male.

This being Bede's account of the arrival of the Picts in the northern parts of Britain, I beg leave to make a few remarks thereon.

Though Bede acquaints us, that what he delivered concerning the Picts was only by common report, yet most of our historians taking the same for granted, without the least reason assigned, are of opinion that the Picts really came from Scythia into Britain. This opinion I cannot give into, for the reasons already set forth, and those that are now to follow.

1. Had the Picts come from Scythia with a view of making a settlement, they would undoubtedly have brought their wives and children along with them.

2. If the Picts came from Scythia, they must either have come from the coasts of the Baltick sea, or the countries of Jutland or Norway; wherefore, with the wind that brought them thence, and carried them round the northern part of our island, they might have landed in that part of Britain, without going by the way of Ireland; and to Britain they could not be greater strangers than the Irish were, by their seeming not to know the name of our island, though within their view, since they told the said Picts, that an island lay to the eastward, which they could see in a clear day.

3. Can it be reasonably supposed, that a people so brave, and such strenuous assertors of the honour and liberty of their country, as the Gael or Caledonians were, who so long and laudably withstood the mighty Romans, and preserved their freedom against all their power in the height of their empire, and against all other enemies invaders of their country, would have suffered a beggarly rout of wandering thieves to have possessed themselves of any part of their dominions? for such must Bede's Picts have been, who, arriving in Britain without women, were the fitter to commit all sorts of robberies and depredations both by sea and land.

4. As to what is said by divers historians, who would prove that the Picts were a foreign people, from Bede's calling their language one of the five then spoken in Britain; that he could only mean dialects, is evident by the above specified comparative account of words, wherein is shewn, that the Gaelick and Welsh, by him called Scottish and British, are only different dialects of the Celtick or Gaulish, as, by what has been said, the Pictish appears to have been likewise: so that instead of five languages being spoken in Britain in Bede's time, there were in fact only three, namely, the Gaelick or British, and the English and Latin tongues. This mistake of Bede's is not to be wondered at; for being an Englishman, it cannot reasonably be supposed that he understood either the Gaulish, or the different dialects thereof spoken in Britain; especially if we consider, that the Gael and Cumri, who spoke those dialects, by foreigners called Scots, Picts, and Welsh, were incessantly at war with the English.

5. And can any thing be more ridiculous or absurd, than the story of settling the succession of a crown by a few beggarly piratical vagrants? Besides, 'tis not in the least probable, that any people would have given their daughters in marriage to such a wretched crew.

By Hector Boece, as already hinted, the Picts are deduced from the Agathyrsi, a people said to have inhabited the Cimbrian Chersonesus; but having produced no authority for their migration from Sarmatia to Denmark, I take this to be one of his own fabulous inventions. Being ignorant of the origin of the Picts, he devised a country not remote, to bring them into the northern parts of Britain from: and as Boece has brought the Picts from the Agathyrsi, for no other reason than painting their bodies, he might as well have fetched them from the Arii of Tacitus, or the Geloni and Getæ of Virgil and Solinus, who are likewise said to have painted themselves.

Boeth. Scot.
Reg. Descript.
fol. 4.

Now

Now, as the Agathyrsi are said to have come from Sarmatia, their language must have been the Sclavonian; and as the Polish is a dialect of that tongue, it will appear, on comparing the Galick in the third column of the above table of words, with the Polish in the ninth, that there is hardly any affinity betwixt the said tongues: wherefore the Picts could no ways be related to the Agathyrsi.

Ush. Brit. Ec-
cles. Antiq.
p. 303, 304.
308.
Geoff. Mon.
Hist. Brit.
lib. 4. c. 17.

And lest we should not have Picts enough, archbishop Usher, by the assistance of his right reverend brother, the bishop of St. Asaph, better known by the epithet of Geoffry of Monmouth, and others, have supplied us with no less than three bodies of them, who arrived in Britain at different times, *viz.* the first from Scythia, under the conduct of Roderick their king; the second were brought in by Fulgenius, a Briton; and the third by Gratian and Valentinian, emperors of Rome. Which shews, that this most reverend father must have been in great want of authorities, when he had recourse to that detestable romance of Geoffry's; and as it appears that many of our modern writers copy one another, and all from Geoffry of Monmouth and such like authors, they ought not to be regarded.

Now after we are told by divers foreign writers, that the Picts painted their bodies, which has been generally received and almost believed by all; it is very amazing, that amongst their numerous descendants, who inhabited above two thirds of the present kingdom of Scotland, not the least sign or appearance of painting their bodies should remain amongst them, when many of the customs of the ancient Scots and Druids every where abound, and, I doubt not, many of the Pictish amongst them.

Having given the opinions both of foreign and domestick writers concerning the people called Picts, I shall, by adding a few more observations of my own, endeavour to shew, that it is more than probable there never was any such custom or practice in use in the northern parts of Britain, now called Scotland.

Maul. MSS.
Hist. de Orig.
Scot. in Law.
Libr. Edin.

We are told by a learned critick in the Gaelick or ancient British language, that *peachd* or *feachd* (their *p* and *f* often sounding alike, as *ph* is like *f* in the English words Philip, phrase, physick, and a number more) signifies both an army and a fighter or soldier. Now as the appellative *peachd* nearly resembles the Latin *piet* in sound, the Roman writers who have treated of the Picts, and never were in Britain, might easily take *peachd* to imply *piet*, or painted; and instead of its true and genuine meaning, an army or a soldier, might convert it to *piet*, a painted people: which being learned by the Cumri, or provincial Britons, went current amongst the Romans and them for the name of one of the nations of their northern enemies. And the Romans being the only writers of the transactions between them and the Caledonian Britons, or Gael, it was every where believed to be the appellation of a people, without contradiction. Whereas, by the present Gaelick, it does not appear that the ancient inhabitants of the northern part of Britain, now denominated Scotland, ever called themselves by any other name than that of Gael or Gauls, their language Gaelick, and their country Albin: for the appellatives Caledonians, Vecturiones, Scots, and Picts, were given by their enemies the Romans, and continued by the Cumri their provincials, through the misinterpretation and latinizing of words, as aforesaid.

And that the said people were denominated Picts from the Gaelick appellation *peachd* or *feachd*, is corroborated by considering that the provincial Britons, instead of Pict, wrote *Pheachded*; and the Germans, whose language is a dialect of the Celtick, call a gladiator or fencer a *fechter*.

And to shew that the Gael were not the only people whose proper appellation the Romans changed, by misinterpretation and latinizing of words, converting the Gaelick appellation *peachd*, an army or soldier, into Pict, and so denominated the nation Picts; the said Romans, in like manner, changed the name of the Teutones or Dutch into that of *Germans*, from the Teutonick or Dutch appellation *Hereman*, that is, a man of the army or a soldier, now so denominated from the Latin *sol-durius*; which appellation with them became the name of the people, instead of that of an army or soldier; and is still used by the English, as the proper name of that nation; as it is likewise by the Teutones or Dutch themselves.

And to put it beyond dispute, that the Scots and Picts were the same people, under their proper appellation of Gael, and no otherwise distinguished than by their different governments, an ancient British writer tells us, that Hengist, who brought the Saxons into the southern part of this island, proposed to Vortigern, king of the Britons, that, provided he would bestow on Ohta and Abisa, his son and nephew, the countries adjacent to the Gaelick wall, in the northern parts of Britain, he would send for the said Ohta and Abisa from Saxony in Germany, who, being well experienced in military affairs, would fight against his enemies in these northern parts. Vortigern readily agreeing to Hengist's proposal, Ohta and Abisa were forthwith sent for; who, arriving in the said northern parts with forty keels or ships, about the year 453 of the Christian æra, subdued divers countries, and settled themselves therein. Nen. Hist.
Brit. cap. 37.

REMARK. That the rampart abovementioned, called the Gaelick wall, also denominated Graham's dike, is that of Antoninus Pius, I think is beyond contradiction; for by its lying in the country of the people by the Romans called Picts, is plainly shewn, as our author calls it the Gaelick wall, that he retained the ancient and proper appellation of the people, from its passing through the dominions of the Gael, by the Romans and his countrymen newly denominated Picts; and by the said Gaelick wall's extending itself to the neighbourhood of the people by the Romans called Scots, is in some measure shewn that their proper appellation was likewise Gael; but much more so from their descendants, our highlanders, still calling themselves Gael or Gauls: whereby is demonstrated, that the true name of the nations by the Romans called Scots and Picts, was Gael or Gauls, as aforesaid.

By this great discovery of the Picts being the Gael, all our historians are refuted, who, without the least appearance of truth, have taken much pains to shew that the Picts were a different people from the Scots; and, to prove the same, have, as already mentioned, brought them from Scythia, Germany, Norway, and elsewhere.

And that nothing may be wanting to shew the improbability of the Gael or Picts having painted themselves, or received the name from that custom, Gildas and Bede, the most ancient British and English historians, who were cotemporary with the said Picts, lived in their neighbourhood, and often mention them in their respective histories,

would undoubtedly have told us of such an extraordinary custom, at that time scarce to be heard of, and all the neighbouring nations seem to be unacquainted with. For what has been said by some writers, that the southern Britons, or Cumri, paint themselves, is a great mistake; for we are told by Cæsar, that they were the inland Britons or natives who practised that custom, whom I have elsewhere shewn to have been the northern Britons or Gael.

The nation of the Picts being subdued, and their kingdom subverted by Kenneth Macalpin, king of Scotland, in the year 839, we are told by the fabulous Boece, that the people were entirely cut off by command of the conqueror; which I shall hereafter make appear to be false, to the reproach of the author, and honour of that injured prince; and shall now shew the several parts they anciently inhabited in the northern parts of Britain.

Adamn. in
Vit. Columb.
A. & Sanct.
Hibern. edit.
Par. 1624
c. 12, 13, 14,
17.

We are told by Adamnan, the first Scottish writer, that Columba, in his travels from his monastery of Icolmkill a-cross the *Dorsum Britannicæ*, or mountains of Dunnalbin, to the provinces of the Picts, converted the people in those parts from Paganism to Christianity; and that he crossed Loch-ness to the palace or residence of king Brude, at whose court was the prince of Orkney, who had delivered him hostages for his fidelity.

REMARK. The country wherein this royal mansion was situate is the present shire of Ross; and, from its standing on the northern side of Loch-ness, it probably stood where the vestigia of Urquhart-castle are still to be seen. Be that as it will, by Brude's having a house in these parts, as well as at Abernethy in Strathearn, is shewn that he sometimes resided amongst his northern as well as his southern subjects; for it is not to be supposed he would have resided in the dominions of another prince: and by the prince of Orkney's being his vassal, as aforesaid, it appears that those islands were in the Pictish territories.

By Bede we are told, that the northern and southern Picts were divided by a ridge of frightful mountains, allowed by all to be the Grampian or Grantzbane hills, and by that branch of them which runs from the German sea on the east along the southern side of the river Dee through the country of Athol; and that part of the country of the southern Picts between the friths of Forth and Clyde, and the said river Dee, was bounded on the north and west by that branch of the Grampian hills which run through the said country of Athol, and along the eastern side of Loch-lomond to the frith of Clyde near Dunbarton: and that part of the country of the southern Picts, besouth the æstuaries of Clyde and Forth, contained the large countries of Galloway and Lothian, which anciently consisted of all the debatable lands between the Roman wall of Adrian, in the northern parts of England, and that of Antoninus Pius or Graham's dike in Scotland; which, together with the former, shews that the Picts possessed above two thirds of the present country of Scotland.

C H A P. XI.

An account of the Scottish nation in all its branches. Origin of the Scots. Fordun refuted. Gildas and Bede's accounts accurately considered. What the Tithica Vallis is. The various Irish accounts. Usher, Camden, and Innes refuted. Stillingfleet censured.

HAVING treated of the Gael, Caledonians, and Cumri, ancient inhabitants of Britain, I shall now give an account of the Scots, whose origin is as much wrapt in obscurity as that of any nation in the darkest times of antiquity, and have been as wildly represented as any other people, by the caprice and ignorance of writers; who having taken the appellative Scot for the name of a people, much pains and invention has been employed to make us a foreign nation; but from what people or country we are derived, they know not, or at what time we possessed ourselves of the northern part of the isle of Britain. Wherefore I shall endeavour to clear up our antiquity, by putting the matter in dispute in the best light I can; whereby I hope to shew, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced reader, that the people called Scots are the true descendants of the first colony of Gauls who arrived in Britain from our neighbouring country of Gaul, now called France, and not from Spain and Ireland, as is by divers authors asserted.

The northern people no sooner began to have some knowledge of the Greek and Roman learning, as already hinted, than they endeavoured to deduce their pedigrees from some of the most celebrated nations, which were the Egyptians, Greeks, and Trojans; and observing the Romans had derived theirs from the last, many nations in Europe, at the dissolution of the empire, unwilling to fall short of them in point of antiquity, have been flattered in their conceit by divers fabulous writers, who have devised founders for them respectively, *viz.* The French their Francio, a Trojan, son of king Priam; the Cumri or Welsh their Brutus; the Goths their Gothus; the Danes their Danus; the Saxons their Saxo; and the Brabanters their Brabo.

But that the Scots might exceed all the said nations in point of antiquity, John Fordun, our first general historian, has had the address not to bring us from the fugitive Trojans, but from the Greeks their conquerors, and the Egyptians their seniors: to which end he has followed Nenius, the fabulous Geoffry of Monmouth, and the detestable authors of the Irish fables, unjustly called annals, bringing us from Egypt, at the time of Moses the Israelite, under the leading of Gaithelos, son of Neolus a certain king of Greece; who having, forsooth, disobeyed his father, was expelled the country, and repairing to Egypt, was there married to the king's daughter. By another authority that our author adduces, Gaithelos is said to have been sent with an army to assist the Egyptians against the Ethiopians; and having, during the war, performed many gallant exploits, Pharaoh, in return for his great service, conferred on him in marriage his only daughter Scota; and, after the destruction of Pharaoh and his army in the Red Sea, Gaithelos was chosen king of Egypt: but discontents arising, he, with Scota his consort, and people, put to sea; and they directing their

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 1.
c. 8.

Ibid. c. 11.

course westward, after many dangers and difficulties landed in Spain, and, having subdued the country, built the city of Brigantia.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 1.
c. 15.

But being harassed with continual wars, he sent some of his company to discover an uninhabited island; which being soon accomplished, they returned to Gaithelos, who, perceiving the time of his dissolution approaching, enjoined his sons and people to repair thither. In obedience to his command, his sons Iber and Imec went and possessed themselves of the said island, which, from the former, was denominated Ibernica, and, from his mother, Scotia; and certain of their descendants, some time after, coming into the northern parts of Britain, gave the appellation of Scotland to the country.

REMARK. This fable varying but little from that in the Irish legends, it is uncertain to which nation it owes its origin; though, I think, 'tis more probably owing to the Scots than to the Irish: for, taking the word Scot for an appellative, I imagine it was at first, either by the Cumri or Romans, given to the Gael, the northern inhabitants of Britain, as often as they invaded the Roman province besouth the wall. However, it is manifest that it came not from the fictitious Scota, as is falsely asserted by romantick writers.

The above being the false and fabulous accounts of the origin of the Scottish nation, we see what a hopeful foundation we have to build the names of Scots and Scotland upon. The consideration whereof has made divers of our historians reject the same with contempt. One says, "He looks on them as meer fictions, and imagines they were made in competition to the Britons, for deriving themselves from the Trojans." Another is of opinion, "That the Scots followed the customs of other nations, by making themselves the offspring of the Greeks and Egyptians." And a third "despises and regards them as the most wicked, absurd, and detestable fables."

Major's Hist.
Scot. lib. 1.
c. 17.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 1.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 2.

As the chief arguments against the antiquity of the Scots are brought from Gildas and Bede, the most ancient British and English historians, I shall begin with their accounts of our nation, and make proper remarks thereon as I proceed.

Gild. Hist.
edit. Gale,
c. 11. p. 12.

Gildas, bewailing the miseries of his country, tells us, that the Britons were for many years grievously and cruelly harassed and oppressed by the Scots and Picts, two very fierce outlandish nations, the former from the north-west, and the latter from the north; who together crossing the Tithican (Tithian) Vale, in their small vessels called curroughs, landed and approached the wall or boundary of the Roman province, broke through the same, and, entering Britain, committed the most dreadful ravages, laying all waste with fire and sword.

Ibid. c. 15.

This relation of Gildas, being neither understood by our own or foreign writers, has occasioned numerous disputes concerning the country the Scots came from, who made those invasions in conjunction with the Picts. I shall therefore endeavour to clear up the same, in the best manner I can.

The Tithian vale being the thing chiefly misunderstood, it is in the Heidelberg edition of Gildas called *Scythicam vallem*, in that of Paris *vallis Scythica*, and by others *Stytycha* and *Styticam vallem*. These readings are all found to be false, (the true one of *Tithicam vallem* being restored by the learned Dr. Gale in his Oxford edition of Gildas) owing to the carelessness of transcribers; for, in a various reading of Nenius's British history, we find, in the third appendix and sixth chapter of that

Id. ibid.

that work, published by Dr. Gale, from a manuscript in the Cottonian library, that instead of *Scoti* is written *Scothi*; which being again corrupted to *Scithæ* and *Scythæ*, they undoubtedly gave rise to the Scythian vale, in place of the Tithian vale, which the Scots and Picts in their scoths or curroughs crossed to and from their invasions of the Roman province. And in a manuscript copy of Gildas's history in that library, the *Scythæ* are also called *Picti*. So that the *Picti* or Picts were sometimes denominated *Scothi*, *Scythæ*, or Scots; which in some measure shews, that the Scots and Picts were one people, but different in government, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to make appear.

Now the reason of the *Tithicam vallem*, or Tithian vale's being unknown both to our own and foreign writers, I take to be owing to their being unacquainted with the geography of Scotland, and situation of the Roman wall or fence, called Graham's dike, therefore they knew not where to look for it; as is evident by their having ridiculously converted the said *Tithicam vallem* into the Scythian vale, and made it absurdly to signify the Irish sea, over which they carried their imaginary Scots forward and backward, to and from their invasions of the Roman province in Britain. Hence the enemies to our antiquity have boldly asserted, that the Scots concerned in those invasions came from the island of Ireland; and the Irish have thereby been led to believe that they are the true and genuine Scots, though they lost the name many ages ago. But had our adversaries given themselves the trouble to have inquired into the said geography, they would soon have discovered that the *Tithicam vallem* is the strath of Montieth, that is, the vale of Tieth, so denominated from the river Tieth, which runs through it.

The water-course in this spacious vale I take to have been anciently part of the Bodotrian æstuary, or frith of Forth. For by the different strata of casual or made ground, consisting of earth, stones, and sea-shells, lately discovered in making a coal-pit by lord Elphinstone, at the depth of thirty-six feet under the present surface, is shewn that the ground is vastly raised by the soil brought down from the mountains; wherefore I imagine that the marshes on the northern side and eastern end of the town of Stirling, called the crooks of Forth, together with the greatest part of the vale or strath of Montieth on the western side, must formerly have been the bed of the Bodotrian æstuary, or frith of the river Forth; or the tide then must have been of a great breadth in the said vale, as appears by the vast quantities of loose moorish ground therein, and strata of marine shells in the banks thereof, and in those of other rivers in the neighbourhood: therefore the Scots and Picts could not pass it but in their curroughs, which were small wicker boats made of osiers, interwoven and covered with the hides of beasts.

Elphinstone
in Com. Stirl.

This spacious and beautiful Tithian vale, or strath of the river Tieth, which lies at the western end of the town of Stirling, is about six miles benorth or without the Roman wall called Graham's dike; and adjoining to the northern side thereof lies the ancient Caledonia and celebrated country of Ierne, Erin, or the British Ireland, the great theatre of Roman actions in this island. At the eastern end of this vale, near Stirling, ran the great military Roman way, which led to the Bodotrian trajectus or ferry, which being since reduced to the breadth of a river, a wooden bridge was erected over it; but the situa-

tion of this bridge proving inconvenient, it was removed about a mile lower down. The great road from the southern parts of the kingdom, running at present through the town of Stirling, crosseth the river over the new stone bridge, which is a pass of the greatest consequence; for whenever a war happens, the contending powers endeavour to secure it, to preserve a communication between the northern and southern parts of Britain, by which they may march their armies to or from either part.

Gild. Hist.
edit. Gale.
c. 15.

Ibid. c. 13.

That this was the *Tithicam vallem*, which the Scots and Picts in company are said to have crossed and re-crossed, to and from their invasions of the Roman province, I think is manifest. For the boldest of our adversaries never had the assurance to say, that the Picts ever resided in the island of Ireland, therefore the Scots could not accompany them from a country they were never in: whereby is shewn, that the Scots and Picts were not by Gildas called foreign nations for dwelling without this island, but only because of their independence on the Romans in the southern part. And could nothing else be brought to prove that the Scots did not invade Britain from the island of Ireland, this of itself were sufficient to set aside the pitiful subterfuges our adversaries are drove to, to support their silly and trifling inventions. Besides, as it appears that the Scots and Picts, in the second vastation, broke through the Roman wall, and entered the province, this is a demonstration that they came not from the island of Ireland; for had they come from thence, they might have landed in a thousand places in the Roman province within the wall, where there was neither fence nor army to oppose them; and not foolishly and unnecessarily have exposed their lives in attacking a formidable fortress, guarded by their enemies best troops, and where they might justly have expected to meet with a strong resistance.

As a further proof, that the Irish of the island of Ireland were not the people that invaded the Roman province in Britain, but that the Scots and Picts in this island were the enemies who infested it, the Saxons, who coming to the assistance of the provincial Britons, marched against their enemies the Scots and Picts in the northern parts of Britain: whereas, had the Scots invaded them from the island of Ireland, they would undoubtedly have avenged the Britons on the inhabitants of that country; and that being what they were sent for, 'tis not to be questioned, but they would have accomplished the same by invading their country. But, their having made no expedition against that island, is a convincing proof that the Irish were no enemies to the Britons.

Bed. Hist.
Eccles. lib. 1.
cap. 12.

Gildas having wrote somewhat ambiguously concerning the Scots and Picts, whom he calls outlandish nations, I shall give an explanation thereof by Bede, who, after a short introduction almost in Gildas's own words, says, "At length, on a sudden, it (Britain) groaned
" and languished many years under two very savage nations, the Scots
" from the north-west, and the Picts from the north. We call these
" foreign nations, not for their being seated out of Britain, but be-
" cause remote from that part of it which was possessed by the
" Britons; two inlets of the sea lying between them; one of which
" runs far and broad into the lands of Britain from the eastern ocean,
" and the other from the western, though they do not reach to touch
" one another. The eastern has in the midst of it the city of Gnidi;
" the western has on it, that is, on the right hand thereof, the city
" of

“ of Alclud, which, in their language, signifies the rock of Cluth,
 “ for it is close to the river of that name.”

This is an explanation so very plain, that the most malicious enemy to our antiquity cannot justly controvert it; and it is also a proof beyond contradiction, that the Scots and Picts, by Gildas called foreign nations, who invaded Britain, were actually inhabitants of this island. And as to what Gildas says, concerning the numerous invasions on Britain by the Scots and Picts, who carried their plunder a-cross the seas, these I take to have been only petty incursions, (when they had not a sufficient power on foot to attack the wall) made beyond the eastern and western extremities of the said wall: for on the east they might cross the frith of Forth at the queen's ferry, where it is only two miles in breadth; and on the west, pass over the frith of Clyde, from the county of Lennox, where it is but about half a mile in breadth; the said friths being both by the Scottish and English writers denominated seas. And that these are the seas mentioned by Gildas, is evident, by Bede's telling us, that the foreign nations who attacked Britain lived in the northern parts of this island, therefore the seas over which they are said to have carried their plunder must be the friths; for had they crossed the sea to the island of Ireland, seas, the plural, here mentioned, would have been quite improper. Besides, had the Scots come from the said island to attack the Roman wall in Scotland, instead of coming from the north-west and north, as expressed by Gildas, their course hither would have been from the south-west; and had they come to attack the wall in Cumberland in England, their course then would have been eastward.

The enemies to our antiquity being as much dissatisfied with the story of Scots, as our own writers are, have deduced the origin of the Scots according to their own caprice; some deriving them from Scythia, because the analogy of their name seems to bear it: but the generality of historians, both Scottish and others, deduce them from Ireland, for no other reason that I can learn, than the language, and hearsay relation of Bede, of their being in Ireland at the arrival of the Picts on the coast of that island, where they entreated of the Scots a place to settle in; which being denied them, they are said to have sailed to and settled in the northern part of Britain. But the Scots forsooth, sometime after, leaving Ireland under the conduct of one Renda, arrived in the same part of this island, and possessed themselves of part of the Pictish territories, whereby they received the appellation of Dalrendins, from their leader.

This being Bede's account of the Scots, I beg leave to make a few remarks thereon.

This relation of the Scots being in the island of Ireland, having no better a foundation than the report of the Picts coming from Scythia, it seems to be of little weight, and not very probable: for, can it be reasonably supposed that the Picts, after the ill treatment they are said to have met with from the Scots on the coast of Ireland some time before, would have suffered them quietly (for it is not said they made any resistance) to dispossess them of their new settlements in the northern part of Britain? Besides, as I have made it appear that the parts of this island, said, by the common tattle in Bede's time, to have been subdued by the Scots from Ireland, were at first settled by
 the

Bed. Hist. Ec-
 clef. lib. i. c. i.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol.

the fierce Gael, or brave Caledonians; it is therefore not in the least probable, nay, hardly possible, that a people so intrepid and tenacious of their honour and liberty as the Caledonians, the most noble of all the Britons, were, would have suffered a despicable rout of pitiful vagrants and free-booters (for such would the Scots from the island of Ireland under Renda have been) to settle in any part of their dominions, after they had so long and laudably, at a vast expence of blood, vigorously opposed the magnanimous and mighty Romans, and all other invaders of their country.

But were the common reports in Bede's time true, concerning the Scottish conquest in Britain, the reporters I imagine must have mistaken the island of Ireland, for the Caledonian or Scottish Ireland in Britain, which is the country of Erin, or the Roman Ierne in Scotland, as will soon appear. I am therefore of opinion, that, on the decline of the Roman power in Britain, the Scots under the conduct of Renda, (by our authors called Reuther) made an excursion from Caledonia, the Scottish Ierne, or Ireland, and entering Britain, (the Roman province in this island being so denominated) settled in the pleasant and spacious vale now called Clydesdale, that is, the vale of the river Clyde; which probably by him was called Reutherglen, that is, Reuther's dale, or vale, as may be supposed, by his giving, according to tradition, that name to the chief town therein of his own foundation, still denominated Reutherglen, corruptly Rugglen, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

Prosop. contr.
Collat. c. 41.

And to shew the probability of this conjecture, it will be necessary to acquaint the reader, that both our own and foreign writers have been led into an opinion, that the appellation of Britain was indifferently applied to all parts of this island, by not considering that, during the Roman government here, only that part of our island south of the Roman wall, which was the Roman province, was denominated Britain, and its inhabitants Britons; whereas the other part of the island north of the wall, which was inhabited by the Gael, Caledonians, Scots, or Picts, was by the Romans indifferently called Caledonia, Scotia, or Pictavia, which occasioned Prosper to call the former the Roman island, and the latter the barbarous island. Had this been duly considered, I am of opinion the enemies to our antiquity would not have thought that the several invasions made into Britain were from abroad, but from Caledonia, the Scottish Ierne in the northern parts of this island, and not from that of Ireland; as hereafter more fully will appear.

Bed. Hist.
Eccles. lib. 4.
cap. 26.

We are likewise told by Bede, that Ecgfried, king of Northumberland, having sent an army into Ireland under the command of Beohrt, he committed great depredations therein, and the year following led his army into the country of the Picts, with an intent to ravage and destroy it, contrary to the advice of his friends, and especially that of St. Cuthbert; wherefore God suffered him and the greatest part of his army to be cut off, because the year before he had invaded Scotland, which did him no harm.

Here it is to be observed, that what our author called Ireland just before, he now calls Scotland; and puts it beyond dispute, that the Scotland here mentioned was not the island of Ireland, by adding, the English and Scots which were in Britain. Wherefore there is no longer

longer room to doubt, that the northern part of our island was by foreigners promiscuously called Scotland and Ireland.

Now, as we have heard Bede's account of the origin of the Scots, it is necessary to consider what the Irish writers say on that head.

We are told by Keating, that the Dalriads in Scotland were descended from Earcha, son of Munramhar, who lived about the middle of the second century. And Cambrensis says, that in the reign of Niul, king of Ireland, six sons of Nimed, king of Ulster, towards the close of the fourth century, sailed from Ireland, and settled in the northern part of Britain, where they became the origin of the Scottish nation. And by Usher we are told, that the Dalriads came from Eda, son of Chonar, king of Ireland, who conferred on him the country of Dalriad, in the northern part of that island; from whom it descended to Fergus, one of his offspring, who brought the Dalriads into Britain, and gave the name of the country they left to their new settlement in this island, which, according to my author, consisted of the countries of Cantire, Knapdale, Lorn, Argyll, Brod-albin, and the neighbouring isles. But as he has brought no other authority to shew that ever these countries had the name of Dalrieta, than Fordun and Buchanan's naming a place therein called Dalry, or Dalree, which the latter says signifies the king's share or land; this is but a poor foundation to build upon: for there being many Dalries in Scotland, each has as good a claim to be the Irish Dalrieta, as this in the county of Argyll.

REMARK. By the great disagreement amongst the above authors, the reader will be enabled to judge what credit is due to them; for they not only deduce the appellations of Dalrenda and Dalriedas from divers men and families, but from a man and a country; the former from one Renda, who arriving in Britain, the part wherein he settled was from him denominated Dalrenda, that is, Renda's part or share; and the latter from the country of Dalrieta they came from, in the island of Ireland. These are the reasons assigned by the Irish and their followers for the Scots coming from Ireland; which, to every candid and judicious reader, must appear to be fables devised to deceive the credulous.

Besides, can it be reasonably supposed, that a nation so despicable to the Romans as the Irish were, from whom they had nothing to fear, and when, according to the declaration of one of their princes to Agricola, the Roman lieutenant in Britain, their whole country might not only be subdued, but kept in subjection by one legion and a few auxiliaries; can it, I say, be justly imagined, that a people so impotent, durst have presumed to make the least attempt against the invincible Gael or Caledonians, whom divers legions and many thousands of auxiliaries could not keep in awe?

On the contrary, the Irish were so far from daring to offend their neighbours, that they became an easy prey to every invader. Thus when their country was invaded by the English in the reign of Henry the second, the resistance made by them was so very mean and dastardly, as probably is not to be paralleled in history. For Robert Fitz-Stephens, in the year 1168, with about four hundred men, sailed for Ireland to the assistance of Dermot Macmurrough, king of Linster, and landing near the town of Wexford, took it, with the neighbouring country, subdued the kingdom of Offory, and made a great progress

Keat. Hist.
Irel. p. 232.
Camb. Topog. Hibern.
dist. 3. c. 16.

Usher. Primord. p. 611.

Usher. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321.

Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 1.

Tacit. in Vit. Agric. c. 24.

Cambrensis. Hibern. expug. cap. 3.

gress in that island. And, the year after, Richard, earl of Pembroke, alias Strongbow, landing in Ireland with twelve hundred men, reduced the cities of Dublin and Waterford, and proceeded in the conquest of the country with such amazing success and dispatch, that had not his progress been stopped by an edict of the king's, (who dreaded his becoming too potent) it is thought he would soon have made himself master of the whole island.

Cambrenf.
Hibern. ex-
pug. cap. 31,
32.

But Henry, desirous of the honour of conquering Ireland himself, made an expedition thither, where he no sooner landed, than Roderick, the mighty monarch of Ireland, with divers of his vassal kings, nobility, and clergy, submitted to him as king and lord of the island, in the most abject manner, without the least resistance; for, by the best accounts, I cannot find that the conquerors lost one hundred men in the conquest of this kingdom. Hence again the improbability of their invading Scotland.

Camd. Brit.
in cap. Scot.
Temple. In-
trod. Hist.
Engl. p. 22.

Other writers seem to be of opinion, that the Scots came from Scandinavia, or the western parts of Scythia, into Britain, for no other reason that I can learn, than the appellative Scot, which they take to be derived from the word Scyth. But that there is not the least probability of our having come from that country, I think will appear, by comparing the Gaelick words in the third column of the above table of words, with those of the Swedish and Danish in the tenth and eleventh columns of the same; whereby is demonstrated, that the difference between the Gaelick and Gothick languages is so great, that there is little or no appearance of the Scots being descended from those nations. What then are we to think of what a certain writer tells us, that the Roman emperors, Gratian and Valentinian, caused the Goths from Scythia to land in the northern parts of Britain, to harass and ravage the country, to oblige the Britons to call back the usurper Maximus to their relief, who was then on his march through Gaul, to dispute the sovereignty of the empire with them; and the Goths, it seems, liking this island better than their own country, seated themselves in the northern parts thereof.

Cambrenf. de
Instit. Prin-
cip. lib. 1.

This relation of Cambrensis seems not in the least probable; for it no where appears, that I can discover, that ever Gratian and Valentinian endeavoured to prevail on the Goths (for, command them they could not, as never having been under the Roman power) to come into Britain. Besides, I have, by the above comparison of languages (which is the surest guide to discover the affinity of nations) shewn, that the Scots cannot be descended either from the Swedes or Danes.

Lhuyd. Ar-
chæolog. Brit.

We are told by Lhuyd, in the Welsh preface to his Glossography, that there is a great number of foreign words in the antient Scottish or Irish language, which he imagines to be owing to two reasons. 1. He supposes the island of Ireland to have been antiently inhabited by the Guydhels and Scots, which he takes to have been distinct, the former to be descended from the Cumri or Welsh, and the latter from the Spaniards: for, as many of the words as agree with the Welsh, he thinks are Guydhelian; and the rest, to be either antient Scottish, or Guydhelian lost by the Welsh. 2. And for there being so many words in the Gaelick, or antient Scottish tongue, unknown to the Welsh, this is because the Welsh, Cornish, and Armorick Britons have lost part of their antient speech, by their being near the space of five hundred years under the dominion of the Romans.

REMARK.

REMARK. That our author in his first reason is misled, by following the opinion of other writers, who take the Scots and Irish to have been different nations inhabiting the island of Ireland: whereas I have made, and shall further make it appear, that they were only one people, who inhabited the northern parts of Britain, now called Scotland, by the appellation of Erenach or Irish; and that as the Scots were but one nation, they could only have one language, which was the Gaelick, falsely called Scottish. And as to the second, of words in the Gaelick being unknown to the Welsh, I take that to be owing to a corruption of the Celtick or Gaulish tongue by the Cimbrians, after their settling in Belgick Gaul, as well as to the Welsh having been long under the dominion of the Romans; and the Cimbrians having, as I imagine, given their name of Cimbri, or Cumri, to the people they subdued in Gaul, the colony that came from thence, and settled in Britain, brought that appellation along with them, which is still retained by their descendants the Welsh as their proper name.

And as what our author says to favour the Scots coming from Spain, depends only upon a few Cantabrian or Pyrenean Spanish words, which he received from one Dr. Brown; these, instead of answering what they were brought for, on perusal will appear to be greatly strained, and most of them to have little or no affinity with the Gaelick or ancient Scottish. Whereas in his comparison of Gaulish and Gaelick words, they are almost the same: which is a further proof, that the Gael or ancient Scots are descended from the Gauls, and not from the Spaniards; for had they come from Spain, they would undoubtedly (according to the custom of other nations in settling colonies) have called themselves Iberians, from the ancient name of that country. Let these reasons suffice to refute the romantick tales and fabulous stories of the Scottish and Irish writers, who fetch the Scots from Greece, Egypt, and Scythia, by way of Spain and Ireland.

Yet must we not pass over what a late Scottish writer has advanced, who has racked his brains to reduce the antiquity of our nation, though with as little success as others of his self-interested brethren. However, he thinks he has discovered a method whereby he can shew the reason and time of the Scots possessing themselves of the island of Ireland, before they arrived in Scotland; and insinuates, "That it is a matter indifferent to the Scots whether they came into Britain before the incarnation or since." Nay, it seems "it would be more for their honour to fix their settlement in this island two or three hundred years after that epoch."

To this I answer: That Innes, having in view the late great controversy concerning the church-hierarchy by bishops, and that of its ancient government in Scotland, said to have been by Culdees, and being interested in the lucrative part of the former, is as nearly concerned to support it as any of his brethren, whose bread immediately depends thereon: wherefore it is not to be wondered at, that he has so strenuously endeavoured to lessen the antiquity of our nation, to establish his darling government, which otherwise must have been wrecked on the fatal rock of Culdeeism, and the episcopal hierarchy converted into a simple priesthood. But, unluckily, all the pains taken by this malevolent adversary, to diminish our antiquity, proves abortive, by his seeming to know no more of the origin of our nation, or the country we came from, than the rest of our enemies; and by his saying, that

Lhuyd's Archaeolog. Brit. Welsh Pref.

Innes's Crit. Essay, vol. 1. b. 2. c. 1.

it

it is indifferent to the Scots whether they came into Britain before the incarnation or since, and that it would be more for their honour to fix their settlement in this island two or three hundred years after that epoch. A concession of this being chiefly what he aims at, were it granted, the government of the church by Culdees would be effectually overthrown, and that by bishops firmly established: and we should thereby not only be deprived of all the great and glorious actions performed by our brave ancestors the Gael, Caledonians, or Picts, against the Romans and provincial Cimbri or Welsh, but of our conversion to Christianity in the second century; which seem to be the only things he wanted.

Innes's Crit.
Essay, vol. 1.
b. 2. c. 1.

“ And if it be supposed that the Scottish monarchy began in the west of Scotland, above three hundred years before the incarnation, then the Scots, for the space of about seven hundred years, must have been an obscure, despicable, and impotent people; confined to a little corner of the country, without being able to extend their territories; for, 'till the middle of the fourth century after Christ's advent, their name was not so much as mentioned by writers. Whereas those of the Caledonians and Picts were renowned in the best of histories; while the obscure Scots, in the sixth age, were still confined to their little western district, without power to enlarge their dominions, during the term of nine hundred years; as is manifest by the Picts in the seventh century being in possession of all the northern and eastern parts of the country, now called Scotland, from the isles of Orkney to the frith of Forth; and the Picts, Britons, and English on the south and south-east. Whereas should it be supposed that the Scots only came to Britain about the third century of Christianity, and that their monarchy only began in the end of the fifth age, then, at their first appearance in Britain, we find them a warlike people, assailing the Roman province in conjunction with the Picts, and ready to make conquests on their neighbours.”

REMARK. This insinuation of our author, that were the Scots in Britain three hundred years before the incarnation, they must have been an obscure, despicable, and impotent people, I take to be owing to his being unacquainted with the state of the inhabitants of the northern parts of this island in those times; for the Caledonians, whom he imagines to have been a nation different from the people at present called Scots, I think I have made it appear were their predecessors, (as hereafter will be further shewn) who inhabited that part of the country he imagines was peopled by the Scots from Ireland. This part of Scotland is denominated Argyll. I take the appellation to be a corruption of the Gaelick Ard-gael, that is, the high (highland) Gaels; which is the same with Gael-duni, the inhabitants of the hills: now, as this appears to be a primitive, it, with what has already been said, does, I think, effectually refute the stories of the Dalrendins abovementioned. And to me it plainly appears, that the Ard-gael, or Gael-duni, the inhabitants of those parts, never went under the foreign appellation of Scots, as will hereafter appear. Had he duly and impartially considered this, he would have been of opinion, that the brave Gael, Caledonians, Scots, or Picts, who so long and laudably withstood the mighty Romans in defence of their country, would not have suffered a band of strolling vagabonds or thieves, from the island

of Ireland, to have possessed themselves of any part of their country; for such would his vagrant Scots have been looked on by the fierce Gael or Caledonians.

Innes's new method to shew the first coming of the Scots into the island of Ireland, is by a parallel between their first appearance there and that of the Franks in Gaul; who, he says, before they conquered that country under the conduct of Clovis, were an unsettled and roving people about the space of two hundred years, such as the Scots were in the fourth century. But no sooner had the Franks settled amongst the Gauls, than two nations appear in history as inhabitants of Gaul, namely, the Gauls and Franks; the first as the ancient inhabitants, the last the new, not before mentioned in that country.

Innes's Crit.
Essay, vol. 2.
c. 2.

And tells us, "That in the fourth and fifth ages the Irish and Scots appear in the island of Ireland, the former as the ancient inhabitants, and the latter a new people, never heard of in that country before: and as in Gaul the Franks, as conquerors, were the nobility and gentry, the Gauls, as conquered, were the commons or vassals; in like manner the Scots and Irish, in the fifth century, appear to have been the same in the island of Ireland, the first, as conquerors, the nobility and gentry, the last, commons or vassals: which is confirmed by a legend, entituled *St. Patrick's Confession or Apology*; and in his letter to Ceroticus, wherein he mentions the *fili Scotorum* and the *filiæ regulorum*, joins the *Scoti* and *reguli* as synonymous terms; and again, *una Benedicta, Scota nobilis*; adding generally to the appellation of *Scotus* that of *reguli* or *nobilis*: whereas he never styles the native Irish other than *Hyberione* or *Hybernigena*, as being the commons or ordinary people; adding, that as by Tacitus the Irish do not appear to have been a warlike people, so, in appearance, they were unaccustomed to foreign wars, therefore had no ambition to invade other countries. But the Scots no sooner appear in history than they are seen in arms, come over in warlike expeditions to Britain, join the Picts, invade the Roman dominions, over-run the provincials, and give work enough to the legions; 'till by degrees they came over and settled in the northern parts of Britain, to which they communicated their name, as 'tis said they did to the island of Ireland."

Id. ibid.

REMARK. This parallel, to shew an analogy between the Gauls and Franks, and the Scots and Irish, seems not to answer what it was brought for: for it is demonstrated by the best historians, that the Franks possessed themselves of the country of Gaul by conquest, and gave their name to it. But it no where appears, that I could discover, not even in the Irish fables, that the Scots conquered Ireland: indeed, in their romantick annals, we are told, that the Milesians subdued Ireland, amongst whom was one Scota, relict of Milesius; from her the country is said to have been denominated Scotland, and from him the people were called Milesians. But this is an invention so very gross and fabulous, that it is justly exploded by the most celebrated and judicious historians, antiquaries, and criticks, both Irish and others.

Mezeray's
Hist. France.

Nor is the other part of his parallel, from a legend of St. Patrick's life, that the Irish and Scots were the same in Ireland as the Gauls and Franks were in Gaul, better founded. Had so great and remarkable an event happened in the third or fourth century, we should undoubtedly have heard of it by St. Patrick. And as to the sons and daughters

daughters of Scottish noblemen, mentioned in the said legend, they might come from St. Patrick's country of Lenox, on the northern side of the frith of Clyde, in the country at present called Scotland, either to be instructed by him in the Christian religion, or to visit him as a countryman or relation; for Innes's *Scoti* are not said to be inhabitants of Ireland, therefore they may reasonably be presumed to have been strangers; whereas the natives are truly denominated Irish, and their country Ireland.

Ammian.
Marcel. lib.
27. c. 7.

Gild. Hist.
edit. Gale,
c. 11.

Bed. Hist. Ec-
cles. lib. 1.
c. 12.

Oros. Hist.
lib. 1. c. 2.

Isid. Hispal.
lib. 14. c. 6.

And as to the people's being called Scots, they are not mentioned in any history that can be depended on, 'till about the year 367, when we find them joined with the Picts and Atacots, in an expedition against the Roman province in the southern parts of this island; at which time they appear to have been inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain, which is confirmed both by Gildas and Bede; the former telling us, that the Scots came from the north-west, and the Picts from the north. Now the country north-west of the Roman province in Britain is well known to be that of Argyll, the ancient seat of the Scots; whereas Ireland lies south-west from the northern part of the said province. And the latter, speaking of the first vastation by the Scots and Picts, which happened about the year 440, plainly sets forth, that the Scots then inhabited the northern parts of this island, which, by his explanation of Gildas, appears to be the very country that the people he calls Irish came from: which shews, that a part of Scotland was then denominated Ireland, as hereafter will more fully appear.

The first time the island of Ireland is said to be inhabited by the Scots, is about the beginning of the fifth century, by Orosius, a very heedless writer, as hereafter will appear: and he, being probably ignorant of the Scottish Erin or Ireland in the northern parts of Britain, mistook the island of Ireland for it, which occasioned his making the Scots inhabitants of that island; and being the first writer who mentions that country's being inhabited by the Scots, he has misled Isidore Hispalensis, who useth the same words; with this difference only, that as the former calls the people Scots, and the country Ireland, the latter, without mentioning the inhabitants, calls the country Scotland.

But if ever the island of Ireland went by the appellation of Scotland, (which I am of opinion, by the reasons already given, and those that are to follow, it never did) I think it must have been piratically assumed by the Irish; who hearing of the many great and glorious actions performed by the Gael or Scots against the Romans and their provincials in Britain, and against the Saxons and Picts since, they might imagine, that, as they are descended from the Scots, (which, I hope, by what has been and hereafter shall be said, it will, to every impartial and unprejudiced reader, appear they are) they were intitled to part of the honour.

And that they might leave no means unattempted to obtain the desired honour of their being anciently called Scots, and their country Scotland, they have lately invented the distinction of the greater and lesser Scotland, on the authority (forsooth) of Dovenald O'Neil, a petty prince of Ulster, who, in his letter to pope John XXII. says, " Besides the king of the lesser Scotland, who all came originally from our greater Scotland;" and on that of a patent of Sigismund the emperor to the Scottish and Irish monastery of greater Scotland at Ratibon.

And yet the oldest of these, according to Usher, is of no ancient date than the fourteenth or fifteenth century; when 'tis well known to all writers, that Ireland was not then denominated Scotland, though our country was known by that appellation many ages before. Yet such is the propensity of the Irish to romance, that they fly to those pitiful shifts to support their inventions. I shall only observe, that Dovenald must have been a man of the most consummate assurance, and a very undutiful son, to assert such an egregious falshood to his ghostly father the pope, that Ireland then was called the greater Scotland. And as to the monks, their deceit is not so much to be wondered at, since they have for many ages been infamous for fabulous inventions and notorious falsities. These are the grounds and reasons the Irish have to build their imaginary appellation of Scotland on: for had they ever been denominated Scots, and their country Scotland, it is not to be supposed that they would have relinquished those honourable names, so greatly celebrated for great and glorious actions, for the obscure and despicable appellations of Irish and Ireland; which, 'tis remarkable, are used by all their historians for the names of the people and country, and their monarchs are never otherwise stiled than kings of Ireland. Yet such is the partiality of our adversaries, that Usher declares that he did not believe that any writer, who lived within a thousand years after Christ, ever mentioned Scotland, without meaning Ireland. Whereas Bede, who wrote in the eighth century, in divers parts of his history, in the strongest terms, mentions the Scots inhabiting the northern parts of this island about the beginning of the fifth century, and points out the very part wherein they dwelt. Now as it is manifest that countries are denominated from the people, that inhabited by the Scots in the northern part of Britain being their settlement, it must of course have been called Scotland, or the country of the Scots.

Having, I think, brought all that is necessary to demonstrate that the people called Scots and Picts, who invaded Britain, or the Roman province in this island, were the Gael, or ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain, 'twere almost needless to bring other proofs for that purpose. But as the word Scot is first mentioned by foreign writers, whose authority our adversaries think is sufficient to prove that the Scots, who so often invaded Britain in conjunction with the Picts, were inhabitants of the island of Ireland; I shall, to clear up this affair, endeavour, from the said writers, to make it appear, that all the attempts made against the Britons, and war carried on against the Romans in the northern and other parts of their province, were performed by the Scots and Picts, who inhabited the country at present called Scotland, and not by Scots from the island of Ireland.

In the reign of the emperors Valentinian and Valens, great depredations were committed in Britain, or the Roman province, by the Scots, Picts, Atacots, and Saxons, who ravaged the country to the neighbourhood of London. To suppress this dreadful and destructive invasion, Theodosius, one of the most celebrated Roman generals, was sent hither, who having, with great success, defeated the enemy in divers battles, recovered the country between the walls of Antoninus Pius and Severus; and, erecting the same into a province, denominated it Valentia, in honour of the emperor Valentinian. The actions of

Usher. Brit.
Eccles. Antiq.
P. 378.

Marcelin.
Hist. Rom.
lib. 27. c. 7.

of this great hero are commemorated by Claudian, in a noble eulogy or panegyrick to his grandson Honorius the emperor, as followeth.

Claud. in 3
Consul.
Honor.

*Facta tui numerabat avi, quem litus adustæ
Horrescit Libyæ, ratibusque impervia Thule;
Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Piætos
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas, remis audacibus, undas.*

Englished thus:

He shall relate thy grandfire's acts, whose name
Burnt Libya dreads, and Thule, known by fame;
Who the light Moors and painted Piæts did tame,
And with his sword the roving Scots pursu'd,
Whilst with bold oars he northern seas subdu'd.

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. lib. 1.
c. 12.

By the three last lines of these verses it appears, that as Theodosius tamed the Piæts by land, he pursued the Scots by sea. Now as by what has been said by Gildas and Bede it is evident, that the Scots and Piæts, who attacked the provincials, lived in the northern parts of Britain, and as the Romans never made the least attempt against Ireland, 'tis thence manifest, that the seas here mentioned are Bede's two æstuaries, now called the friths of Clyde and Forth, and not the sea betwixt Britain and Ireland.

Claudian, in another panegyrick to Honorius the emperor, in his fourth consulate, in praise of his said grandfather Theodosius, says,

Claud. in 4
Consul.
Honor.

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

That is,

Icy Erin bewail'd the heaps of slaughter'd Scots.

Stillling. Orig.
Brit. c. 5.
p. 285.

Dr. Stillington, to avoid the force of this, triflingly says, "But there is a certain place in Scotland called (Ierne) by that name. I will not dispute it; but are we sure that Claudian knew it by that name? Was it so considerable to be taken such notice of by the Roman writers? Was not Ireland then called Ierne by him?"

To this I answer; That the poet, in this place, alludes to the fighting a battle in or near Ierne, is evident by the heaps of slaughtered Scots. That this battle could not be fought by the Romans and Scots in the island of Ireland, is manifest, by the Romans never having been in that country. Now as the Ierne here mentioned could not be in that island, the battle must have been fought in the Scottish Ierne, or country of Erin in Scotland: and as the said country has a river of the same name running through it, and, by the numerous Roman fortresses and military ways therein, appears to have been the great theatre of action between the Romans, Piæts, and Scots, or Caledonian Irish, it must be the Ierne here spoken of. And as Ireland cannot properly be said to be icy, or any place else, unless it were covered with ice; and as rivers and other water-courses are only subject to such an accident, we may justly conclude, that the said battle was fought near the said river of Erin, and probably on the southern bank thereof, either near the village of Innerpeffery, or that of Dalgen-ross, where

where still are to be seen two of the strongest and most spacious Roman camps in Scotland. And the fight happening in winter, when the river was covered with ice, many of the Scots in their retreat or flight might be killed thereon, as well as in its neighbourhood; therefore it might metaphorically be said to bewail or lament the heaps of Scots, its slaughtered countrymen, rather than the island of Ireland, which the Romans never entered.

But lest it should be said, that in this battle were some Irish auxiliaries, that would be equally absurd; for it no where appears, that I can learn, but in the wicked Irish romances falsely called histories, and in those of their followers, that there ever was sent the least assistance from Ireland to Britain, to aid the Scots and Picts against the Romans. If there had, they would severely have punished them for assisting their enemies; for the Romans never suffered any nation to live with impunity, that were in the least aiding to their foes, as is evident by Cæsar's attacking Britain for the assistance sent his enemies the Gauls. Besides, the Irish were so far from being able to assist any foreign power, that they were regarded by the Romans as a people so mean and despicable, that they were not in the least apprehensive of any trouble from them.

And the more effectually to spoil us of our antiquity, and the honour acquired by our ancestors, Stillingfleet says, "And doth he (Claudian) not mention the Scots moving all Ierne, as followeth?"

Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 4.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agric. c. 24.

Stillings. Orig.
Brit. c. 5.
p. 286.

—*Totam cum Scotus Iernam
Movitet, infesto spumavit remige Thetis.*

Claud. de
Laud. Stil.
lib. 2.

Englished thus:

When Scots came thund'ring from the Irish shores,
And th' ocean trembled, struck with hostile oars.

To this Stillingfleet, with an ill-natured sneer, answers, "And is this not very poetical, to say, he moved all a certain little part of Scotland, from whence they might pass beyond the wall, without so much as touching the ocean? Must these things pass for demonstrations?"

Stillings. Orig.
Brit. c. 5.
p. 286.

ANSWER. Though the country of Erin in Scotland, at present denominated Strathern, be but small, it was anciently otherwise; for it not only contained Perthshire, and all the northern highlands, as far as Inverness, as is manifest by a river of that name in those parts, but it comprehended the county of Fife, as appears by one of the chief hills therein called Dun-erin, whereon are still to be seen the vestigia of a strong ancient Scottish or Gaelick fortress, from which it undoubtedly had its name, which in English signifies the castle of Erin. And as the country of Fife is very populous, and, by its situation, it doubtless must have been more so during the Roman wars in those parts, Claudian might justly say, that Stilico moved all the large and populous country of Erin, which probably then abounded more with people than the island of Ireland, if the ingenious and learned sir William Petty, an Irishman, may be credited, who tells us that Ireland was first planted in the time of Julius Cæsar.

Claud. de
Laud. Stil.
lib. 2.

Petty's Polit.
Surv. of Irel.
p. 101.

And that the people who carried on the war in Britain against the Romans were the Scots and Picts, inhabitants of the northern parts thereof,

D d

thereof, is further evident from the following verses of the said Claudian :

Claud. de
Bell. Getico:

*Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat frenatricem, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exsanguis Picti moriente figuras.*

That is,

Hither the legion too from Britain came,
Which the fierce Scot did curb and nations tame,
Who, whilst the painted Picts expiring lie,
Survey those bloodless figures as they die.

REMARK. By this legion's being stationed on the frontier, or utmost boundary of the Roman province, to defend the wall against their enemies, it manifestly appears, that the Scots and Picts lived without, or north of the said wall: which is corroborated by the several marches made by Agricola, Severus, and Theodosius, who, in pursuit of their foes, crossed the Bodotrian æstuary, or frith of Forth, and subdued great part of Caledonia; which effectually demonstrates, that the people of the island of Ireland were not in the least concerned in those wars. For had the Scots from that island invaded Britain, as alledged by our adversaries, the Romans would undoubtedly have followed them thither, and chastized them for adhering to, and assisting their enemies. And as it is not said by any Roman writer that I can learn, that the Irish of the island of Ireland ever sent any aid to the Scots and Picts in Britain, or that the Romans ever made any attempt on their country, which is acknowledged both by Irish and other writers; what has been said by the Irish legendaries and their followers, in regard to their invading Britain, must to every judicious reader appear to be fabulous.

C H A P. XII.

*An account of the Scottish Ireland, or Strath-Erin. Vardæus censured.
Ireland named and peopled from thence, supported by Sir William
Temple, Sir William Petty, Sir James Ware, Toland, and Lbuid.*

HAVING in divers places hinted, that there was antiently in Scotland a country denominated Ireland, I shall, both from our own and foreign writers, endeavour to point out the said country, and shew that the inhabitants thereof were antiently called Erenach, that is, Irish.

The country denominated Erin, as abovementioned, which lay on the northern sides of the Bodotrian æstuary and Tythian vale, contained the counties of Perth, Fife, and the northern highlands, as far as Inverness. But this district being since divided into shires, the only part at present which retains the name is Strath-Erin, that is, the valley of Erin, through which runs a river of the same name. This country, as already hinted, is thought to have been the great theatre of action between the Romans, Caledonians, Scots, and Picts; which in some measure appears by the number of Roman camps, forts, and military ways therein; and in some sort is shewn, not only by the rough treatment the Romans met with in those parts, but by the great danger

danger they seem to have been in, by erecting so many strong fortresses within so small a compass, (for the very strong and large Roman camps at Ardoch, Dalgenrofs, Innerpeffrey, and Bertha, are within a few miles of each other) and strong forts between them to preserve a communication.

That this was the Roman Ierne, whose inhabitants, in their own or the ancient Gaelick tongue, were denominated Erenach, that is, Irish, or people of Erin, is manifest by Eumenius, the first Roman writer who mentions them, in his panegyrick in praise of Constantius, whose victory over the Britons he prefers to that of Julius Cæsar over them; by saying, that the Britons in Cæsar's time were a rude people, only used to fight against the Picts and Irish of the British country: whereby is plainly shewn, that certain of the inhabitants of this island were denominated Irish, who could be no other than the Erenach, or Irish inhabitants of our Erin. But as it is alledged, that the Irish here mentioned were not in Cæsar's time, but in that of the orator towards the close of the third century; if this be admitted, it makes still more for our purpose, by shewing, that a people in the country at present called Scotland were denominated Irish, so low as the time of Honorius, whose grandfather Theodosius is by Claudian said to have moved all the Scots of Ireland, which are the same mentioned by Gildas.

Paneg. A.
p. 258.
Claud. de
Laud. Stil.
lib. 2.
Gild. Hist.
edit. Gale,
c. 15.

Gildas, in his account of the third vastation of the Roman province in Britain by the Scots and Picts, tells us, they came over the Tithican, or Tithian vale, in their small boats or curroughs. Now, as the country of Erin, or the Scottish Ireland, adjoined to the northern side of the said Tithian vale, it is plain they came from it; and the very same people on their return homewards, being by our author called impudent Irish spoilers, where could their home be but in the country of Erin, the British Ireland? therefore were justly called Irish. Thus we see that our ancestors, by Gildas, were indifferently called Scots, Picts, and Irish.

And that Scotland was denominated Ireland, is confirmed by Higden, who assures us, that Scotland was called Hibernia, as the island of Ireland was.

Higd. Polychron. cap. Scot.

By the Roman martyrology it is likewise evident, that Scotland was anciently called Ireland; for it is therein expressly said, that St. Beanus was bishop of Aberdeen in Ireland. To ward off this blow from becoming fatal to the pretended antiquities of the island of Ireland, Vardæus, an Irishman, in the life of Rumold, says, that there might have been a place in Ireland called Aberdeen; since Aber in Irish signifies a marsh, and that there is a town in Ireland called Down, situated near a marsh. To remove this trifling and ridiculous evasion, it will be necessary to acquaint the reader, that Beanus is not only in the Scottish history and chartularies said to be the first bishop of Aberdeen, but the several grants made to him by Malcolm the second, in the year 1010, of the lands of Murthlack, Cloveth, and Dounmeth, are still extant; and his tomb is still to be seen before the postern door in the cathedral church of the said town of Aberdeen.

Mackenz.
Def. Royal
Line, p. 173.

And we are told by an eminent Welsh antiquary, that the Novantes who inhabited the country of Galloway, were by his countrymen called Guydhyl Fictied, (in the Gaelick, Peachd, or Feachd) that is, the Gael, or Irish Picts. Now, as it is well known, that neither the Picts nor Novantes ever dwelt in the island of Ireland, this is another

Baxt. Gloss.
Antiq. Brit.
p. 195.

Barb. Life
K. Robert
Bruce.

another instance, that part of Britain was called Ireland: and so low as the fourteenth century, we find the appellation of Irishry still given to the Gael or highland Scots; and their language at this time continues to be called Irish, or Irish.

Though many other proofs might be brought to attest the above recited facts, let what has been said suffice to demonstrate that part of Caledonia or Scotland was anciently denominated Ireland. The misunderstanding the geography thereof, has led both our own and other writers to ascribe to the inhabitants of the island of Ireland all the military actions and brave exploits performed in the Scottish Erin or Ireland, by our ancestors, as well as the appellative Scot, which was at first given to the Gael, or Caledonians, in the northern parts of this island, as I shall hereafter endeavour to make appear.

Before I finish this article, I shall add a conjecture or two of my own.

1. As to Irish writers telling us of their people's having come from Spain, that has no other foundation than their own fabulous annals, which are justly rejected and despised by all candid writers. And as the Irish call themselves Erenach, their country Erin, and their language Gaelick, the same as the people of the Scottish Erin anciently did; I take this to be the country whence Ireland was at first peopled.

This country, which at present is denominated Strath-Erin, has the river Erin running through it, and the lake Erin for its source; and to shew that nothing can be more probable than Ireland's having been at first planted from Scotland, we need only observe, that the names of the ancient divisions of Scotland, (before it was divided into shires) together with those of the cities, towns, villages, rivers, mountains, promontories, &c. exclusive of a few English lately introduced, are all Gaulish or Gaelick primitives: whereby is demonstrated, that the country at first was not peopled by large colonies from abroad, but the names of places were given in a proper gradation, as the people advanced in planting the country, from the appearance and nature of the place, and are so happily compounded, that a person who only understands the language can, by their names, tell the manner of their situation, nature of the soil, and appearance of the face of the country, whether it be mountainous, flat, woody, marshy, rocky, &c. whereas when a country is peopled from abroad by colonies, the names of places are chiefly derivatives brought from the mother country; as is evident by those in the southern parts of Britain, in Cæsar's time, introduced by the Belgick Gauls from the places they came from; and also many others, by the numerous Saxon, Danish, and Norman appellations throughout England; and those of the English, French, Spanish, and Dutch settlements in America, brought in by the said nations, without the least regard to situation, soil, or any thing else concerning the nature of the place.

2. Now as Erin, the ancient name of Ireland, is said to be derived from Ero, implying the west, and the country of Argyll being anciently inhabited by the Gael, they, by way of distinction, denominated it Erogael; which being a Gaelick compound, Ero, the former part, implying the west, and Gael, the latter, the inhabitants, Argyll, which being a corruption of Erogael, denotes the western Gael, from their situation on the western side of Albin. Besides, it is much more reasonable to believe, that Ireland was peopled from Scotland,
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Camden, speaking of Ireland, says, "It is very plain that its first inhabitants came from Britain: for, not to mention the many British words to be met with in the Irish tongue, and the ancient names which shew them to be of British extraction, the nature and manners of that people (as Tacitus says) differ not much from the Britons, and it is called by ancient writers, the British island. Dioscorus Siculus makes Irin a part of Britain. Ptolemy calls it Little Britain: and Strabo, in his epitome, calls the inhabitants expressly Britons. Thus likewise the island itself is called an island of the Britons, as is also shewn by Festus Avienus."

Gibb. edit.
Camd. col.
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Now, as the island of Ireland is thus characterized by these old writers, all conspires to demonstrate that it must have been peopled from Britain; and as the Irish tongue is the same with the Gaelick or highland language, Ireland must have been planted from the northern part of Britain, now called Scotland.

Sir James Ware, the most eminent and faithful historian amongst the Irish, says, "But as to the first inhabitants, (of Ireland) their opinion seems to me the most satisfactory, who deduce them from Britain, both by reason of the vicinity of Britain, and the easiness of the passage; as also for the conformity of the language, and customs with those of the ancient Britons."

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troduct. Hist.
Engl. p. 30,
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Templ. In-
troduct. Hist.
Engl. p. 30,
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“ many various events, and would possibly have made much greater
 “ noise and impressions upon the Romans, if their greater numbers
 “ had not been drawn another way, by so great a drain as that of
 “ Ireland, which they totally conquered, and long possessed.”

Petty, Polit.
 Anat. Irel.
 p. 101, 102.

Sir William Petty, in his political anatomy of Ireland, says, “ With-
 “ out recourse to the authority of story, but rather diligently observ-
 “ ing the law and course of nature, I conjecture, that whatever is
 “ fabled of the Phœnicians, Scythians, Biscayens, &c. their first in-
 “ habiting Ireland; that the places near Carrickfergus were first peo-
 “ pled, and that with those who came from the ports of Scotland op-
 “ posite thereunto. For, that Ireland was planted by somebody in
 “ Cæsar’s time, is most certain. That the art of navigation was
 “ not before Cæsar’s time so well understood and practised, as to bring
 “ men from any other part of the world thither, save from Great-
 “ Britain. That from St. David’s-head in South Wales, and from
 “ Holy-head in North Wales, Ireland is not clearly at any time dis-
 “ cerned, nor often at all. That the inhabitants of those two British
 “ head-lands had neither boats fit to pass that sea, is most probable;
 “ but that Carrickfergus may be always seen from Scotland is well
 “ known; and that a small boat may row over in three or four hours
 “ is experienced. That the language of those parts differs very little.
 “ That the country about Carrickfergus is far better than that of
 “ Scotland opposite. That the chief bishop’s seat of Ireland, and pro-
 “ bably the first, is near those parts: Are all notorious truths. From
 “ all which it is probable, that Ireland was first peopled from Scotland.”

Tol. Dissert.

The ingenious and learned Mr. Toland, in his dissertation on the
 Celtick language and colonies, tells us, that “ there you’ll see the
 “ folly of deriving Britain from the fabulous Irish hero Briotan, or
 “ from the no less imaginary Brutus the Trojan; nor is the word ori-
 “ ginally Pridcain, Prytania, Bridania, or descended from either Phœ-
 “ nician, Scandinavian, or Dutch, or even British words.

“ The insular Britons, like other colonies, were long governed by
 “ those on the continent, and by the neighbouring provinces who joined
 “ in making settlements here; it was even so low down as a little be-
 “ fore Julius Cæsar’s conquest, in whose commentaries it is recorded,
 “ that those of Soissons had within their memory (says the ambassa-
 “ dors of Rheims to him) Devitiacus for their king, the most potent
 “ prince of all Gaul, who swayed the scepter not only of a great
 “ part of those regions, but also of Britain.”

In the same dissertation, after exploding the Welsh fable about Bri-
 tain in France, you’ll read as positive proofs, that the ancient Irish,
 not one of their colonies excepted, (the Nemetes, the Firbolgs, the
 Dannans, and the Milesians) were all from Gaul and Great-Britain,
 whose language, religion, customs, laws, and government, with the pro-
 per names of men and places, they constantly did, and do still, use.
 Whereas (to forbear at present all other arguments) not one single
 word of the Irish tongue agrees with the Cantabrian or Biscayan, which
 is the true old Spanish; the present idiom being a mixture of Latin,
 Gothick, and Arabick.

Lhuyd. Ar-
 chæolog.
 Brit. Welsh
 Pref.

The learned and judicious antiquary, Edward Lhuyd, in the Welsh
 preface to his *Archæologia Britannica*, speaking of the Gael, says,
 “ Nor was it only in North Britain, that these Guydhelians (Gael)
 “ dwelt in the most ancient times, but also in England and Wales;
 “ whether

“ whether before our time or cotemporary with us, or both, is what
 “ cannot be determined. But to me it seems most probable, that
 “ they were here before our (the Cumri or Welsh) coming into this
 “ island: and that our ancestors did from time to time force them
 “ northward; and that from Kintire (or Foreland) of Scotland, where
 “ there is but four leagues of sea, and from the country of Galloway
 “ and Man, they passed over into Ireland; neither was their progress
 “ into this island out of a more distant country than Gaul, now better
 “ known by the names of France and the Low Countries.”

And Leibnitz, a very learned foreigner, and judicious antiquary and critick, says, “ That as the English are descended from the Saxons, and the Britons from the Gauls and Cimbrians, so are the Irish from the most ancient inhabitants of Britain, who were here before the arrival of the Celtick Gauls and Cimbrians. Now, as the history and language of the English serve to illustrate those of the ancient Saxons, as those of the Welsh do those of the Gauls; so do those of the Irish, or Gael, illustrate the antiquities of the more ancient Celts and Germans.”

Leibn. Col-
 lect. Etymol.
 vol. 1. p. 153.

As the above authorities, with what has been said, I think will, to every judicious and disinterested reader, appear sufficient to convict the pretended Irish historians of forgery, so do I hope they will have so good an effect upon all impartial Irishmen, and sincere lovers of truth, as to induce them to join in opinion with the above learned unprejudiced antiquaries and faithful historians, and shew them that they have been greatly imposed on by the authors of their fables.

C H A P. XIII.

Fordun, Major, Boece, Lesley, and Buchanan censured. The Scots not descended from the Goths. Camden and Sibbald refuted. How the Caledonians got the name of Scoti, first mentioned by Marcellinus.

THAT which has confirmed most men in opinion, that Scotland was peopled from Ireland, are the very weak and silly assertions of our own writers, Fordun, Major, Boece, Lesley, Buchanan, &c. who, without the least ground or reason, have unwarrantably declared for Scotland's being peopled from Ireland. Major, like an idle dreamer, has deduced the origin of the Scots from Ireland, for no other reason, forsooth, than their speaking the Gaelick language, which in his time, he says, was spoken by half the Scottish nation, and just before by many more; whence he concludes, that it is plain that the Scots are descended from the Irish. This is a reason for which a school-boy would have deserved chastisement: for the Irish may as justly be said to be descended from the Scots, by their speaking the same language, as the Scots are said to be from them for talking the Gaelick.

Major. Hist.
 lib. 1. c. 9.

Having I hope made it appear, that the Gauls were the predecessors of our Gael, or highlanders, and their settlements in those parts prior to that of the Cumri or Welsh, unjustly called the ancient Britons; from this it must be manifest, that the Gael, by Cæsar called the natives, or inland Britons, are the true and most ancient Britons, and not those of the Belgick Gauls, denominated Cumri or Welsh, whose settle-

Cæs. de Bell.
Gall. l. 5.

settlement in Britain, according to Cæsar, appears to be of a much later date: and it will not only serve as an answer to what has been advanced by our adversaries touching the origin of our nation, but will refute what they have with so much pains endeavoured to shew, that the Scots came only into Britain in the third or fourth century.

Camd. Brit.
in cap. Scot.

Some writers, from Sidonius Apollinarius, having attempted to shew, that the Scots are descended from the Goths, by the resemblance of their dress with that of the Scottish highlanders, which are said to be the same, and for the truth thereof appeal to the highlanders dress; that this is a very great mistake, I shall demonstrate, by shewing the difference between the dresses, from the descriptions of their several habits as published by Camden.

The dress of a Goth.

Ibid.

They shine with yellow; they cover their feet as high as the ankle with hairy untanned leather; their knees, legs, and calves are all bare; their garment is light, close, and of sundry colours, hardly reaching down to their hams; their sleeves only cover the upper part of their arms; their inner coat is green, edged with red fringe; their belts hang down from the shoulders; the lappets of their ears uncovered with locks hanging over them; they wear strait-bodied coats; and their arms are hooked spears, and hatchets to fling.

The dress of a Highlander.

Ibid.

His head is covered with a little round bonnet; his upper garment or plaid, which hangs loose, of divers colours, chiefly red, blue, and black; his coat or jacket reacheth to the lower part of his belly, his sleeves reaching down to his hands; the kilt, or covering of his thighs, reacheth from the belly to his knees, which are bare; his legs and feet are covered with short hose, reaching to the upper parts of the calves of his legs, which, together with the kilt, are made of the same stuff with the plaid; and on his feet thin-soled leathern shoes without heels; and a pouch by his side, to put things in.

REMARK. The reader, by comparing the aforesaid habits, will not only observe the little resemblance between them, but likewise the sorry foundation Camden and Sibbald have to build the descent of the Scots from the Goths on. And, barring what has been said to prove that the Gael or Scots were the first of this island, the Roman habit in use among the Scottish highlanders would of itself be sufficient to prove, that the ancestors of the people by foreigners called Scots, were in the northern part of Britain before the year 85, when Agricola the Roman general introduced the Roman literature, arts, and dress among the Gael.

By what has been said the reader may observe, that the origin of the Scottish nation, as by Scottish and Irish writers deduced from Egypt, Greece, and Scythia, is entirely fabulous; wherefore it has been justly condemned by all candid and judicious writers, both domestick and foreign. I shall now, by probable conjectures, endeavour to shew how the Gael or Caledonians came to be called Scots.

To shew that there was no nation anciently upon earth, that I can learn, called Scots, we need only observe, that though the islands of Britain and Ireland have been often treated of by Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Dionysius, Tacitus, Martial, Pliny, Solinus, Herodian, and

and many other celebrated Greek and Roman writers; yet the appellation of Scots or Scotland is not mentioned by any of them: and though in the second century the celebrated geographer Ptolemy has, in a very particular manner, described both the islands of Britain and Ireland, with the names and number of their provinces, and the appellations of the people who inhabited the same; surely, had there been a people of that denomination in either of the said islands, so indefatigable, curious, and diligent a searcher into the state of nations would not have failed to name them. The silence of these writers then, to me, is a proof that there was no such nation existing, either in Britain or Ireland, in those times.

The Scots are said to be first mentioned by Porphyry, who wrote about the year 267; but the passage wherein he is supposed to name them, I think, cannot be his, by its calling Britain a province fruitful in tyrants: 'for, before and in his time, it does not appear that this island had been pestered with such detestable creatures; whereas between the above period and the year 412, when St. Jerom mentions this, there had been no less than seven usurpers in this island, therefore St. Jerom might justly say that Britain was an island fertile in tyrants. Hence it appears, that this passage must belong to St. Jerom, and not to Porphyry; and this is farther confirmed by his telling us, that, being in France, he saw some of the Scottish nation in Britain eat mens flesh; which is another demonstration that the Scots then inhabited this island.

Hieron. Epist.
Ctesiph. tom.
2. P 259.

REMARK. As to our countrymen eating human flesh in France, I think it may reasonably be presumed that it was then the custom of that country: had it not, it is not to be supposed that a stranger durst have eaten it in so publick a manner as to be seen by Jerom and others, whereby they would have been liable to a punishment adequate to the unnatural crime, and therefore would carefully have avoided being seen to eat the same. This is, in some measure, confirmed by its never having been practised in our own country, as may be gathered from the silence of our adversaries, who never charge us with any such wicked custom. And that this very detestable practice never prevailed in our country, is manifest by Boece's telling us, that a certain miscreant, who presumed to eat human flesh, was put to death in an exemplary manner.

The first time the Scots are mentioned, that can be depended on, is by Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote about the year 360, occasioned by their invasion of the Roman province, conjunctly with the Picts. That the Scots, here spoken of, were inhabitants of the northern parts of this island, and not of that of Ireland, is evident by our author's saying they destroyed the neighbouring bounds or marches near the Roman wall. I shall therefore attempt to shew on what occasion it might have been brought into use, and given to the Gael our ancestors.

Marcel. Hist.
lib. 20. c. 1.

As I have demonstrated that Albin, Albion, or Britain, was at first peopled from our neighbouring country of Gaul, at present denominated France; and by the infallible reasons of language, religion, customs, &c. proved that the Gael, or Scottish highlanders, are descended from the Gauls, and that the appellation of Gael-duni was probably by an easy transition converted by the Romans into Caledonii; and as it

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has

has been made appear, that the Gaelick at present spoken by our highlanders was the language of our Caledonians or Picts, and therefore, though they were distinguished by two denominations, they were yet but one people under different government; and as it is demonstrated, that the appellative Scot is not derived from *Scota*, a fabulous Egyptian princess, or from *Scytha*, a Scythian word implying to shoot: it only remains, by probable conjectures, to endeavour to discover the origin of the said appellative, Scot.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol. cap.
25.

Agricola, the Roman general, having resolved to invade Caledonia, was joined by a number of British or Welsh auxiliaries, who greatly contributing towards enslaving their friends, neighbours, and allies, the Gael, these were highly enraged at their base and dastardly deportment, for which they vowed the total destruction of them.

From this period is to be dated the great and implacable hatred between the Gael and the Cumri or Welsh; for the former, detesting the pusillanimity and cowardly behaviour of the latter, disclaimed all manner of relationship, treated them as the vilest miscreants and worst of enemies, by ravaging their country, and committing the greatest depredations.

Ibid. c. 23.

Wherefore Agricola, for the security of the province, and safety of the provincials, from the destruction of the Gael, fortified the neck of land between the friths of Forth and Clyde, as aforesaid, with a number of forts or castles. But this prætentura or fence proving insufficient to prevent the incursions of the Gael, they invaded and ravaged the province a-new to such a degree, that Adrian the emperor, soon after, judged it necessary to erect a strong earthen rampart, with a large and deep ditch, across the island, from near the mouth of the river *Tine* in the county of Northumberland on the east, to *Solway frith* in the county of Cumberland on the west. But the Gael having, in their small vessels or boats, denominated *scoths* or *curroughs*, crossed the frith of *Solway* at the western end of the wall, landed in the province, and so intimidated the guards on the wall, that they forsook their posts, and, hastening after their fugitive countrymen, left their habitations and effects to their enraged foes. The Gael thus, in their *scoths*, making as it were incessant incursions, the appellative *scoth* became so dreadful, that it may be presumed the general alarm on such occasions was, the *scoths* or fleets a-coming, 'till at last the epithet might be transferred from the boats to the people. And the Cumri having converted *scoth* into *yfcot*, the Romans, by leaving out the *y*, changed it to *scot*; which being learnt by the English, they probably took it for the proper name of the Gael: whereas 'tis certain, that the said Gael, or their descendants our highlanders, never used it as an appellation of themselves; for they still call themselves Gael, their language Gaelick, and their country *Albin*. This is farther corroborated by two celebrated writers, *Nenius* and *Scaliger*; the former in the appendix to his MS. history of Britain in the Cottonian library, where *Scoths* is given as an appellation to the Scottish nation: and by the latter we are told, that while the Brigantes staid at home they were called *Scoths*; but when they made expeditions abroad, or incursions into the Roman province in their neighbourhood, they were denominated *Scoto-brigantes*.

REMARK

REMARK. And as the appellative Scot was only given to the Brigantes when they made excursions abroad, and the vessels wherein they transported themselves in those expeditions were denominated scoths, I am of opinion, that the appellative scoth bids the fairest to be the origin of the name Scot; to which the proper appellation of Gael being forced to give way, it is now become the name of our nation. This origin of the word I shall think just, 'till I find cause to alter it.

That the Brigantes abovementioned inhabited the southern part of Scotland, denominated Annandale, is demonstrable by a statue of the goddess Brigantia being found in the Roman station, at the Bear in the parish of Middleby in the county of Annandale, anciently part of the province of Galloway, in the possession of the learned and ingenious sir John Clarke, one of the barons of his majesty's court of exchequer in Scotland, whereon is the following inscription:

BRIGANTIE S. AMANDUS ARCHITECTUS EX IMPERIO IMP. I.

That is, *Brigantiæ sacrum Amandus architectus ex imperio imperatoris Juliani posuit.*

The word scoth, as abovementioned, being changed by the Cumri into yscot, whence the Romans formed the appellative Scot, the Saxons, it may be presumed, took it for the proper name of the Gael, who called their country Albin, so denominated by the Gauls, probably before they left Gaul to settle in Britain, and afterwards by the Greeks and Phœnicians converted into Albion. That the former was its original appellation, I think is manifest by two districts in the highlands, still denominated Braid-albin and Dunn-albin, which being Gaelish primitives, the former implies the face of Albin, and the latter the ridge or back of Albin: which I think are certain proofs, that the Gael were the first inhabitants of Britain; and the inhabitants of the low countries of Scotland, who speak English, are by the Gael still denominated Saxons, though they call themselves Scots, and their country Scotland, as already hinted.

The Romans and English having, as I imagine, learnt this name of the Cumri, as aforesaid, the latter with their language introduced it among the Gael: for the Saxons having for many ages possessed all the countries between the rivers Forth and Tweed, the language and inhabitants were both English, who being, with the Picts, subdued and incorporated with the Gael, brought the appellative Scot along with them; which, together with the English language, becoming general in the southern and eastern parts of Albin, happened since the year 839, when the Gael or Scots subdued the Picts, with the English their vassals, in those parts; who, according to Bede, were conquered by the Picts in the year 685, with the loss of Ecgfried their king.

We are now come to a period when the greatest revolutions happened in the several governments of Europe that ever befell them: for the Romans, at the expence of many nations, had raised a mighty empire, which, sinking under its own weight, now began to decline. The times when those revolutions occurred have employed the pens and thoughts of many of the most learned and judicious writers of this island. Without descending to the particular times when the several nations of Europe changed their republican governments for that of monarchy, this, by the best accounts I have been able to come at, happened in the wane of the Roman empire, when all things conspired

conspired towards its ruin; for, about that time, vast armies were raised by the northern nations of Goths, Cimbrians, Vandals, Germans, Huns, Gauls, &c. who, marching to Rome, soon accomplished its destruction; while the Scots and Picts entered the Roman province in Britain, and committed the greatest depredations: these, at their return, constituted themselves a king in the year 403, namely, Fergus the son of Erch, or Erth, falsely called Fergus the second; but, according to some writers, this election ought to have been deferred 'till the year 503, which seems to be the more reasonable conclusion.

C H A P. XIV.

Origin of government and of monarchy in Europe. Fordun and Boece's imaginary kings exploded. Fergus, the son of Erch, the first king of Scotland. Two monarchies formed. The Picts not extirpated by Kenneth, as is falsely alleged by Boece. Thirty-six Pictish kings exploded.

IN TENDING to shew the origin of kingly government in Europe, it is necessary to premise a few things concerning government in general.

Government, by Scripture, appears at first to have been patriarchal, when the head of each family (without being subject to a superior) governed his wife, children, and servants, as a sovereign. This manner of government probably continued 'till the deluge; nay, it still seems to be in use among our Highlanders, where the several males of the same family or name pay obedience to the chief or head man of the clan; and nothing has been more common than for whole bodies of different clans to meet and decide, by battle, the most frivolous and trifling quarrels of their chiefs, with such obstinacy, revenge, and desperation, that few have survived the fight.

Genes. vi.
5 and 13.

This seems to have been the practice of the antediluvian world, by the great disorders that appear to have been committed amongst them; for it may reasonably be supposed, that had the power of laws and magistrates been then in use, those great animosities, troubles, and wickedness would happily have been prevented: which plainly shews, that the patriarchal scheme was not adapted to rule great nations; for infinite feuds and petty wars succeeding, must at last end in conquest and subjection. But after the flood, when the people were greatly increased, certain families becoming more potent than others, the weaker confederated for their mutual safety and defence; and forming themselves into republics, chose officers for their better government.

Cæsar. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 6.

The government by commonwealths succeeding that of the patriarchal, it continued for many ages to prevail throughout the world, amongst the Jews, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, Britons, Danes, Swedes, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Poles, Slavonians, Russians, &c. 'till the declension of the Roman empire, when monarchy was introduced to these and other parts of Europe: for at the invasion of Gaul by Cæsar, it consisted of sixty large states or commonwealths, whose governments were aristocratical; for the commons, being vassals to the nobility, had no share in the administration.

As to what Cæsar says of some of them having had kings, that seems to have been a title conferred on them by himself, as an increase to his own honour, which was customary among the Romans; for when mention is made of one of the said states having had a king, which is very rare, it is only to be understood the chief magistrate, who was a person of the greatest interest in the republick, whose title in Gaelick was Vergobret, which, according to Cæsar, implies general of the army, the same as king in the Saxon: whereby 'tis manifest that he had no greater share in the government than Cæsar had by his title of imperator; which is demonstrable by their children not succeeding to their offices, whereof we have divers instances in his Commentaries; but not one, that I could learn, that succeeded by virtue of such an office. This was the state of Gaul, when subdued by Clovis in the year 486, who, uniting the numerous states thereof, became its first monarch; though, undoubtedly by mistake, Pharamond is said to have been appointed its first king in the year 420.

Mezer. Hist.
France, p. 14.

That the republican government prevailed much longer in Germany than in Gaul, is manifest; for at the invasion of Lower Saxony by Charles the Great, in the year 771, the administration of that country was vested in twelve of the nobility, who ruled alternately; and he in whose government a foreign war happened, on him was conferred the title of king, that is, general of the army, which he enjoyed during the war; which was no sooner over, than he resigned both his commission and title of king, and returned to his pristine state.

Crantz. Sax.
lib. 2. c. 22.

This is confirmed by Bede, who tells us, that the ancient Saxons, who had no kings, were ruled by divers lords, who, on the breaking out of a war, cast lots; and he on whom the lot fell, the people followed and obeyed as their general: but the war was no sooner over, than the said lords became equal in power again.

Bed. Hist.
lib. 4. c. 34.
lib. 5. c. 11.

By this Saxon king we may judge what those of the Marcomanians, Quadians, Gothones, Rugians, Lemovians, and Suiones, other German kings mentioned by Tacitus, were, viz. the chiefs of the several republicks, before the declension of the Roman empire, as presently will appear.

Tacit. de
Morib. Germ.

The Roman empire being now reduced to a miserable condition, by the barbarous northern nations, Vallia the Goth subdued the country of Spain, and became the first king thereof, anno 418: for those called kings before the conquest of Spain by the Romans, are, by the best historians, deemed fabulous, and not to be regarded.

Marian. Hist.
Hispan.

That the southern part of this island, by the Romans called Britain, was anciently divided into a number of petty states or commonwealths, is evident from Cæsar, who tells us, that Cassivelaun, by consent of all the states, was chosen general of the confederate army; but the confederacy being weakened by a defection of divers of these states, who submitted to Cæsar, Cassivelaun ordered the four kings who commanded in the county of Kent to attack Cæsar's naval camp: whereby we may learn, that those petty commanders, under the command of the general, were like those other British kings, Imanentius, Togodumnus, and Caractacus, who were only so called by the Roman generals to increase their own honour.

Cæs. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 5.

In a similar case this is confirmed by Tacitus, who tells us, that the whole strength and government of the German kings, mentioned by him, were derived from the authority of the Romans: which is

Tacit. de
Morib. Germ.

manifest; for the Romans, at the declension of their empire, no sooner left Germany, than the people returned to their ancient government by republicks.

Nor is there any other sort of kings, by Roman writers said to have been in Britain, but such as they substituted; for their government being like that of the Gauls, 'tis apparent they had no kings before the Roman invasion, nor during the time the Romans resided here, which was about five hundred years; therefore there was no kingly government in Britain before the year 446, in the fifth century. But the Romans being obliged to withdraw their troops from Britain, about the year 443, the Cumri or southern Britons chose them a king, and at first erected a monarchy.

The Roman province in South Britain, soon after the departure of the Romans, chose in their stead, for defence against their northern enemies the Gael, (since called Scots and Picts) Vortigern, chief or count of the Danmonii, for their king, in the year 415.

Ware's Hist.
Ireland.

And, notwithstanding of what we are told by fabulous writers of the Irish having had kings some centuries before, 'tis certain they had no king till the fifth century, when Logarius was chosen their first king.

Puffendorff.
Introduct.
Hist. Europ.

Charles the Great, in the eighth century, having subdued the several German republicks, he added them to his other dominions; which being some time after divided among his three grandsons, Lewis, one of them, called the Holy, had for his share all the German territories, with the title of king of Germany.

Norway had its first king in the ninth century.

Woldomir was elected first king of Russia in the year 989.

Boleslaus was, by the emperor Otho III. constituted king of Poland anno 999.

The Hungarian and Bohemian monarchies are so interwoven with the affairs of the German empire, that they cannot be depended on; though 'tis said they were at first erected into kingdoms in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Count Henry of Burgundy was proclaimed in the field, by his army, king of Burgundy in the year 1130.

Sicily and Naples being united by the epithet of the Two Sicilies, William, duke of Penillie, assumed the title of king thereof anno 1129.

Ottoman I. emperor of the Turks, about the year 1300, assumed the title of Sultan.

The kingdoms of Prussia and Sardinia, being invested with the royal epithets only in the eighteenth century, are of so late an erection, that they are out of the present inquiry.

Alphonso was proclaimed by his army, in the field, king of Portugal anno 1139.

The above disquisition, containing all the sovereigns of Europe, with the times of their advancement to their several crowns, as far as I can learn, was occasioned by the numerous disputes amongst the most eminent, ingenious, and learned writers, both foreign and domestick, concerning the antiquity of kingly government in this island, and in other parts of Europe: wherefore I have spared for neither labour or expence to come at the origin thereof in the best manner possible; which I hope I have done to the satisfaction of the publick, which is all I desire. Now, as my principal view in writing is to come at the truth,

truth, and for the honour of my country, I flatter myself it will not fail to expose Fordun's ridiculous fable of the Scots being expelled Britain, by a confederacy of Romans, Picts, and Britons, as already mentioned.

By what has been said the reader may observe, that monarchy was at first established in Spain only about the beginning, and in France towards the close, of the fifth century, in Germany only about the end of the eighth century, and in Britain, or the southern part of this island, about the year 445: but the reader, by what follows, may please to take notice, that monarchy was not established in Scotland till the beginning of the sixth century, in the year 503, by Fergus son of Erth, or Erch, falsely called the second; whereas it is manifest he was the first king Scotland ever had.

And the more effectually to demonstrate that there could not have been any kings in Europe before the fifth century, at the declension of the Roman empire, the reader, by inspecting the above list of kings, will perceive the several periods when they were chosen or appointed.

Besides, the reader may also observe, that, during the flourishing state of the Roman empire, there were very few kings upon earth; for the Roman monarchy being as it were universal, all countries may, in some sort, be said to have belonged to it, and therefore there was no room for other masters or kings: for those on whom the Roman generals conferred the empty title of king, for their own honour, had little or no power given them. But the empire no sooner began to decline, than the chief men of the several states or republics set up for themselves, invaded and subdued countries, and assumed the title of king; as did other ambitious men, by prevailing on their countrymen to chuse them monarchs. Thus began our present kingly government, which was coveted by many, and soon became despotical.

Having, I think, beyond the power of just contradiction, traced the origin of kingly government from its source to the present time, I flatter myself that it will effectually put a stop to all disputes hereafter concerning the same.

Now the grand dispute, which occasioned the above researches, was concerning the time when kingly government was at first established in Scotland, which was carried on with great warmth on all sides, by the most learned and judicious writers of Scotland, England, Ireland, and Wales, in the last century, occasioned by John Fordun's having falsely devised, at the expence of the honour of Scotland, an expulsion of the Scots from the isle of Britain, by a confederacy of Romans, Picts, and Britains, that we might not, forsooth, be outdone by our neighbours in point of antiquity, either in monarchy or people; and having made Fergus, falsely called the second, to begin his reign anno 403, who undoubtedly was our first king, he has carried the establishment of kingly government in Scotland above seven hundred years higher. Were this true, it would have been a great addition to the Scottish antiquity: but the inventor has been forced to rack his brains to bring it about in a probable manner; while, as ill luck would have it, he seems to have been destitute of a genius for plausible invention; for, seemingly without knowing that Argyll was the coun-
inhabited by the Gael, improperly called the Scots, he tells us, that the
above-named confederacy expelled the Scots the island of Britain:
I
whereas

whereas it plainly appears, by the Romans, and all other candid writers, together with the general tradition of the people, that the Romans or Picts never were in the country of Argyll; which is confirmed by there being in that country neither Roman camp, castle, military way, nor indeed any thing else Roman. Whereby 'tis manifest they could not expel the Scots from a country they never were in.

Add to this that other falshood of the first magnitude, when Fordun tells us, that one Fergus, the son of Erth, or Erch, was the first king of the second alleged race of Scottish kings: which proving insufficient to ascertain a superiority over our neighbouring nations in point of antiquity, a method must be devised to expel the Scots from the island of Britain, by appointing one Fergus, the son of Ferchard, a fictitious king of Ireland, to be the first king of their fabulous first race of Scottish kings, said to have happened three hundred and thirty years before the incarnation; wherein he is followed by Boece, Buchanan, &c. which is said to have happened as followeth.

The Scots, dreading the growing power of the Pictish nation, applied to their neighbours of Ireland for assistance, in case of necessity; which being taken into consideration by Ferchard, their fabulous king, he is said to have sent to their aid his son Fergus, with a number of his nobility, who, joining the Scottish vagrants assembled in the isles, and in other parts of Scotland, attacked and routed the enemy; for which he was elected the first king of Scotland of the first race of their kings. That this is undoubtedly fabulous, appears by the above specified list of kings, and will further appear by what is to follow.

Mackenz.
Defence, Let.
Lord Chanc.

I foresee I shall, by this attempt, render myself liable to the censure of the ignorant and injudicious part of my countrymen, who delight in romance and fables more than in truth, simply imagining that it is a derogation to the honour of Scotland to have the line of our kings abridged, however justly. And to intimidate all persons from engaging in so laudable a design, we are told, by a certain polemical writer, that it is a degree of lese majesty, or high treason, to endeavour the same; which, being a crime of so heinous a nature, is sufficient to deter many from such an enterprise. But as I cannot be of opinion with our author, that it is any crime (far less so frightful an one as that of high treason) candidly to inquire into the time when monarchy was at first brought into Scotland, I have, with the greatest regard to truth and the honour of our country, endeavoured to prove that kingly government was not exercised in Scotland, or in any other part of Europe, as at present, before the beginning of the fifth century.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 2.
c. 12.

Fordun, our first general historian, having deduced the origin of the Scottish nation from the fabulous king Gathelus and his consort Scota, and brought them hither by the way of Spain and Ireland, thought he could do no less than derive our kings from the same lineage: wherefore he has brought one Fergus, son of Ferchard, an Irishman, from Ireland, three hundred and thirty years before the incarnation; and having by his own authority, for aught appears, constituted him the first king of Scotland, has tacked to him no less than forty-four successors, who are called the first race of our kings. Whereas all our writers before Fordun, that I have been able to discover, unanimously agree (as hereafter shall be shewn) that Fergus, son of Erth, or Erch,

was

was the first of our kings, who began his reign in the year 403. And Fordun himself, in a very awkward manner, seems to acknowledge the imposture, by saying, he could not distinguish the times of his (forty-five new) kings reigns, through the defect of ancient annals; as is also manifest by his having only mentioned two or three of the said kings. Which shews what a hopeful foundation we have to build our first race of kings on!

Be that as it will, Fordun, to prove that his Fergus I. was no imaginary king, has brought some vouchers to ascertain his royalty: the first whereof are the following lines.

*Albion in terris, rex primus germine Scotis,
Ipforum turmis rubri tulit arma leonis
Fergusius fulvo Ferchard rugientis in arvo,
Christum trecentis ter denis præfuit annis.*

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 2.
c. 12.

But these verses, as ill luck would have it, instead of proving what they were brought for, only tend to put us on inquiring which of our kings at first bore the lion for his arms; and he appears to have been Alexander II. who began his reign about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and was the first of our kings that bore a lion rampant on his shield: nay, he seems to have been the first of our kings who bore arms; for there are none on the shields of his predecessors, Duncan, Edgar, Alexander I. David I. Malcolm IV. or on that of king William.

The second proof is brought from a legend of St. Congal, an Irish saint, which, he says, relates that Fergus, son of Ferchard, brought from Ireland into Scotland the famous marble chair, wherein he was crowned the first king of Scots. But a late writer having unluckily (for Fordun) discovered the life of the said St. Congal amongst the works of St. Coloman, published by F. Fleming, he declares, that there is not the least mention of Fergus, son of Ferchard, therein, or any thing relating to Fordun's narrative. Thus we see how egregiously we are deceived and imposed upon by the devisers of this new race of kings; who, for the support of their fables, have, at the expence of truth, justice, and honour, brought for vouchers nothing but downright falsehoods, so poorly contrived as to deceive only the most credulous.

Id. ibid.

Innes's Crit.
Essay, vol. 2.
b. 2.

And the more effectually to support this ill-contrived set of kings, and fall in with Bede's Renda, Fordun artfully and falsely supposes a subversion of the Scottish monarchy, and the whole nation to have been expelled Britain, in the year 360, by a confederacy of Romans, Britons, and Picts, under the conduct of Maximus the tyrant, who assumed the purple in this island, which he endeavours to prove by a quotation from Sigisbert, taken from Prosper and Gregory of Tours; which only imports, that Maximus having usurped the empire, he beat the Scots and Picts who invaded the same. This quotation seems to be used as a cloak by our author, to conceal his having taken this fabulous relation from the romance of Geoffry of Monmouth, who calls the said usurper Maximian, as will appear upon comparing this with the eleventh chapter of the fifth book of the said Geoffry's work, unjustly entituled the History of Britain.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 2.
c. 45.

Prof. in An-
tiq. Leet.
Canif.
Greg. Turon.
Hist.

Mon. Hist.
Brit. lib. 5.
c. 11.

This story of the expulsion of the Scots is certainly the most dishonourable reflection that ever was devised against our country; but the absurdity thereof luckily discovers it to be a falsity and wicked invention: for to expel the brave inhabitants of so mountainous and inaccessible a country as the highlands of Scotland then was, were a task too hard for the Romans, had they had double the power in Britain. Besides, 'tis well known that an undertaking of this kind could not have been accomplished by Maximus; for by Severus, Sulpitius, and Zozimus, we are well assured, that he was no sooner proclaimed emperor in Britain by the army, than he transported his troops into Gaul, and surpris'd the emperor Gratian: whereby 'tis plain he had not time to expel the Scots their country, supposing it practicable.

Add to this, that had the spurious invention been fact, there would have been the remains of Roman roads or military ways seen, leading to and through the country of Argyll; but, instead of such, the roads, if they may be called so, are shocking to travellers: for, consisting of huge mountains, monstrous declivities, continued rocks, an infinite number of large loose stones, bogs and mosses, it is with great danger, difficulty, and labour, that a single person can travel, much less an army, whose entrance there would be next to impossible. Beside, 'tis not only the badness of the ways that would have obstructed their march, but the vales or bottoms between the hills being very numerous, deep, and narrow, they formed so many natural defences, which were probably nowhere to be excelled in strength. So we see all things conspire to demonstrate, that the Romans never were in the country of Argyll, or other western parts of Scotland.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol.

And farther, to shew that the abovementioned expulsion is a fable, I need only acquaint the reader, that, had such a thing happened, the Gael or Caledonians, who were prevail'd on by Agricola, the Roman lieutenant in Britain, about three hundred years before that period, to accept of the Roman habit, (which has ever since been held in the greatest esteem by our highlanders, their descendants) must have carried the said dress with them into Ireland, where they are said to have resided for the space of forty-three years; in which time a new generation being supposed to be grown up, born in that country, it may reasonably be presumed, that many of them, (at the restoration of the Scots to their own country) out of love to the places of their nativity, would have chosen to remain in Ireland: wherefore 'tis not to be doubted but the love born to the said Roman or highland dress by their predecessors, would have been so riveted in them, that they would have continued the use thereof in that country; whereas that habit does not appear ever to have been used in Ireland. For we are told by the most eminent and judicious Irish historian, that the dress of the ancient Irish was a little coat and breeches, with a frize or rug cloak with a long shag on the outside, which reached down to their heels.

Ware, Antiq.
Hibern.
c. II.

As another proof of this new race of kings being fabulous, I shall attempt to shew that our ancestors had no annals, or records, to transmit to posterity the transactions of their own times, and consequently no accounts concerning the said kings, had there ever been such.

Cæs. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 6.

We are told by Cæsar, that the Druids, or pagan priests of the Gauls, being anciently the sole repositories of learning, committed the

same

same to the memories of their pupils, whose study and practice for many years it was to get by memory a number of verses, which were never trusted to writing. That those verses, amongst other things, contained the historical transactions of the times, appears by divers of the most celebrated foreign writers, who tell us, that the business of the bards as historians, was, in recitative verse, at their publick conventions and on the day of battle, to sing the praises of their deceased heroes, in order to inspire their young princes and nobility with a generous emulation to equal, if not excel, their predecessors in defence of their country: and, as they advanced to battle, they sung songs full of bitter invectives and terrible threatenings, to intimidate their enemies and encourage their friends. But those sonnets not being recorded, we must not expect any accounts of the exploits of our ancestors before the arrival of the Romans in Britain.

D'od. Sic.
Hist. lib. 5.
c. 2.

Am. Marcel.
lib. 15. c. 9.

And Gildas, the most ancient British historian, who wrote about twelve hundred years ago, declares himself doubtful, whether his countrymen the Cumri or Welsh ever had any records, to transmit to posterity an account of their origin, and the transactions of their ancestors: he ingenuously owns, that what he wrote he had from foreign authorities, and not from records belonging to his own nation. Adding, that, if ever there were any, they were in his time lost, or perhaps either destroyed by enemies at home, or carried away by exiles into foreign countries.

Gild. Hist.
edit. Gale,
c. 2. p. 10.

And Nenius, another British historian, who wrote about nine hundred years since, complains that the greatest scholars amongst the Britons had but little learning, and no memoirs; and tells us, that what he wrote was collected from Roman annals, works of the primitive fathers, and other foreign writers.

Nen. Hist.
Brit. Apol.
edit. Gale,
p. 94.

Now as, by the aforesaid writers, it appears there were no records amongst the inhabitants of the southern parts of Britain in their times or before, 'tis little to be expected there were any in the northern parts of this island: for our predecessors chief delight being in war, we are not to hope for any account of their transactions in those early and troublesome times, and consequently none concerning the supposed first race of kings, had there been any such.

And as, by what has been said, 'tis manifest we could have no account of any such kings from cotemporary writers, they were probably devised by fabulous authors, with a view to outstrip our neighbouring nations in the antiquity of monarchy, as aforesaid; vainly imagining thereby to do honour to our country, without considering that nothing can bring a greater odium on a people than the silly inventions of men, who ground the origin of their nations and kings on fables.

And to shew that this scheme is of modern invention, I shall bring some proofs from our ancient annals, written before the time of Fordun; whereby it will appear, that the authors thereof never heard of Fergus the son of Ferchard being our first king, or of his forty-four illustrious successors, mentioned by Fordun. As to our testimonies not being more numerous, it is necessary to acquaint the reader, that on the extinction of the royal line of Scotland by the demise of Alexander III. and that of his grand-daughter Margaret, princess royal of Norway, divers competitors putting in for the crown, the kingdom was rent into factions; and the regency being unable to decide the contro-

Ford. Scoti-
chron, edit.
Hearn, vol. 4.
p. 953.

verfies, Edward I. king of England was almoſt unanimouſly choſen arbiter, to decide that important affair. Edward, by virtue of his commiſſion, having ordered all the records, both publick and private, throughout the kingdom, to be brought before the twenty-four commiſſioners, appointed by him to inquire into the claims of the ſeveral competitors, he, to his great reproach and diſhonour, ſpoiled us of all our records, cauſing many of them to be burnt, and the reſt to be carried into England, with a view to deprive us of the knowledge of our antiquity, laws, customs, and rights, the more eaſily to make us his vaffals, and bring us under the dominion of the Engliſh crown.

This being our caſe, 'tis not to be wondered at that we have ſo few ancient records before that unhappy arbitration: hence we are unluckily deprived of the advantage of knowing many of the ancient exploits performed by our anceſtors, as we likewiſe are of the ancient government, laws, liberties, and immunities of our country; for the records we have remaining, before that unfortunate period, are but a few compendious tranſcripts from our ancient annals and writings before the year 1291. However, by theſe ſcraps, moſt luckily is diſcovered the time when monarchy was at firſt eſtabliſhed in Scotland.

Chron. Reg.
Scot. in Ap-
pend. Innes's
Crit. Eſſ.
nº. 4.

The firſt of theſe extracts, which is a ſhort chronicle, ſuppoſed to have been written in the twelfth century, contains a catalogue of our kings, from Fergus II. the ſon of Erch, to the reign of William the Lyon, with the number of years of their reſpective reigns; wherein is not only ſet forth the bounds of Fergus's kingdom, which extended from Dunalbin to the Iriſh ſea and Inchgall, but he is expreſſly ſaid to have been the firſt king of Albany or Scotland.

Camd. Brit.
in Braidalb.

The ſecond of thoſe pieces is a ſhort deſcription of Scotland, wherein 'tis ſaid that Fergus, ſon of Erch, was the firſt king that reigned in Albany or Scotland. This deſcription, which is quoted by Camden from a MS. in the Burleighian library, by the name of the diviſion of Scotland, is by Innes juſtly ſuppoſed to have been written by Giraldus Cambrenſis, in the twelfth century: and as the author owns to have received the account of Albany from Andrew biſhop of Cathneſs, it muſt have been in the year 1165, when the ſaid biſhop was in England, attending his ſovereign William, king of Scotland, when he did homage to king Henry II. for the counties of Cumberland and Huntingdon.

This piece, which is become famous for its being ſo often quoted by Camden, and the biſhops Uſher, Stillingfleet, and Lloyd, in their controverſial writings concerning the antiquity of the Scots, belonged to lord Burleigh, ſecretary of ſtate to queen Elizabeth of England; at the ſale of whoſe books, it was bought by order of M. Colbert, prime miniſter to Lewis XIV. king of France, which, together with the reſt of the Colbertine manuſcripts, were purchaſed by the ſaid king, and is now in the royal library at Paris. The above relation of the biſhop of Cathneſs's plainly appears to have been taken from the aforeſaid ſhort chronicle of our kings.

Nom. Reg.
Scot. in Ap-
pend. Innes's
Crit. Eſſ.
nº. 5.

In an extract from the registry of the priory of St. Andrews, p. 46, which is one of the moſt ancient and authentick hiſtorical monuments in Scotland, is contained a liſt of our kings, their deſcents, and years of their ſeveral reigns, from Fergus, ſon of Erch, to the third year of Alexander III. wherein the ſaid Fergus is expreſſly ſaid to be the firſt king

king of Scotland. And as this list or catalogue is recorded in one of the chartularies or registers of the said priory, in the year 1251, before the destruction of our records by Edward I. it is a proof sufficient, that at that time the said Fergus was by all believed to have been the first king of Scots: nor, indeed, was the fact controverted, 'till the appearance of Fordun and Boece.

But the plainest proof of Fergus, son of Erch, being the first king of Scotland, is taken from a short Latin chronicle in rhyme, written before the destruction of our records; wherein the said Fergus is positively asserted to be the first Scottish king, as will appear by the following lines, *viz.*

*Primus in Ergadia Fergus rexit tribus annis,
Post Donegart quinis, Congal quater octo bis.*

Breve Chron.
Scot. Append.
Innes's Crit.
Essay, n^o. 6.
cap. 6.

That is,

“ This Fergus was the first, that reigned three years in Argyll:
“ after him, Donegart five; and Congal, who succeeded him, thirty-
“ four years.”

N. B. The last number is a mistaken transposition of the thirty-four years of Aidan's reign for the twenty-four years of Congal's. This short chronicle agreeing with the *Chronica Regum Scotorum*, and that in the registry of St. Andrew's, that Alexander III. was the fifty-first king of Scotland, exactly shews this Fergus to have been the first king of Scots, by his being the first of the fifty kings preceding the said Alexander.

Here it is necessary to acquaint the reader, that at the end of the sixth chapter of the said Breve Chronicon, is interpolated an impertinent addition, chiefly extracted from divers parts of Fordun's chronicle, and amassed together in the most inconsistent manner; insomuch that were there not an ancient and genuine copy thereof in the Scottish college-library at Paris, the confused interpolation would, to every judicious reader, appear by its incongruity and incoherence. However, Fergus, the son of Ferchard, is said to have been our first king, as aforesaid.

Innes's Crit.
Essay, vol. 2.
p. 677.

And, to add one evidence more, Andrew Winton, a canon regular of St. Andrews and prior of Lochleven, who though he probably outlived Fordun, yet wrote before the publication of Fordun's chronicle, and certainly never saw it; therefore we may justly conclude, that he published the sentiments of the ancient Scots concerning their first monarch, who, by the following verses, will appear to have been Fergus, the son of Erch:

“ He yat was callet Fergus More,
“ In the third buke rehard before,
“ Was Fergus Erthson, yat thre yehere
“ Mad him beyond the Dunn to steir;
“ Oure all ye hychtis evir ilk ane,
“ As yai ly fra Dunnalbane.
“ Till Stanemore and Inchegall,
“ Kyng he mad him oure yaim all;

“ Dongart his fwn, yheris five,
 “ Was tyll his father fucceffive;
 “ Congall, Dongart's fwn, twentye zheres
 “ And twa was kyng withoutin weres.

By what has been said concerning the time when monarchy was at first established in Scotland, the reader may observe, that in all the aforesaid extracts from our ancient historians, before the destruction of our records by Edward I. or the publication of either Fordun's or Boece's histories, there is not the least mention of Fergus the son of Ferchard's being our first king, nor indeed of his being a king at all. And though the said accounts were written by divers authors, at sundry times, in different places, and on various occasions; yet they all agree in the names, order, and number of kings, and in making Fergus the son of Erch the first. Wherefore I think I may venture to declare, that in no genuine writer, before the end of the thirteenth century, is to be found any account of Fordun's new race of forty-five kings, or of Boece's thirty-nine nominal monarchs; nor of any sovereign Scottish king before Fergus the son of Erch, who began his reign in the year 503.

Although what has been said, I think, is sufficient to shew that there was no king of Scots before the said Fergus, son of Erch: yet, to put it beyond dispute, I shall trace this affair to its original, and prove there could be no king in Scotland before the abovementioned period.

Cæs. de Bell.
 Gall. lib. 6.

We are told by Cæsar, that when he invaded the country of Gaul, now denominated France, it consisted of sixty large states or republics, whose governments, being aristocratical, were administered by the nobility and clergy: the commons, being vassals to the former, had no share in the management of publick affairs. Now as I have elsewhere shewn that Britain was peopled from Gaul, and that the language, religion, and customs of both nations were the same, we may reasonably conclude that their manner of government was likewise the same: which is confirmed by Cæsar, at whose arrival in Britain the country, like that of Gaul, was divided into a number of communities or republics, which, forming a confederacy, chose Cassivelaun general of the allied army; but Cæsar's success occasioning a defection amongst the confederates, many of their troops not only left their army, but the six states of the Trinobantes, Cenemagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibraci, and Cassi, submitted to Cæsar. And, to corroborate this account of Cæsar's, we are told by Ptolemy, that the southern part of Britain, now called England and Wales, consisted of seventeen communities or states; and the northern part, at present denominated Scotland, of eighteen republics.

Ibid. lib. 5.

Ptol. Geog.
 Europ. tab. 1.

Tacit. in Vit.
 Agricol.

The celebrated Roman historian Tacitus, who wrote towards the close of the first century, is the first writer, as far as we know, that mentions our country and people, the former by the appellation of Caledonia, and the latter by that of Britons: he, speaking of the wars between them and the Romans, tells us, that Agricola, in his third year's expedition, ravaged divers nations as far as the Tay; and, in the fifth year, subdued many nations 'till then unknown: and that, in his progress through Caledonia, the country consisted of a number of communities or petty states, like those in the southern parts of Britain, which seldom joining in the common cause, it was rare to find

find two or three of the said states unite to withstand a foreign foe, and, whilst they fought separately, became an easy prey to their powerful enemies the Romans.

This dangerous disunion, which so greatly contributed towards the conquests of the southern parts of Britain, being taken into consideration by the Caledonians, they resolved, that nothing could more effectually prevent their destruction, at this time of imminent danger, than a confederacy of all the states of Caledonia: to which end it was resolved, by a general agreement of the several communities, to send their forces into the field to act in concert for defence of the whole, and avenge themselves on the Romans, or suffer perpetual bondage. Galgacus, from amongst the several leaders, for the eminence of his family and personal valour, was chosen general of the allied army; who, putting himself at the head of thirty thousand men, took the field, and marched to the Grampian mountains, to decide the fate of Caledonia.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol.

And, to put it beyond dispute that there were no kings in Caledonia in those days, Tacitus adds, that the northern Britons or Caledonians, who formerly had kings, were then governed by chiefs, and rent into factions and parties, according to the caprice and passions of their leaders. This is confirmed by Dion Cassius, another celebrated Roman historian, who assures us, that the government of the Caledonians was popular, and that so late as the reign of the emperor Severus in the third century.

Dion Cass.
in Xiphil.

REMARK. As the above state of our country is so early ascertained by the testimonies of two illustrious Roman historians, who, being foreigners, could have no private views or sinister ends to serve, we must believe that they have given us honest and fair accounts. Hence Fordun's, Boece's, and Buchanan's first race of kings is plainly proved to be spurious, and invented to serve a turn.

Add to this, that, by the aforesaid just relations, it is manifest we could have no sovereign king before Fergus, son of Erch; by which we have luckily got rid of the Irish impostor, falsely called Fergus I. and, in his stead, our own natural prince and countryman the said Fergus, son of Erch, established as our first king. We had no occasion for a fabulous race of kings to add to the antiquity of our monarchy, since we are upon the same footing with our neighbours, by having had kingly government introduced amongst us about the same time they received it, which was at the fatal catastrophe of the Roman empire, as already mentioned.

Before I proceed, it is necessary to obviate a doubt which may arise, by Tacitus's saying that the Britons and Caledonians were formerly subject to kings; that is, before Agricola the Roman lieutenant's time, who entered Caledonia about the year 84.

Having already shewn, from Cæsar and Crantzius, that the kings anciently in Gaul and Germany, instead of being sovereign princes, were only members of the states that governed the several communities, and ruled alternately yearly; whose office, during their respective governments, was, in the time of peace, to preside in the courts of justice; and he in whose government a war happened, had the title of king conferred on him, that is, general of the army, which he enjoyed during the war; but which was no sooner over, than he resigned both his commission and title of king, and returned to his pristine state.

Such

Such as these were, I take our Caledonian kings, mentioned by Tacitus, to have been; which seems to be confirmed by Galgacus's being chosen from amongst the leaders of the troops of the confederated states of Caledonia, as general or commander in chief of the allied army. For, had our country been governed by hereditary kings, 'tis not probable that our ancestors would have changed monarchy for republicanism, to which it may be supposed they would have had a strong aversion. Nor can it be reasonably imagined, that we could have a sovereign prince, when the several countries around us, *viz.* Gaul, Spain, Germany, the southern parts of Britain, and our own country, before they were subdued by the Romans, were all governed by commonwealths.

REMARK. From the above facts it is so very plain, that we had no hereditary kings in Scotland before Fergus the son of Erch, and this attested by the most illustrious Roman historians, and by Ptolemy the celebrated cosmographer, that it cannot be justly controverted; more especially if we consider that the said writers lived in the times wherein the kings of the first race are said to have reigned, and that in those days, as already observed, 'tis more than probable we had no historian of our own to transmit to posterity the transactions of our ancestors; for the first time we find the said race of kings mentioned is by Fordun, near one thousand years after the last of the said kings is said to have reigned. Nevertheless, the propensity to fable has been so prevailing, that all our historians have given into the invention of Fordun; which yet he himself seems to be ashamed of, by characterising only two or three of his long list of new monarchs: as for the rest, he, forsooth, could not distinguish the times of their reigns, or other accounts of them, through the want of records.

However Hector Boece, no doubt imagining that this new set of kings would prove very honourable to our nation, has spared no pains to improve the story; and, by licking the ill-born cub into a new form, has not only furnished us with names to those imaginary monarchs, but has given us accounts of the great and glorious actions performed by them against the southern Britons, Romans, and Picts, never heard of before: most of which have been copied and embellished by Buchanan, to his great reproach.

Boeth. Hist.
lib. 7. fol.
118.

And Boece, to screen himself from censure on this occasion, and give a sanction to his fabulous invention, has palmed his brat upon Veremundus a Spaniard, John Campbell, and Cornelius Hibernicus; writers who, for aught I can learn, were never heard of before this time. The works of Veremundus, he says, were sent him by John earl of Argyll, the king's treasurer, from the island of Icolmkill, wherein was the repository appointed by Fergus II. for the reception of the publick records; in which, amongst other writings, were deposited, forsooth, a chest of precious books, brought by Fergus from the sacking of Rome by Alaric the Goth, whom he accompanied in his expedition against that city. No doubt, Veremundus's history was one of these precious books!

REMARK. This relation of Boece carries in its front the badge of imposture, not only in respect to the chest of books, but in regard to his aforesaid authors; for it no where appears, that I can discover, that Veremundus, John Campbell, Cornelius Hibernicus, or their thirty-nine new kings, were ever named before the time of Boece.

And

And the more effectually to expose the fraud, it will not be amiss to observe, that happy is it for virtuous and candid readers of history that fabulous writers, either through indolence in not inquiring, or defect of memory in not remembering, or honesty in not relating facts, generally betray themselves, which at present is the case of Boece; for having told us, that Fergus deposited the chest of books in the archives at Icolmkill, he unluckily forgot, or through ignorance did not know, that the abbey of Icolmkill, wherein the said archives are said to have been kept, was not founded 'till about one hundred and sixty years after the time he says it was appointed to be a repository for the national records!

Boet. Præfat.
Scot. Hist.

Besides, Boece in his Lives of the bishops of Aberdeen, published in the year 1522, which was four years before the publication of his history, tells us, that although Fergus had appointed Icolmkill to be a repository for the publick records, yet king Alexander I. (who began his reign in the year 1107, which is four hundred and nineteen years before the publication of his said history) considering the great distance of Icolmkill, and the difficulty of coming at it in that turbulent sea, caused our annals and all the other records to be brought from thence, and deposited them in the priory of Restennet, in the county of Angus and neighbourhood of Forfar, where he resided. Whereby 'tis plainly demonstrated, that in Boece's time there were no records in the island of Iona or Icolmkill: so that Veremundus could not have been sent him from thence in the year 1525. No more, I think, could his large history of Scotland have been finished early in the following year, as appears by the dedication (which is commonly the last thing written by an author) to king James V. dated April 1, 1526. So had Boece received his Veremundus on the first day of the year 1525, he would then only have had fifteen months to write his history in. Whereas it may be reasonably supposed that a work of that kind and size, considering also the time required in the discharge of his office of canon or prebendary of Aberdeen, would have required near as many years to have compiled it in. And had not the records been removed from Icolmkill by order of Alexander, they would have been carried off by command of Edward I. who, in the year 1291, caused all the registries, archives, and libraries of monasteries, and others, throughout Scotland, to be searched for records; of which, after perusal, many were sent to England, and the rest burnt: another proof that Boece could not have Veremundus's history from Icolmkill.

Boet. Præf.
ad Vit. Episc.
Aberd.

Præf. Chron.
de Cupr.

To what has been said I shall add, that as the principal qualifications of an historian are truth and good order, surely never any writer had a less claim to the former than Boece, as will appear by the following extracts from his work, which better deserves the title of a romance than that of a history.

About ten miles from the town of Air, in the district of Kyle, is a rock called the deaf-stone, about twelve feet in height and fifty in extent; and if a cannon was to be discharged, or the greatest noise made on one side of it, the report or noise could not be heard on the other side.

Boet. Scot.
Reg. Descript.
fol. 7.

In the lake or loch of Lomund are fish without fins, waves without wind, and a floating island.

Id. ibid.

In the county of Buchan oats are produced without either seed or culture; and when the people go to reap or cut down the same, they

Ibid. fol. 9.

K k

find

find only hulls or empty shells; but if they come accidentally to reap the said grain, the ears are ripe and full.

Boet. Scot.
Reg. Descript.
fol. 11.

Within four miles of the confluence of the rivers Tay and Earn is a stone of such dimensions, that the greatest power cannot remove it from the place it lies in, though one man can move it with great ease.

Id. ibid.

The soil in some parts of the country of Athol is so very rich, that it bears corn without cultivation. And at a town in the same country, denominated Lud, the ground is so very fertile, if well manured, that it brings forth good bear (a kind of barley) without seed. And in the said district of Athol are other lands, which being sown with wheat, the grain is changed in the ground, and produces rye.

Id. ibid.

On Dundore, or the golden mountain in Garioch, both the sheeps wool and flesh are of a saffron colour, and their teeth of that of gold.

Ibid. fol. 7.

Boece was told by sir Duncan Campbell, that, in the year 1510, a web-footed animal, about the size of a greyhound, came out of Lochgarloil in Argylshire, which not only, with three strokes of its tail, killed three men that were hunting, but beat down large trees with its tail; yet we are told, that the rest of the hunters saved themselves from this furious creature by getting into the tops of trees.

And Boece, of his own knowledge, affirms, that the clakis, barnacle, or solon geese, grow in marine shells to perfection: than which nothing can be falser, as is manifest by the numerous experiments made by our naturalists.

That in the frith of Forth are fishes resembling monks with cowls on their heads.

And that there are wild men in Norway, who pull up the tallest fir-trees seemingly with the same ease as an ordinary man can a turnep.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 2.
fol. 21.

In the reign of king Rentha, Ptolemy, king of Egypt, sent divers learned men abroad to discover or survey the several countries throughout the world, and to write a cosmographical description thereof: being arrived in Scotland, they were joyfully received by Rentha, for their being Egyptians, inhabitants of the country the Scots originally came from; who ordered them to be conducted not only through his own kingdom, but likewise through that of the Picts; both of which they accurately by proper instruments surveyed, and set down the positions of the several mountains, friths, lakes, isles, towns, and castles, the length of the days and nights, and situation of the country; and their survey of all the countries they travelled through being finished, the work was entituled Ptolemy's Cosmography. The missionaries, in surveying Scotland, observed the same rites, customs, manner of writing, language, and habit, as were in use in Egypt, wherewith they were not a little pleased: and Rentha, to shew his grandeur and munificence, sent rich gifts by them to their sovereign Ptolemy.

Add to this his ridiculous contradictions to Roman writers of what passed in their own times, viz. his accounts of Camelodunum, the Silures, Brigantes, Caractacus, Voada, Carusius, &c. the Roman wars and treaties with the Scots in the times of his spurious kings, Ederus, Metellanus, Mogaldus, Ethodius, Donald I. the romantick stories taken from Roman writers, viz. the Scottish women, married to the Picts, interceding between their husbands and parents, like the Sabines in Livy; Marius, like Numa, establishing the sacred rites; the table of the laws made by Fergus I. Donadilla, and others; the shipwrecked Spanish philosophers; the knowledge of the true God before

the incarnation; his making the Cambrians a distinct people from the Britons; his story of Fergus II's expedition with Alaric the Goth to the destruction of Rome, and his chest of books brought from thence; with many more too tedious to mention, are falsities so very gross, that they can hardly escape the observation of the most heedless reader.

By the above we see how well Boece was qualified for an historian. Other fablemongers have had the address to gloss their inventions in such a manner, that something of a probability appears; whereas Boece's are so very bungling, that they are easily discovered by every judicious reader: for, without mentioning the impossibility of corn being produced without seed, or the transmutation of one kind of grain into another, or the curious map of Scotland made by Ptolemy's surveyors, all the rest of the extracts are utterly false. Is the authority of such a writer then to be depended on?

But that which is still more surprising is Buchanan's having, as it were, almost stolen Boece's whole history, and with the greatest assurance palmed it on the world as his own, as will appear to every one who shall take the pains to compare his history with that of Boece; when the only difference will appear to be, that Buchanan has left out some of the miraculous part, abridged others, and written his imaginary history in a more elegant Latin style; for that part of the work, properly his own, which only commenceth in the year 1430, and ends anno 1572, is only a continuation of Boece for the space of one hundred and forty-two years.

It is too common for writers to insert in their works large portions of other mens labours, without the gratitude to acknowledge the favour; but for a person to have the confidence to pirate, as it were, a man's whole labour, and to receive the numerous eulogies, both of foreigners and natives, for the same as his own, is a crime not easily to be forgiven.

Besides, one may think that a man of Buchanan's penetration would not have been guilty of such a fraudulent imposition, since, on the least consideration, he must have known that nothing could be easier than the detection of the imposture. But a base mind, formed to invent or steal to serve a turn, will stick at nothing to carry its point, though at the expence of honour, justice, and truth.

Now as the aforesaid race of kings was begotten by Fordun, baptized by Boece, and continued by our other historians, I beg leave to add a conjecture or two concerning the motives that might induce their parents to impose them upon us.

Fordun, no doubt, imagining it a great dishonour to Scotland to be outdone by our neighbours in the antiquity of monarchy, formed a scheme to extend our royal line for about seven hundred years upwards; and, for the better accomplishing his design, devised an additional number of kings to increase our ancient list of monarchs; which it seems could be no otherwise effected than by a subversion of our government, by an imaginary expulsion of our ancestors from the island of Britain by the Romans and their confederates.

At present it only remains to be shewn, that there was no occasion to devise a new set of kings, to outstrip our neighbours the southern Britons, and Irish, or other European nations, in point of ancient monarchy; for we shall not, by fixing the first establishment of the Scottish monarchy by Fergus, son of Erch, in the year 403, fall short of any
of

of the said nations in that respect; nay, it is thereby demonstrated, that kingly government is of an ancients date in Scotland than in other of the European nations, as has been already shewn.

Although Boece readily gives into Fordun's new race of kings, as, no doubt, imagining them to be very honourable to our nation, he has nevertheless given him the lie, by telling us, instead of forty-five, they were only thirty-nine in number; and, with the greatest assurance, has given us their names, accounts of their successions and noble achievements, with the relations of the barbarous and cruel murder of about one third of them by themselves and subjects, to the great reproach of our country. Indeed, as Boece was a party concerned in making the said kings, he had a right to dispose of them in such manner as would best contribute towards the accomplishment of his design: for having told us, that his history was written for the use of that young prince, James V. it was necessary to set before him the lives both of his good and bad ancestors, for his better government; for, by regulating his actions according to the laudable examples of the good, he might expect the love both of his people and neighbours, and thereby enjoy a happy and peaceable reign; but if on the contrary, he was to look for all the terrors of a guilty conscience, war with his neighbours, plots and conspiracies at home, nay, death at last from his own subjects.

And Buchanan, although he has, from the illustrious Roman historian Tacitus, shewn us that there were no kings in the northern parts of Britain, now called Scotland, towards the close of the first century; yet, through the greatest incogitancy, he has falsely told us, that Corbredus Galdus, or Galgacus, one of Boece's baptizing, was king of Scotland at that period, which was many ages before the appellation of Scot or Scotland was heard of.

Now, as numerous have been the disputes concerning the origin of monarchy, or kingly government, in most of the European nations, I think it will not be amiss to shew the occasion that monarchy was at first introduced amongst the said nations.

I have made it appear, from the most celebrated Roman historians, that the countries of Britain, Germany, Gaul, Spain, &c. before they were subdued by the Romans, consisted of a number of states or commonwealths, whose governments were either aristocratical or democratical, without the least appearance of monarchy, which was but little known in those days, and therefore could not be established in the said countries before the dissolution of the Roman empire; to which all things conspiring towards the close of the fourth century, that unweildy body, which was founded in ambition, supported by arbitrary power, after having for many ages enslaved a number of nations, ended in dishonour; a fate common to usurped dominion.

Now time, teeming with ambitious men, brought forth a number of monarchs; for the most powerful and aspiring in the several provinces of the said empire insinuated, upon this occasion, that now was the time to shake off the Roman yoke, and become a free people; which they readily giving into, the advisers were chosen their respective leaders; many of whom, proving successful in their attempts against their Roman masters, set up for themselves, and assuming the title of kings, by consent of their respective armies, introduced monarchy,

archy, not only in divers of their own countries, but likewise into those they conquered, *viz.* in the southern part of Britain, now called England; France, Spain, Italy, &c. And our unconquered predecessors, the Gael or Caledonians, to outstrip their neighbours in that respect, set up amongst themselves two monarchies or kingdoms, as shall now be shewn.

It was at this great revolution of the Roman affairs, that the Gael erected in the northern parts of Britain these two kingdoms. The inhabitants of the first, which consisted of Argylshire, and other western countries, were by foreigners called Scots, though their proper appellation was all along Gael, as is manifest by their descendants, the present inhabitants, still calling themselves Gael; and as I take the name of the country to be a corruption of Ard-gael, that is, the high or highland Gael, or Gauls inhabiting the highlands, it had its name from the inhabitants. By what has been mentioned it appears, that the country anciently possessed by the Scots was bounded on the north by Glenmore, or the great vale, (wherein lies Loch-ness) which extends from the neighbourhood of Inverness on the east to the Deucaledonian ocean on the west, on the west by the said Deucaledonian ocean, on the south by the Irish sea and æstuary of Clyde, and on the east by that branch of the Grampian mountains which extends from old Kilpatrick on the northern side of the frith of Clyde through the counties of Dunbarton, Stirling, Perth, Angus, Merns, and Banff, to Murray. Thus the ancient kingdom of Scotland consisted only of the highlands, or mountainous parts of the country; and as the people by the Romans might well be called Caledonii, which I take to be a corruption of Gael-duni, inhabitants of the hills, or highland Gauls, as aforesaid; by this is likewise shewn, that the first seat of our ancestors contained not a third part of the present kingdom of Scotland.

That the inhabitants of the second kingdom, who by foreigners were denominated Picts, had likewise the appellation of Gael, is manifest, by their descendants in the counties of Ross, Sutherland, Cathness, and Strathnaver, part of their ancient dominions in the most northern parts of Scotland, still calling themselves Gael, and their language Gaelick; which is confirmed by the names of the several counties, (exclusive of Sutherland of modern erection) and almost all those of the towns, villages, hills, rivers, brooks, lakes, &c. being mostly all Gaelick. The very few of other denominations were introduced with the English and Danish tongues.

And, to put it beyond dispute that the said Picts were the Gael, and part of the first inhabitants of Britain, it is demonstrated by Nennius, an ancient British or Welsh writer, that the Roman wall, called Graham's dike, was about thirteen hundred years ago denominated the Gaelick wall. That it could only have this appellation from the people whose country it passed through, I think is without controversy; which is also in some measure confirmed by Richard, prior of Hexham, who tells us, that the Picts, at the battle of the Standard, anno 1137, were commonly called Galwayiensis, that is, Gauls inhabitants of Galloway. Thus we see the proper appellation both of the northern and southern Picts was Gael, or Gauls.

And the more effectually to prove that the present inhabitants of the northern, eastern, and southern parts of Scotland are descendants

Lynch. Cam-
brenf. Everf.
p. 93.
Uffer. Antiq.
Brit. p. 375.
Oflart. Ogyg.
p. 483, 484.
Vard. in Vit.
St. Rumoldi.
Affer. Chron.
edit. Gale,
p. 165.
Chron. Sax.
edit. Gibfon,
p. 83.
Ethel. Chron.
fol. 481, 483.

Ingulf. edit.
ann. 1684,
p. 37.
Script. Angl.
col. 1746.
Ric. Hagulf.
in Dec. Script.
Angl. col.
291, 316, 317,
318, 319,
322.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 4.

Ibid. c. 8.

Buchan. Hift.
lib. 2. fol. 16.

of the faid Picts, it is neceffary to fhew, that what we are told by Boece of the whole Pictifh nation being cut off by command of Keneth Macalpine, who subdued them, is utterly falfe: for no hiftorian, that I can learn, for the fpace of three hundred years after the Picts are faid to have been destroyed, in the leaft infinuates that the faid Picts were exterminated; but, on the contrary, the beft of our neighbouring writers not only contradict this barbarous notion, but unanimously agree, that Keneth united the Picts to his own kingdom, and affumed the title of king both of Scots and Picts, wherein he was followed by his fucceffors.

And as an evidence that the Picts were a people long fubfifting after they are faid to have been destroyed by Keneth, Afferius Menevenfis informs us, that the Picts, amongst other people, in the year 875, were greatly harraffed and diftressed by the Danes; which is confirmed both by the Saxon chronicle and that of Ethelwerd, which mention the Picts as a people fubfifting in Albany, or Scotland, at the time of the Danifh irruption. And by the faid Ethelwerd, and his cotemporary writer Ingulfus, we are told, that the Picts, in the year 937, compofed part of the army of Conftantine king of Albany, at the battle of Rumford, againft Adelftan king of the Saxons. And in a letter of Radulph, archbifhop of Canterbury, to pope Calixtus, about the year 1122, the Picts are mentioned as inhabitants of Galloway. And Richard, prior of Hexham, fo late as the year 1137, (which is two hundred and ninety-eight years after the Picts are faid to have been exterminated by Keneth) tells us, as an eye-witnefs, of the Picts making part of king David the firft's army at the battle of the Standard, and calls them no lefs than nine feveral times by the appellation of Picts. This being the laft time we read of this people by the name of Picts, it muft have been owing to their being incorporated and becoming one people with the Scots; fo that the appellation of Picts is no more heard of in hiftory, than if they had actually been extirpated.

Fordun, in one part of his Chronicon, acquaints us, that Keneth ufed the Picts with great cruelty, fparing neither age nor fex. This was only in the heat of action, in revenge of his father's murder; whole army, in a battle about four years before, being difcomfited by the Picts, and himfelf taken prifoner, he was ignominioufly manacled, beheaded, and his head put on a pole, and fet up in the chief city of Pictland. But Fordun elfewhere informs us, that the ftrength of the Pictifh nation being crufted in divers battles, and moft of their leaders either cut off or fled, the generality of the people fubmitted; and Keneth, marching through their feveral provinces, received the harmlefs people in peace into his allegiance.

And though Buchanan feems to follow Boece, his conftant guide, and to affert a mafacre of the Picts; yet, in his preliminary difcourfes on the Britifh antiquities, he tells us, they were only the military Picts, or foldiers of the army, that were cut off in the heat of action.

What has been faid, I think, is fufficient to evince the falftiy of Boece's affertion of a total extirpation of the Pictifh nation, and to remove the odium thrown on Keneth by that fabulous writer.

Before I leave this head, it is neceffary to obferve, that, to countenance Fordun's and Boece's new race of Scotifh kings, it has been judged needful to devife an additional number of thirty-fix kings, to be added

added to the royal Pictish line: but the invention, like that of For-dun, is so very lame, that had nothing else been said to prove that there were no sovereign princes in any part of the country now called Scotland before the declension of the Roman empire, that of the long reigns ascribed to the said thirty-six kings would of itself be sufficient to discover the fraud; for, according to the thoughtless inventor, the number of years the said kings are said to have reigned amounts to no less than fifteen hundred and eighteen, which, at a medium, is about forty-two years each. Whereas, according to the best calculations, the reigns of thirty-six kings, at a medium, only amounts to about twenty-three years each, which is not much above half the number reckoned by this fabulous writer.

As the above race of thirty-six kings are in Lynch's catalogue of Pictish kings, I doubt not he had them from the noted Irish annals; and as the *Cronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum*, published by Innes in the appendix to his Critical Essay, and the Register of St. Andrew, both contain the said catalogue, they may probably be from the same authority. Innes Crit. Ess. Append. n^o. 2.

Now as I have deprived our country of its spurious race of kings, I shall make it an ample amends by shewing, to our great honour, that we are the true descendants of the inland or native Britons, mentioned by Cæsar; who tells us, that the Britons painted themselves in order to look terrible in battle, without mentioning any such custom amongst the Belgick Gauls in the southern parts of Britain. That those said to be painted Britons, were the Caledonians or Picts, our ancestors, is confirmed by Dion Cassius and Herodian, two celebrated Roman writers. The former says, that the people whom the emperor Severus fought against in Britain were the Caledonians and Meata: the latter lived within or besouth the Roman wall or fence, which divided the island; and the former without or benorth the same. And Herodian says, that the people whom Severus made war against in Britain painted themselves, and lived without or on the northern side of the rivers and fortifications which separated the Roman province from the enemy's frontiers, the last whereof being the wall aforesaid, and the first the æstuaries of Clyde and Forth, at the eastern and western extremities of the said wall or fortifications. Cæf. de Bell. Gall. lib. 5.
Xiphil. in Vit. Sever.
Herod. in Vit. Sever.

And as a farther proof of the Caledonians being the posterity of the aforesaid inland or native Britons, it is said by Cæsar, that each of their women was common to a certain number of men. That those were the women of our country plainly appears by the said Dion Cassius, who tells us that the Caledonian women were so: whereas it no where appears, that I can learn, that any of the women in the southern part of Britain were common to more men than one. Cæf. de Bell. Gall. lib. 5.
Xiphil. in Vit. Sever.

Now as I have elsewhere made it appear, that we are the true descendants of the brave Caledonians, who performed so many great and glorious actions against the mighty Romans and their provincial Britons in this island, 'tis equally honourable to us whether the same were done under commonwealths or kings, seeing they were all accomplished by our predecessors. And as I think it is beyond dispute, that we are the posterity of the first colony of Gauls, who probably peopled this island about three thousand three hundred years ago, as already hinted, and of course the true and ancient Britons, who are not those called the Cumri or Welsh, as has hitherto been generally and injuriously asserted; this

this likewise demonstrates, that we are not a new race of people, lately brought hither, by the caprice of the enemies to our antiquities, from they know not what country, nor at what time. And it also effectually refutes that idle and silly tale of Scotland's being peopled from Ireland: instead of which I have, by good reasons, already shewn that Ireland must at first have been peopled from Scotland.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Regnum Cambrense. Ten of its kings exploded. Proved to be Cumberland.

Jocel. in Vit.
Kenteg. c.
23, 31.

Innes's Crit.
Essay, vol. 1.
P. 35.

Lang. de Reg.
Angl. ad
calcem.

Hoved. Chro.
Adarc. 756.

Innes Crit.
Essay.
Vit. St. Nin.
Bib. Cot.
Tiber. D. 8.

Innes Crit.
Ess. vol. 1.
P. 33.

BESIDES the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts, 'tis said there was a small kingdom of Cumbrian Britons in the northern parts of Britain. For we are told by Joceline, in his life of St. Kentegern or Mungo, that in the western parts of Scotland, besouth the river Clyde, was a kingdom of midland Britons, called Regnum Cambrense; and that in the time of the said St. Mungo, in the sixth century, Marken or Marcus was king of it: one of whose successors named Rederic, or Roderick, according to a late writer, was son to Tothail, for which he refers to Adamnan's life of Columba; but, after the strictest search, I could discover no such person as Tothail. However, we have an account from Langhorn of seven or eight kings, who reigned after the said Rederic, down to Dunmael, about the middle of the tenth century.

And to prove that the Regnum Cambrense was inhabited by the Cambrenses, or southern Britons, we are told, by a certain English writer, that the said people were in possession of the town of Alclud till the year 756, when Egbert king of the Bernician Saxons, and Onegus king of the Picts, took it.

And further to shew that the inhabitants of Clydesdale were Cumbrian Britons, so low as the year 875, they are by some writers said to have been called Strathled-weales.

Also Ælfrid, abbot of Rival, in his life of St. Ninian, speaking of the western parts of Scotland, where the said Ninian was born, says it is certain, both by the testimony of writers, and men then living who remembered the same, that the said western parts had a king of their own till the end of the Saxon government, that is, till the conquest of England by the Normans in the year 1060.

And by the aforesaid Joceline, in his life of Kentegern, it is said, that the kingdom of the midland Britons was called Regnum Cambrense, towards the close of the twelfth century; that it lay in the western part of Scotland, besouth the river Clyde; and that it anciently extended from the Roman wall, in the northern part of England, to the friths of Clyde and Forth, and Roman wall denominated Graham's dike, in Scotland: which seems to be confirmed in the preface to the ancient chartulary or register of Glasgow.

REMARK. Here certain difficulties arise concerning there having been a kingdom of Cumbrian Britons in the western parts of Scotland, so low as the sixth, eighth, tenth, eleventh, or twelfth centuries, not easily to be accounted for.

1. On the Romans leaving Britain, about the year 443, the Scots and Picts not only repossessed themselves of the large country betwixt the

the walls aforesaid, (which they had so long contended for) but subdued the lands of the Britons far and near. Nay, so eager were they to enjoy the sovereignty of the said country, that the Romans, at any time, no sooner recovered it, than the Scots and Picts never were at rest till they repossessed themselves thereof. Wherefore 'tis not very probable they would have suffered the southern Britons, or Cumbrians, to have enjoyed any part of the country in sovereignty, which they would not allow to their late lords the Romans: nay, 'tis scarcely probable they would have allowed the Cumbrians to possess any part of the said district, even in vassalage; for their rancour and inveterate malice to them was such, for their great pusillanimity in having not only basely submitted to the Romans, but for divers ages assisting to enslave them likewise, that they at all times endeavoured their extirpation. Nor can it be reasonably supposed, had the Cumbrians been permitted to settle in the said lands, that they would have ventured to reside amongst their professed enemies.

2. As to what is said of ten kings having reigned in the Regnum Cambrense about the space of four hundred years, which, at a medium, is forty years to each reign; whereas, according to the best calculation, as already mentioned, they are only computed at twenty-three years each; I think it is in some measure sufficient to set aside that regal succession, and I leave that imaginary kingdom to those who are pleased to maintain its existence.

3. That part of the district said to have composed the Regnum Cambrense belonged to the English in the eighth century, anno 731, is evident from Bede, who, in his state of the Northumbrian church, tells us, there were then in the kingdom of Northumberland four bishopricks, viz. Eboracum, or York; Lindisfarn, or Holy Island; Hagulstad, or Hexham; and Candida Casa, or Whitehorn in Galloway: whereby it appears, that Galloway, instead of being part of the Regnum Cambrense, was then part of the kingdom of Northumberland; which is confirmed by an eminent English historian, who tells us, that Candida Casa was situated in the English border, near the confines of Scotland. Now, had the Regnum Cambrense been in the western parts of Scotland in the eighth century, as asserted by the above writers, it must have been situated in the province of Galloway, which then consisted of all the lands lying betwixt the friths of Clyde and Solway: but as by Malmesbury it plainly appears that there were no dominions between those of the Scots and English at that time, 'tis manifest there was then no Regnum Cambrense in those parts.

Bed. Eccles.
Hist. Angl.

Malmesb. de
Gest Reg.
Angl. lib. 3.
p. 272.

4. And as to what is said by Hoveden, that this little kingdom was inhabited by the Cambrenses in the eighth century, by their being in possession of the town of Alclud in the year 756, when it was taken by the kings Egbert and Onegus, it may be objected, that as the lands of the Scots and English in those parts were contiguous, and that Alclud lay on the northern side of the river Clyde, it must then have belonged to the Scots; so that, instead of being taken from the Cambrenses, it must have been torn from us.

5. Some, to shew that the inhabitants of Clydesdale were Cumbrian Britons so low as the year 875, tell us, they were then by English writers called Stracled-weales. This, instead of answering what it was brought for, only serves to shew, that by Stracled-weales is meant the Gauls inhabiting Strath-cled; for what the ancient Scots or Highlanders

landers call Gael or Gauls, the English call Weales or Welsh. But that the inhabitants of Clydesdale were not the people denominated Strathclyde-weales, will presently appear.

Ingulf. p. 37.
edit. an. 1684.

Ric. Hagul.
in Dec. Script.
Angl.

6. And that the western parts, by the aforesaid writers called Regnum Cambrense, was not in possession of the Cumbrian Britons about the beginning and near the middle of the twelfth century, is evident, as already mentioned, by a double authority: the first is a letter of Radulf, archbishop of Canterbury, to pope Calixtus, about the year 1122, wherein the Picts are mentioned as inhabitants of Galloway; and the other is Richard, prior of Hexham, anno 1137, who says, that the Picts in the army of king David I. at the battle of the Standard, were commonly called Galwayienses.

REMARK. Here are two things well worth the reader's observation. 1. The people by the English and other foreigners denominated Picts, were, it seems, by themselves called Galwayienses, that is, inhabitants of the country possessed by the Gael or Gauls: whereby is unfolded the great mystery that the Scots and Picts were not different people, other than in government; for our highlanders still do call themselves Gael or Gauls, their language Gaelick, and country Albin. This confirms what we are told by Nennius, about seven hundred years before, that the Roman wall, called Graham's dike, was denominated the Gaelick wall about the year 452, which name it could only have from the people through whose country it passed, who are now demonstrated to have been the Gael, and who by foreigners, as aforesaid, were called Picts.

Reg. Majest.
lib. 1. c. 17.
nº. 8.

Ibid. c. 20.
nº. 10.

And as the country of Galloway, by the charters of king David I. appears to have consisted not only of the district at present so denominated, but likewise of the countries of Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, and Renfrew, so no doubt it did of Clydesdale. For in the Regiam Majestatem it appears, that the provinces of Galloway and Lothian contained all the counties, and other districts belonging to Scotland, besouth the friths of Clyde and Forth, which were anciently inhabited by the Gael, predecessors to the Picts, and from them it received the appellations of Galweia, Galwalia, Galovidia, and Galloway, as aforesaid. It is separated on the south from Cumberland by Solway frith, which was anciently denominated the kingdom of Cumberland, that is, the Regnum Cambrense, the most northern seat of the Cumri or Cumbrians in Britain: and by the Galwayienses being in David I.'s army, at the battle of the Standard, is demonstrated they were his people, and not Cumbrians, the subjects of another prince.

By what is said in the charters of our kings Malcolm IV. and William, addressed to their subjects in the diocese of Glasgow, by the appellations of Francis, Anglicis, Scotis, Galwayiensibus, and Walensibus, is only shewn their complaisance to foreigners, by giving the right hand of fellowship to a few French and English, who probably were here either as refugees or expectants for preferments: and the Walenses is an English appellation for Gael or Gauls; for the Saxons called the Gauls Weales, or Welsh, as is evident by their having denominated the Cumrian Gauls, or southern Britons, Weales or Welsh. And the Germans, till this day, call Italy Welshland, from its having anciently been inhabited by the Cisalpin Gauls: so it is not to be wondered at, that the inhabitants of Galloway were indifferently called Galwayienses and Walenses.

Having

Having said all I can to shew that the *Regnum Cambrense* was not in the western parts of Scotland; the mistake I imagine to have arose from the petty kingdom of Cumberland having been in the diocese of Glasgow, in which it continued till the erection of the episcopal see of Carlisle in the year 1133.

We are told in the Saxon annals, that Edmund king of England, having subdued the country of Cumberland, gave it, in the year 945, to Malcolm king of Scotland, to assist him in his wars both by sea and land; whereupon the following observation is made by an eminent English historian.

“ The Britons, though much afflicted by their neighbours the
 “ Scots, Picts, and English, had, ever since the arrival of the Saxons,
 “ continued a distinct dominion there, though the history and succe-
 “ sion of its kings is almost lost; but being continually harassed and
 “ worn out by the ravages and assaults of their enemies, they left the
 “ country, and retired into North Wales, where they erected the
 “ colony of Stratcluid.”

By the above relation and observation, I think the *Regnum Cambrense* is not only accounted for, but the *Stratcluid-weals* also; whereby is shewn, that the inhabitants of our Clydesdale, as asserted by Innes, were not the *Stratcluid-weals*, but the inhabitants of the colony on the small river Cluid in Wales, as aforesaid.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.
BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The ancient state of Caledonia or Scotland, as described by Ptolemy the celebrated Alexandrian cosmographer, about the middle of the second century, containing an account of the people and places therein at that period.

THIS is a subject so involved and obscure, that a person of the greatest penetration can hardly discover any thing of certainty concerning the same; for the ancient names of places, by the revolution of time, are so much altered, nay, many entirely changed, that there are scarce any of them remaining. And by the aversion of our ancestors to slavery, we are in a great measure deprived of the knowledge of the ancient state of our country; for, by their not suffering the Romans to settle amongst them, we have little or no help from the Itinerary of Antoninus, or the Notitia, to assist us in discovering the ancient state of Scotland; and though Ptolemy be the most useful writer we can have recourse to on this occasion, yet through the impossibility of his being quite correct, 'tis a very difficult attempt to give an account of Scotland in his time: for by his mistaking the western for the northern part thereof, he has in his map changed its position from the north to the east, whereby its length extends from the west to the east, and its breadth from the south to the north, which greatly embarrasses the account thereof. Wherefore I think the best way to proceed in this intricate affair, will be by judging of the situation of places, and comparing the present with the ancient names, in the best manner I can.

ABRAVANNUS

ABRAVANNUS FLUVIUS.

This is the river Luce, which runs into the bay of Glenluce, near the Mull of Galloway.

ALATA CASTRA.

Surely never were men more mistaken in the situation of a place, than they are in this, and all without the least regard to the site given it by Ptolemy. Camden takes Edinburgh to be it, for no other reason than that Adain in the Welsh tongue signifies a wing; therefore Edinburgh must be a British and Saxon compound implying the winged castle, and without doubt the Alata Castra of Ptolemy. Others, with as little reason, take it to have been at Inveresk in the county of East-Lothian, four miles to the eastward of Edinburgh. Some place it where the castle of Urquhart stood in the county of Ross, and northern side of Loch-ness. Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch thinks it stood in the neighbourhood of the town of Nairn, in the county of that name. But that which bids the fairest for this fortress, I take to be the camp fortified with a rampart and ditch near the southern side of the frith of Dornoch, four miles westward the town of Tain, in the parish of Edderton and county of Ross, which exactly answers to the situation given it by Ptolemy.

Camd. Brit.
in Scot. Com.
Laud.

ALANNA.

Various are the sites given to this place: Sir James Dalrymple thinks the town of Stirling, from its vicinity to the rivulet of Allan, bids fair for being the Alanna; otherwise it must have stood where the town of Alloway is situated, four miles to the eastward of Stirling, on the frith of Forth. And a later writer is of opinion that Camelon, an ancient Roman station, lying without the Roman wall called Graham's dike, a mile and half to the westward of Falkirk, is the Alanna; but with very little reason: for Camelon lies about four miles southward the afore-said frith, whereas Alanna appears to have lain divers miles beneath that æstuary. I am therefore of opinion, that the Roman fortress at Ardoch, both from its northern distance of ten miles from the said frith, and its vicinity to the said rivulet of Allan, bids the fairest to have been the Alanna of Ptolemy.

Dalrymp.
edit. Camd.
Scot.

Horfl. Brit.
Romana,
p. 363.

ALANNUS FLUVIUS.

This river, by its position, plainly shews itself to be that of Tweed, which has its influx into the German ocean at the town of Berwick.

BANATIA.

Banatia, like other places in Ptolemy, has had divers seats assigned it; but by none, I think, so much out of the way as Camden; for he has placed it at Bean-castle in the neighbourhood of Nairn, seemingly for no other reason than the resemblance of name. And a late writer, by its being the most northern place in the west of Scotland mentioned by Ptolemy, imagines it to have been the Roman camp at Dalgen-ross, at the western end of Strathern. That this is a mistake is evident; for our author, on inquiry, would have found that the Roman fortress of Fortingale, in Glen-lyon, is above twenty miles to the northward of Dalgen-ross, and, by its situation in Braidalbin, seems to have been erected to defend the passes of Loch-tay and Glen-lyon against incursions from the western highlands; wherefore I think it bids the fairest to have been the ancient Banatia.

Camd. Brit.
in Scot.

Horfl. Brit.
Rom. p. 365.

BODERIA ÆSTUARIUM.

This estuary is, with good reason, by all agreed to be the frith of Forth, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

CALEDONIA.

All that part of Britain benorth the Roman wall, called Graham's dike, and the friths of Forth and Clyde, are by Tacitus called Caledonia: but that part of Scotland by Ptolemy called Caledonia, appears to be Braidalbin, Athol, and Badenoch; to the westward of which was the Silva Caledonia, or Caledonian Forest.

CANTÆ.

This people, by their situation, must have inhabited Sutherland, being bounded on the south by the frith of Tain, and on the north by the river Loth.

CARBANTORIGUM.

This town is by Camden placed at Caerlaveroch, at the mouth of the river Nid; but this being on the coast, it does not suit with an inland place: I am therefore of opinion, that Bardanno or Kier, which are somewhat higher on the same river, and seem to carry in them something resembling the name, bids fairer to have been the Carbantorigum.

CARENI.

This people, who joined the Cornavii on the south, seem to have been seated on the south-west part of the shire of Strathnaver.

CARNONACÆ.

This people, on the western coast of Scotland, adjoining to the Careni on the south, seem to have inhabited the north-western part of the county of Ross.

CELNIUS FLUVIUS.

This river, by its position, must be that of Spey in the shire of Murray.

CERONES.

This people plainly appear to have inhabited the country of Lochaber, on the western coast.

CLOTA ÆSTUARIUM.

This estuary is, without dispute, the frith of the river Clyde.

COLANIA.

Camd. Brit.
in Com.
Merch.

Hist. Brit.
Rom. p. 367.

This place is by Camden thought to be Coldingham, in the neighbourhood of Berwick; but that lying on the sea-coast, and Colania up the country, and having nothing to support the conjecture, it must of course cease. And a late writer takes Lanerk, the county-town of Clydesdale, for it, from the seeming affinity between the first letters of it, and those in the middle of Colania; but this being only imaginary, and without the least support, either of remains, situation, or distance, it must likewise vanish.

Now this being near the place of Ptolemy's great error, in regard to the position of Scotland, it will be the more difficult to come at the seat of his Colania. However, as conjectures are free, I think, by its situation, it must have been at Cramond, four miles to the north-west of Edinburgh, on the southern side of the frith of Forth, at the mouth of the river Almond; where undoubtedly there was a Roman station, from the great remains of Roman buildings, coins, and figures discovered there.

CORDA.

CORDA.

This town being, by Camden and others, placed on the lake Lochcure, near the source of the river Nid in Nidesdale, it seems to answer its Ptolemaic situation.

CORIA.

This fortress is by Camden thought to be Camelon, an ancient Roman town, situated on the south side of the river of Carron, about a mile to the westward of the town of Falkirk: but this not answering the seat assigned by Ptolemy, Horsely would have it to be near Linckirk, in the shire of Peebles, or Tweeddale; but seemingly with less probability than the former.

Camd. Brit.
in Scot. cap.
Sterl.

Horsl. Britan.
Roman.
p. 367.

In so great an uncertainty, I shall keep to its position in the Utrecht edition of Ptolemy, which is reckoned the best; wherein 'tis placed near the head of the Boderian estuary, which I take to be the Roman camp besouth the castle of Stirling, now denominated the king's knock or mount, than which no place was fitter for a Roman station: for here is the great trajectus, or ferry over the river Forth, which has always been deemed of such consequence, that, whenever a war happened, the parties therein concerned made their utmost efforts to secure it, to preserve a communication between the northern and southern parts of Scotland.

CORNAVII, OR CORNABII.

This people, by their position, plainly appear to have inhabited the north-west part of the country of Strathnaver.

CREONES.

This people seem to have inhabited the western part of the shire of Ross, between Lochbreyn and Lochew, opposite the isle of Skye.

CURIA.

This town, by its situation, seems to have been at Chester, on the Roman way called the Wheel-causeway, in the neighbourhood of Jedburgh in the shire of Teviotdale.

DAMNII.

This people, by their situation, appear to have dwelt on both sides the river Clyde, in the counties of Clydesdale, Stirling, part of Perthshire, and Fife.

DEVA FLUVIUS.

This is the river Dee in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, the ancient name whereof is still retained in the modern.

DEVANA.

Though a late writer takes the Celnus, whereon the Devana is situate, to be the river Spey, which is above thirty miles benorth the river Dee, whereon the town of Aberdeen stands; yet, in a very amazing manner, he tells us, that the Devana must be the said town of Aberdeen. Now, as I am also of opinion that the Celnus is the river Spey, the Devana must be the town of Tocubus, situated at the mouth of the said river.

Horsl. Brit.
Roman.
p. 369.

DIVA FLUVIUS.

This river, by its position, plainly shews itself to be the Dee, which parts the counties of Aberdeen and Mearns.

DUMNA.

This is an island placed by Ptolemy in the same erroneous position with those of Orkney. If it be not one of them, I know not what to make of it.

EPIDII.

EPIDII.

There is nothing in Ptolemy plainer than that this people inhabited the countries of Kintire and Argyll.

EPIDIUM PROMONTORIUM.

This promontory is the head of the Mull of Kintire.

GADENI.

Camd. Brit.
in Scot.

By the erroneous editions of Ptolemy's Geography, the real position of this people cannot be ascertained; for in some they are placed in the counties of Merse and Lothian, in the eastern parts of Scotland, adjoining to the Otadeni in Northumberland. In others they are put on the western side of the Damnii, benorth the frith of Clyde, in the shire of Lenox or Dunbarton. But as some are of opinion, that the Otadeni not only occupied Northumberland, but likewise the countries of Merse and Lothian, I shall therefore continue the Gadani in the country of Dunbarton, in the western part of Scotland, till it otherwise appear.

JENA ÆSTUARIUM.

This estuary, by its situation, plainly appears to be the gulf of the river Cree, or bay of Wigtown, in Galloway.

ILEA FLUVIUS.

As Ptolemy generally takes notice of rivers, whose mouths form estuaries or bays at their influx to the sea, I take this river to be one in the shire of Caithness.

ITYS FLUVIUS.

This river I take to be one of those opposite the isle of Skye, in the western part of Scotland; but, which of them, cannot be ascertained, though probably it is in the shire of Ross.

LELAMONIUS SINUS.

This strait, or arm of the sea, plainly appears to be Loch-finn in Argylshire, and the estuary of the river Clyde.

LINDUM.

Camd. Brit.
in Scot. cap.
Laud.

This town is by Camden supposed to be Linlithgow, the county-town of that name, or West-lothian; for no other reason, that I can imagine, than the seeming affinity between the first syllables. But Horsely thinks that Kirkintilloch, a station on the Roman wall, or Graham's dike, suits Ptolemy's situation much better. Had these writers duly considered the position of Lindum, they would not have fixed it at either of the aforesaid places, on the south side of the river Forth; for by Ptolemy it is seated a considerable way benorth the said river: and as the distance seems to answer to the river of Erin, I take the large and strong Roman fortress at the mains of Strageeth, on the southern bank thereof, to be the Lindum of Ptolemy.

LOGI.

This people, who joined the Cornavii on the east, seem to have inhabited the south-east part of Caithness, and the north-east part of Sutherland.

LONGUS FLUVIUS.

This river I take to be the Lochy in Lochaber, on which stands Fort William, for preventing insurrections in those parts.

LOXA FLUVIUS.

This river, by its position as well as name, shews itself to be the Loth in Sutherland.

LUCOPIBIA.

LUCOPIBIA.

This town, by its situation, I take to have stood on the river Cree, a little above Wigton in the county of Galloway.

MERTÆ.

The Mertæ seem to have possessed the innermost northern part of the shire of Sutherland.

NABEUS FLUVIUS.

This river, by its position, I take to be the Lus-foord, in the shire of Strathnaver.

NOVANTÆ.

This people plainly appear to have been seated in the county of Galloway.

NOVANTUM PROMONTORIUM ET CHERSONESUS.

Both the mull and county of Galloway manifestly shew themselves to be the promontory and chersonesus of the Novantæ.

NOVIUS FLUVIUS.

This river plainly shews itself to be the Nid, which gives denomination to the dale of that name, wherein is situated the town of Dumfries, the most considerable place in those parts.

OCITIS.

This island, by its position, I take to be Schetland, though probably it may be Thule.

ORCADES.

This cluster of islands, both by appearance and name, shew themselves to be the Orkneys.

ORREA.

By Camden's having mentioned the water of Ore, and the seat of Orrock in the county of Fife, Horsley, by the seeming affinity of names, has thought one of those a proper site to build Ptolemy's Orrea on, without ascertaining either. But these being in the southern part of the country, and the Tina Fluvius, which he ascertains to be the river Edin, in the northern part thereof, he has, by having unluckily forgot that the Orrea is by Ptolemy placed on the north side of the said river, effectually destroyed his Orrea besouth the same: we must therefore look for it elsewhere.

Horfl. Brit.
Romana,
p. 373.

We are told by a late writer, that some were of opinion that Orrea was at Couper of Fife: now, were we sure of the Tina Fluvius being the river Edin, it were needless to trouble ourselves any farther in search of Orrea; and as its being on the northern side of the river Edin, and its distance from the sea, agree in point of position, they both conspire to shew that the Orrea was at the said Couper of Fife.

Sibbald. Hist.
Fif. p. 31.

OTADENI.

Although the Otadeni are by Camden said to have only occupied the county of Northumberland in England; yet, as they are the only people placed by Ptolemy between the rivers Forth and Tine, they must have possessed the counties of Merse and East-Lothian. This justifies my fixing the Gadani on the northern side of the frith of Clyde, in the shire of Lenox aforesaid.

RERIGONIUS SINUS.

This strait, or gulph of the sea, is undoubtedly Loch-rain, by the mull of Galloway.

RERIGONIUM.

Though Camden admits the Rerigonius Sinus to be the Loch-rain, adjoining

Camd. Brit.
in Scot. cap.
Carriæ.

O o

adjoining to the mull of Galloway; yet he has unwarrantably placed the town of Rerigonium at Bargeny in the country of Carrick, at a great distance from the said finus. Now, as the Rerigonius Sinus undoubtedly had its name from the town of Rerigonium, it must have been near the said town: wherefore I am of opinion, that Sawil or Glaik in the county of Galloway, and that neighbourhood, bid much fairer to be the Rerigonium of Ptolemy than Bargeny, which is so remote.

RIPA ALTA.

This place, by its position, is undoubtedly the Ordhill, or Ordhead, on the coast of Sutherland.

SELGOVÆ.

This people, by their situation, plainly appear to have inhabited the countries of Annandale and Nidesdale, on the northern side of Solway frith.

TEZALI.

This people plainly appear to have possessed the north-eastern parts of the county of Buchan.

TEZALUM PROMONTORIUM.

This promontory of the Tezali manifestly shews itself to be Kinaird-head, near Frazerburgh, in the north-eastern part of the shire of Buchan.

TAMIA.

This being a town of the Vacomagi, who, by their position, appear to have inhabited Athol, Braidalbin, Badenoch, and other parts of Perthshire; but being in the dark in respect to its situation, I am yet of opinion, that it was in or near the Blair of Athol, by its position in Ptolemy.

TARVEDIUM VEL OREAS PROMONTORIUM.

Nothing can be plainer than that this is Faro-head in Strathnaver, at the north-western point of Scotland.

TAVA ÆSTUARIUM.

This is the estuary or frith of the river Tay, which separates the counties of Fife and Angus.

THYLE INSULA.

Though this island, by its vicinity to the Orcades, and being in the account of Britain, might be taken for Schetland, or the Thule of the ancients; yet, by its resembling the isle of Island more than that of Schetland, I think it may pass for the former.

TINA FLUVIUS.

This is the river Edin in the shire of Fife, which has its influx to the sea in the neighbourhood of the city of St. Andrews.

TRIMONTIUM.

This place, by its situation, plainly appears to be the Roman station at Middleby in Annandale.

TUESIS.

Horfl. Brit.

Rom. p. 377.

Although Horsley has placed this town at that of Nairn on the south side of the Murray frith, in the shire of Murray; yet he has, in the most amazing manner, converted the estuary or frith thereof into that of Cromarty, which lies many miles to the northward of Nairn, and from which it is separated by that great estuary the Murray frith. Now, as an estuary or frith must have its name either from a river, country, town, or something else in its neighbourhood,

bourhood, there's not the least probability of Tuesis having been at Nairn: I shall therefore endeavour to find it elsewhere.

TUESIS ÆSTUARIUM.

Though this estuary has by Horsley been placed at Cromarty, as aforesaid; yet, by the situation of the country, from the north-east point of Buchan to the mouth of the river Ness, which is almost due east and west, it plainly appears to be the Murray frith; and Tuesis being on the northern side of the same, I think that Red-castle, in the shire of Ross, bids fair to be the Tuesis of Ptolemy.

VACOMAGI.

This people have had divers seats allotted them: Camden has placed them in Murray; and his editor fixes them in the upper part of Dumbartonshire, benorth the river Clyde, which are very distant. But to me they seem to have been possessed of the countries of Athol, Braidalbin, Badenoch, and other northern parts in Perthshire.

Camd. Brit.
in Scot. cap.
Murray.

VANDUARA.

This town, by its situation, seems to be the Roman station at Paisley in the shire of Renfrew.

VARAR ÆSTUARIUM.

This estuary is by Camden called the Murray frith; but as I have above endeavoured to shew that the estuary of Tuesis, abovementioned, bids much fairer to be that frith, I am therefore of opinion, that this estuary is that of Tain, which parts the counties of Ross and Sutherland.

VENICONTES.

This people are by some confined to the county of Fife; whereas by Ptolemy it plainly appears, that their country extended from the Tina Fluvius to that of Diva, which are agreed to be the rivers Edin and Dee: wherefore they must have possessed the northern part of Fife, together with the shires of Angus and Merns.

Horsl. Brit.
Romana.
p. 377.

VERUVIUM PROMONTORIUM.

This promontory plainly appears to be Dungbyhead, the north-east point of Caithness.

VICTORIA.

Camden, by a very improbable conjecture of turning the word Guith into that of Victoria, has, without the least regard to its situation, made it to be Inchkeith island in the frith of Forth. And, in order to mend this groundless conjecture, his editor supposes it to be the Roman station at Ardoch in Stratherin, which he places eight miles north-east from the town of Stirling; but, instead of that bearing, it lies about north-west from it. Now as the hill of Cliesh, whereon there is a Roman fortress, bears north-east from Stirling much about the aforesaid distance, I take it to be Victoria; which, by its position, confirms what I have said of the station at Ardoch's being the Alanna of Ptolemy.

Camd. Brit.
in Scot. cap.
Laud.

Camd. Brit.
in Scot. addit.
Caledon.

And a late writer says, by the antiquity and suitable situation of Abernethy, there is no room to doubt of its being the Victoria of Ptolemy. But our author having unluckily forgot that Victoria is situated besouth the river Edin, and Abernethy at the confluence of the rivers Tay and Erin, some miles benorth the same, his assertion must drop of course.

Horsl. Britan.
Roman.
p. 378.

VIDOGARA

VIDOGARA SINUS.

This gulph, by its position, I take to be the bay of Irwin, in the frith of the river Clyde.

VIRNEDRUM PROMONTORIUM.

This promontory, by its situation, must be Strathy-head, between those of Dungoby and Faro heads, in the counties of Caithness and Strathnaver.

UXELUM.

This being a town of the Selgovæ, on the eastern side of the Novius Fluvius, or river Nid, I take Dumfries, in the county of Nidesdale, to be it.

Having gone through Ptolemy's account of the northern part of Britain, I think it will not be amiss to observe, that though he has taken so much pains to describe the several people and places therein, yet he has not in the least mentioned the Scots; which plainly shews, as I have already observed, that the appellative Scot was not then applied to the inhabitants of the northern parts.

C H A P. II.

Of the food, houses, and ancient buildings of the Gael or Caledonians, Scots, and Piets.

AFTER having given Ptolemy's description of our country about fifteen hundred years ago, I shall next proceed to give an account of the manner of living, buildings, dress, language, religion, customs, laws, &c. of our predecessors.

Herod. in Vit.
Sever.

Xiphil. Epit.
Dion. in Vit.
Sever.

Xiphil. Epit.
Dion. in Vit.
Sever.

Strab. Geogr.
lib. 4.

Comment.
Rer. Mem.
lib. 1. p. 4.

By Roman writers it appears, that our ancestors, having seldom troubled themselves with agriculture, lived on milk, and the flesh they got by hunting, and wild fruits; and though they had variety of fish in great plenty, they never eat any: and probably they abstained from the use of hares, geese, and hens flesh, as their neighbours the Cumri in the southern part of Britain did.

The Caledonians, according to Dion Cassius, had neither walls nor towns, and their houses were mean and despicable hovels, probably like those of the meaner sort of our highlanders at present, which are little sorry buildings, made of sods of earth, and covered with thin turfs; and those of the Cumri, or southern Britons, built in woods and by river sides. But they being only to accommodate the poor, those belonging to persons of distinction, or the heads of clans, denominated duns, (that is, castles) appear to have been built with dry stone walls on hills and eminences, and fortified with an exterior wall of the same materials and manner of construction, with a sufficient provision of large stones for artillery, to be employed in the defence thereof, which, when attacked, they threw down among their enemies. The vestigia of many of these edifices are still to be seen in several parts of Scotland, especially in the northern. In time this manner of building became so very common, that it not only prevailed in the country among the peasants, but in cities and towns: for we are told by Æneas Sylvius, ambassador in Scotland from pope Eugene IV. in the year 1437, in his account of our country, that the greatest part of the walls of the houses were built of dry stones, without mortar; a method

thod of construction said to be still in use in the western islands of Scotland.

These domestick fortresses (originally called duns, which in the Gaelick signified hills) became at last so very numerous, that no hill was denominated a dun but such as had a castle or place of strength thereon. And the appellation dun not being to be found in the Cumeraeg, or Welsh tongue, it corroborates what has already been said, that the Gael or ancient Scots inhabited the southern parts of Britain before the arrival of the Belgick Gauls, the predecessors of the Welsh in this island: which is evident by the hills in Kent, those on and near Salisbury plain, and in other southern parts of England, being still called duns or downs.

But as few of those ancient duns or castles are now remaining, it will not be amiss, for the satisfaction of the curious, to give a description of one of them in the northern part of Scotland.

This ancient edifice, denominated Dunaliscaigh, is situated on the southern side of the Kyle, or frith of Dornoch or Tain, about five miles to the westward of the town of Tain, in the shire of Ross. It is of a circular form, without a window or any aperture in the outside wall, except that of the door-way. It is built of large rough dry stones without mortar, placed in pretty equal layers, each of which narrowing the wall by an off-set of an inch and a half, it is thereby tapered upwards.

This ruinous fabrick at present is about twenty feet in height; but, by the great quantity of large stones lying both on the out and in-sides thereof, it may probably have been above thirty feet in height; as that of Troddan, in the vale of Glenbeg in the shire of Inverness, is said to be. The breadth of this fabrick, with that of its area, is fifty-four feet and nine inches; the thickness of its walls, with the cavity therein, is twelve feet; and the external circumference, one hundred and sixty-four feet and three inches. The door-way, or entry in the east side, as near as I could discover in the ruins, is about six feet in height, and three feet two inches in width, and the lintel over the same is an equilateral triangular stone about four feet. Within this structure is a circular area of thirty feet diameter; and in the middle of the entrance, on each side, is a passage leading into the cavity between the walls, which extends round the inside of the building, of the breadth of five feet and ten inches. This castle appears to have been at least three stories in height, ascended to by two sets of stairs in each story, which consisted of two rooms. The ground-floor, or lowermost of the stories, which is about seven feet in height, is lighted by two windows regarding the area: the second, which is in height eight feet and two inches, is illuminated by four windows; and the uppermost story or stories, were probably of the same altitude and number of windows with that of the second, though they cannot be ascertained, because of the ruinous condition of the upper parts. The narrow rooms in this building, instead of being arched, have their four uppermost layers of stones projecting inwards on each side, whereon are laid long flat stones, which serve both for the floors and cielings of each story, as without doubt such stones served for the roof, or covering at the top; whence, from a battlement, or parapet-wall, the inhabitants used to defend themselves and their fortress, as often as they were attacked.

Gord. Itiner;
Septent.
p. 167.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 1.

This effectually destroys Buchanan's conjectures of these duns being either erected as trophies or sepulchres for great men, to perpetuate their memory to posterity; and as to their being built in imitation of his *Templum Termini*, or Arthur's Oven, near the river of Carron in Stirlingshire, there will, on comparing the draught of the one with the remains of the others, appear no other resemblance than that of rotundity: for, by their different manner of construction, the former, both by their name and appearance, shew themselves to have been fortresses; whereas the latter seems to have been erected for some domestic office, and for none, I think, more likely than that of a cold bath, though by different writers it has been appropriated to a diversity of uses. And as to its construction, it was only a single-walled building, arched as it were at top, by stones projecting inwards, with an aperture in the uppermost part; which I take to have been casual, and not built so at first, as has by many been thought; for had it been at first so erected, there had been no occasion for so very large and lofty a doorway of ten feet six inches in height, and six feet four inches in breadth, with a window over the same about three feet three inches square, in so small a building as this, which was only nineteen feet and six inches in the internal diameter. Besides, instead of having a coping thereon, the uppermost stones, which were of the same form with those of the common layers, composed only about half a layer; yet though the rest, through accidents and the inclemency of the weather, are gone, they nevertheless plainly shew that this was not the uppermost layer: wherefore we may justly conclude, that the layers formerly above this are lost and perished by the like contingencies.

Now as the construction of the abovementioned Dunaliscaigh is so widely different from that of Arthur's Oven, by its having divers rooms therein, with a large open area in the middle, never said to be close at top, and without a window on the outside, we cannot suppose that it, with the numerous edifices of the same kind throughout the kingdom, were any other than fortresses; for those duns or castles, both by their situation and construction, appear to have been very strong. And I imagine they were erected by the ancient Scottish and Pictish nobility and gentry, who formerly, without regard to the king, entered into alliances, and formed confederacies amongst themselves, against their neighbours: and being continually at war in one part or other of the kingdom, it was necessary for them to have places of strength to retire to, for the security of their persons, in case of a defeat; for those duns, by their small dimensions, were only fit for the reception of a family, and not for an army to retreat to, in case of an overthrow. And as to those duns being by some said to have been hunting-houses, that seems to be a notion as wild as that of the castle at Durness, in the county of Strathnaver, being erected by the fabulous king Dornadil.

REMARK. Although foreign to my present undertaking, I shall observe, that had I known the ancient Gaelick or Scottish language as well when I wrote the History of London, as I do at present, I would have declared it to be my opinion, that the city of London owes both its origin and name to our ancestors the Gael, and not to the Romans. The reason for my opinion is, that the appellation London, for aught I can learn, has not the least affinity with the Latin tongue: whereas in our ancient language it appears to be a Gaelick compound of *Lon* and *Dun*: the former part, *Lon*, signifying a plain, and the latter, *Dun*,

Dun, a hill or eminence; which answers exactly to the site of London, by its having had (as is still manifest) a plain along the river side, and a hill or eminence thereunto adjoining. Now as it appears that London, when destroyed by the Britons under the conduct of Boadicia, was not a place of strength, Dun, the latter part of the compound, cannot denote a castle, therefore it must imply a hill: wherefore I think this bids fair for the etymology of its name.

This derivation of London, from Lon and Dun, is in some measure confirmed by Edward Lhuyd, a learned and judicious Welsh antiquary, who declares it to be his opinion, that the ancient Gael, commonly called Scots, inhabited the southern part of Britain (now denominated England) before the arrival of his countrymen the Cumri, by the Romans called Britons, and by the English Welsh. His reason is, that there are a great number of cities, towns, villages, hills, rivers, &c. in England and Wales, whose names are not in their language. This occasioned his travelling into the highlands of Scotland, where he discovered all the names of the said places to be Gaelick, or ancient Scottish; whence he justly concludes, that the said names were given by the Gael, their founders, and inhabitants of the isle of Britain.

C H A P. III.

Of the language.

I Have already shewn, I hope to the satisfaction of the reader, that the Gaelick or ancient Scottish tongue, still in use among our highlanders, is the ancient Celtick or Gaulish language, formerly spoken in Gaul, now France. I shall next attempt to shew when and on what occasion the English tongue, which is now our common speech, was at first brought into Scotland.

It has been the opinion of divers writers, that that language was at first introduced into Scotland by king Malcolm Canmore, who, on the murder of his father king Donald, and the usurpation of the regicide Macbeth, fled to England for refuge, where he was kindly received and royally entertained by king Edward the Confessor, at whose court he not only learned the English language, but the manners of the people. Thus being as it were educated in England, he is said to have preferred the speech, dress, and customs of that country to those of his own. Soon after his restoration, by the defeat and death of the usurper, William duke of Normandy having subdued England, Edgar Atheling, heir to the English crown, together with his mother, sisters, and many of the English nobility, came into Scotland for refuge; who being generously received, and lands conferred on them by Malcolm, divers of them settled in our country, where their descendants at present are some of the most ancient and noble families in Scotland. The English language on these occasions, as 'tis said, becoming that of the court, it soon diffused itself throughout the kingdom.

But that this could not be the time that the English language was at first brought into Scotland, I think, will in some measure appear by the small number of English who arrived in our country on the aforesaid occasion; who being only some of the principal families, with their domesticks, 'tis much more reasonable to believe that they learned our tongue,

tongue, than that they propagated their own. And although it be said that the English speech became that of the court, even that was not sufficient to make it that of the country, as may by some parallel cases be demonstrated. Thus, although the present French tongue has for many years been that of most of the courts of Europe, it has not been able to extend itself beyond the verges of the said courts. Besides, if we consider the impolitical expulsion of vast multitudes of Protestants from that kingdom, many thousands of whom are said to have settled in Britain, and who had in the reign of queen Anne, in London only, no less than twenty-six French churches; yet, notwithstanding of these amazing numbers in this island, it does not appear that their speech has in the least affected ours; but, on the contrary, ours has prevailed and become theirs: as have also those of other countries, where the said French refugees have settled in great numbers.

Add to this, that notwithstanding the many thousands of Normans brought into England by the Conqueror, and the great pains taken by him to alter the language, laws, constitutions, and customs of the English, though he prevailed so much in effecting the latter, he could not accomplish his design against the language. Wherefore I am of opinion, that we must go a little higher.

Gild. Hist.
sect. 23.
Bed. Hist.
Eccles. lib. 5.
c. 15.
H. Hunt. Hist.
lib. 2.

Nen. Hist.
Brit. c. 37.

The Cumri or Welsh having, in the year 448, called over the Saxons to assist them against their northern enemies the Scots and Picts, they arrived the year after under the conduct of the brothers Hengist and Horfa, who, joining the Britons, marched against the Scots and Picts, who were advanced into the country as far as Stamford in Lincolnshire. There a battle ensuing, the Scots and Picts were defeated. This so encouraged Hengist, that he sent for Octo his son, according to Nennius; (but by Malmesbury he is said to be his brother, with his son Ebusa) who arriving with forty ships in the year 452, landed in the northern part of Britain, since called Northumberland, (which extended from the estuary or frith of Humber, in England, to those of Forth and Clyde in Scotland) and having subdued it, and expelled the Picts, they planted the country with their own people, as is manifest by the names of the countries, towns, and places, which, being chiefly English, are as different from those benorth the said frith and river, as the English and the Gaelick languages are.

Bed. Hist.
Eccles. lib. 4.
c. 25.

Higd. Poly-
chron. lib. 1:
c. de Part.
Insul.

The government of these countries the English enjoyed till the year 685, when Ecgrid, king of Northumberland, invaded the country of the Picts; which occasioning a battle, he, with the greatest part of his army, was cut off. Whereupon the Picts repossessed themselves of the northern part of Northumberland, as far as the river Tweed, which they enjoyed till they were totally subdued by Keneth Macalpin in the year 839; and though, by the indolence and indiscretion of his successor Donald, these countries were soon after recovered by the English, yet king Gregory, from his gallant exploits justly called the Great, recovered them about the year 880, in possession whereof the Scots have remained ever since.

Now the Scots, by the conquest of the Picts, being in possession of the large and populous English countries besouth the frith of Forth, this soon drew our king and nobility to settle there: it may therefore be justly presumed, that as the language was English, the king and nobility quickly learnt the same; and in this being followed by those who resorted thereto from all parts of the kingdom, it must soon have spread

spread itself throughout the country. I am therefore of opinion, that this bids the fairest both for the time and reason of the Scots having adopted the language of these conquered countries.

To what has been said, I shall add the observations of a curious and learned highlander, who says, that though the ancient and proper name of their country be Albinich, or Albany, and that of the people Gaoidhil, or Gael; yet some of his countrymen of late, by reading Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica*, and Keating's *History of Ireland*, have introduced a new appellation, by sometimes calling themselves Trealh Scuit, and Ginnail Scuit; that is, the tribe or family of Scota, and the progeny or offspring of Scota: and their language, which is properly called Galig, or Gaelick, they have likewise of late termed Scuit-bherla, or Scot-bherla, that is, the Scottish tongue. These silly and ridiculous innovations may probably be as much owing to Fordun's fabulous Scota, as either to Lhuyd or Keating.

C H A P. IV.

Of the habit or dress.

WE are told by Tacitus, that the celebrated Roman general Agricola, in order to civilize the fierce and warlike Britons, who, on all occasions, were ready to take up arms against him, politically endeavoured to soften them by alluring pleasures; and, by private exhortations and publick assistance, prevailed on them to build houses, temples, seats of justice, and other places of publick convention: he caused the sons of their princes and nobility to be instructed in the liberal arts, when they, who just before had despised the Roman language, learnt and admired their eloquence; and, besides the Romans apparel, plunged themselves into their vices, erecting magnificent porticoes, stately baths, and sumptuous bagnio's; which, together with profuse and elegant banquetting, and publick entertainments, were by the ignorant termed politeness, not adverting, as our author justly observes, that these were so many badges of slavery.

Tacit. in Vita
Agricol.

REMARK. One of the abovementioned baths, of which the annexed print is a representation, was discovered in the year 1745, at Netherby, a large Roman station on the eastern side of the river Esk, in the county of Cumberland, without or on the northern side of the Roman barriers, or walls of Adrian and Severus, on the Scottish side. As was likewise another of the same kind (by the description I received of it) at Delvin, a Roman station on the eastern side of the river Tay in Perthshire; but the said bath being demolished, and the spot whereon it stood converted into arable land, I was deprived of the pleasure of seeing it.

That the Gael or Caledonians were the people that were taught the arts abovementioned, is manifest by our highlanders having preserved the use of the Roman dress amongst them near seventeen hundred years; with this difference only, that the arms of the highlanders are covered from the elbow downwards, (though till of late they were otherwise) and the Romans, being generally in the imperial habit, instead of the pileus or bonnet, have the laurel on their heads; but their femoralia, or covering of the thighs, being scolloped, those of the highlanders, like those of inferior ancient Romans, were plain.

And to put it beyond dispute that this is the ancient Roman dress, we need only compare a Scottish highlander in his habit, with a Roman statue in its drapery.

The bonnet or cap that covers the head was the Roman pileus, as may be seen by many Roman statues and sculptures. The plaid, which is the toga, by the ancient Gauls called braccæ, and, with a small variation, by our highlanders braccan, I take to be the most ancient of all garments, the use of which seems to have been almost universal; for it was not only worn by the Romans, and other Europeans, but also by the Oriental nations, as does appear by a number of ancient statues and coins; and is at present, in painting, called the scarf.

Varr. de
Pop. Rom.

The opinions of writers being different concerning the make of the toga, (which, according to Varro, was the most ancient Roman dress worn both by men and women in the infancy of Rome) have occasioned great disputes amongst our modern historians and antiquaries, of which Catrou and Rouille, in a marginal note on their Roman history, have given us the following specimen.

Bund. edit.
Catr. & Rouil.
Hist. Rom.

“ Nothing has been more controverted than the form of the ancient Roman toga: some, as Rubenius, are persuaded it was open before from top to bottom. Le Ferrari, in his book *De Re Vestitaria*, thinks that it had no opening but in the upper part, where a great hole was cut in it, for the head to go through, and to give play to the arms: because this robe had no sleeves, it was pretty much like a mantle, which reacheth down to the heels in great folds; only with this difference, that the toga was not open before. In ancient medals we see the toga so represented as to make it credible it was not open before, and our eyes seem sufficient to determine the question in Ferrari’s favour.”

“ We may observe in these medals, (of which they have given engravings) that the hole in the upper part of the toga gave the right arm play, but not the left, which was employed in holding up the bottom of the robe, the other lappet of which was thrown from the right side over the left shoulder, for the convenience of action. But was this garment square, or round? or was it only an half-round? This is again another dispute amongst the moderns, and is very difficult to be determined.” And those writers farther tell us, “ That some from Macrobius were of opinion, that Cæsar bound up the folds of his toga with a girdle. And the said writers having shewn us the improbability thereof, say Macrobius therefore only means, that Cæsar wrapt the lappets of his robe across him in such an affected manner as made him look effeminate. The soldiers, when they also wore the toga in the army, used to fasten it up; and bringing up the lappets under the stomach, tied them in a knot after the manner of the gabini.”

REMARK. Had our authors better considered the toga, they would not have been of Ferrari’s opinion that it was close before, or that it had a hole at top to give passage to the head, or play to the arms: in this case it would have had the form of a woman’s petticoat hanging down from the shoulders, wherein the arms would have been rendered useless; for how could they have room to play, when the toga had no sleeves to put them in, or to keep it on the shoulders? and if it should be alleged they went through the hole upwards, the toga would have

fallen

fallen from off the body, and consequently be rendered useless. Besides, is it not very unreasonable to give lappets to a garment of this make? What end could they answer? how could they have been thrown over the shoulder, when the arms and hands were confined under the toga? This, I think, will demonstrate that our authors eyes were not sufficient to determine the question in Ferrari's favour.

But, to put it beyond dispute, that the toga was a loose open garment, take the following lines in Martial:

*Et teges & cimex & nudi sponda grabati
Et breves, atque eadem nocte dieque toga.*

Mart. Epigr.
lib. 11. c. 57.
5.

That is,

As the plaid by day serv'd the body to cover,
So did it by night, as a coverlet ever.

Some are of opinion, that the toga was a civil and not a military garment; but others, who assert it was both, tell us, that when it was worn by soldiers in the army, it was tied in a knot, and fastened round the middle, as aforesaid; which shews it to have been that we call the belted plaid.

But in order to obtain a clearer notion of the toga, please take the following description of the plaid.

The plaid, which is an open loose garment, of the length of three yards, and breadth of one yard and a half, is applied to divers services, viz. When it is used as a fence against the weather, it is put across the shoulders, and over the body, and the ends are supported by the hands before: when it is worn in state or parade, one end, which comes over the left shoulder, is born up by the left hand, and the other end, brought under the right arm, is thrown across the left shoulder, whereby the right arm is free for action, and the plaid, beautifully flowing, forms one of the finest and easiest dresses imaginable: and on an expedition, or in time of action, the plaid being bound up with a belt about the middle of the body, and buckled or fastened on the top of the left shoulder, is called the belted plaid; as without doubt Cæsar's toga abovementioned was, though not admitted by the abovenamed authors.

But the greatest service of the plaid seems to be by night, when it is used in the same manner by our highlanders as it was by the ancient Romans, for a coverlet, which undoubtedly gave rise to the blanket; and when in the field, by wrapping the plaid round the body, and lying down therein, it answers all the ends of a bed.

Varr. de
Pop. Rom.

And as all the other parts of the highland dress are likewise Roman, it is necessary, for the satisfaction of the curious, to shew the names they went by in both languages, viz. The bonnet is the Roman pileus; the jacket, or short coat, the tunica; the philibeg, or little kilt, which covers the thighs, is the femoralia; the short hose, not knee high, are the caliga; and the brogues, or shoes without heels, are the calceus: and the ends of the plaid abovementioned plainly appear to be the lappets given to the toga by the abovenamed writers. By this discovery it is to be hoped, that henceforth all disputes amongst antiquaries will cease on this head.

But, as a representation to the eye seems more demonstrative than one to the mind, I have added certain figures, both of Romans and Highlanders,

Highlanders, in their respective dresses; whereby, exclusive of the lower parts of the arms of our highlanders being covered, as already hinted, they appear to be exactly the same.

The toga amongst the Romans was diversified by a variety of appellations, *viz.* toga consularis, toga militaris, toga virilis, toga capitolina, toga prætexta, toga chlamys, toga communis, toga forensis, toga nivea, and toga domestica, or coverlet, which were either distinguished by their respective colours, or manner of wearing the same: but whether there ever was any distinction, in respect to colour, amongst our ancestors, I cannot learn; for the only difference amongst us, of late, was in the manner of wearing the plaid, (a party-coloured woollen garment) *viz.* when used in state or parade, the belted plaid, the weather plaid, and the bed plaid, or blanket.

The toga, as already mentioned, being supposed to be the most ancient garment, it has been changed into a variety of forms; for all the upper garments, occasionally worn in Europe at present, are taken from it, *viz.* Mens gowns of all sorts, whether those of lawyers and parsons, or night-gowns, cloaks, great coats, &c. as are likewise the pallium and long gown of the Greeks, Poles, Turks, &c. with the archiepiscopal pall and ministers scarves. The toga or plaid is still worn by many of the poorer sort of men in the lower parts of our country; as it likewise is by women of all sorts, both in our high and low lands. And, besides Scotland, the said toga or plaid is still worn by women in the circle of Lower Saxony in Germany; and in Barbary, in Africa, by men both by night and day: by the former it is called a regen deugh, or rain-cloth, as a shelter from the weather; by women of distinction it is made of black silk, by those of a middling station of pretty fine linen, and by the poorer sort of females of a coarse linen, which serves them whilst abroad as a fence against the weather, and by night as a bed-sheet.

Although I have, as abovementioned, declared the toga or plaid to have been part of the Roman dress, and that we received it from the Romans; yet, by a further inquiry, I find that soon after the flood of Noah it was in use amongst the Margians, who dwelt between Media and Tartary; whose descendants, by the appellation of Celts, in their migrations westward, brought it into Gaul, where it was called braccæ, and the people that wore it Galli braccati. And that the said braccæ, or plaid, was in use amongst the inhabitants of our country before the arrival of the Romans in Caledonia, is manifest by the following verse in Martial, who wrote about the middle of the first century.

Pezron. Antiq. des Celt. P. 33.

Diod. Sic. Hist. Libr. lib. 5. c. 2.

Mart. Epigr. 22.

Quam veteres braccæ Britonis pauperis.

That is,

The old plaid the poor Britons wore.

Now as by the above verse it appears that the braccæ or plaid, called by the Romans the toga, was in use in this island before the arrival of the Romans, they probably received it from the Gauls, by its appearing to have been brought into Europe by their ancestors, many ages before the founding of Rome.

And as I take the said verse to be a confirmation of Cæsar's native or inland inhabitants of this island being the true and ancient Britons, or Gael; so it convinces me, that the said Gael were their descendants,

both

both by their language and the braccæ, or plaid, still in use amongst them, as already mentioned.

C H A P. V.

Of the religion of the Gael.

AS I think I have already made it plainly appear, that this island was peopled from our neighbouring country of Gaul or France; so that we, being the first colony that came from thence, were of the same religion, is evident; for Cæsar, speaking of the religious discipline of the Gauls, says it was thought to have been instituted in Britain; for those who desired to become masters thereof, went thither to learn it. Now as it appears that our religion was the same with theirs, so must our gods; which were Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Apollo, and Minerva. The first whereof was the supreme deity: Mars presided over war: Mercury being the tutelar god, or guardian, to him addresses were made for assistance in all undertakings, and protection in journeys; and regarding him as the inventor of arts, and protector of commerce, many statues were erected to his honour: Apollo they deemed their physician, and curer of all their maladies; and Minerva was adored for her having first taught manufactures. Besides these deities, both the sun and the moon were worshipped by our ancestors, by the names of Beal and Diana: the temples consecrated to the former were circles of rough unpolished stones, and those dedicated to the latter were semicircles of the same sort of stones, as hereafter will appear.

Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 6.

The priests to those deities, who were also philosophers, were denominated Druids. This name is by some derived from the Greek word Drus, an oak-tree. Pezron will not admit of this; for he tells us, that the Celts, in their western progress from Asia, having over-run Greece, and possessed themselves of the Peloponnesus, communicated their language to the Greeks; which afterwards spreading into Italy, both the Greek and Latin tongues are in a great measure derived from the Celtick or Gaulish language. Now as the Greek Drus is derived from the Celtick Deru, an oak-tree, he is of opinion, that the appellation of Druid owes its origin to the Celtick. Be that as it will, this is certain, that all their sacrifices and religious rites were performed in groves of oak-trees; nor did they celebrate any of their religious ceremonies without an oaken branch: for the oak, representing their great god Jupiter, was held as very sacred; and whatever vegetable happened to cleave to or grow on it, was regarded as the immediate gift of heaven: but especially the plant mistletoe, which, of all things, was deemed the most sacred.

Pezron. Ant.
tiq. des Celt.
c. 17.

Plin. Hist.
lib. 16. c. 44.

The Druids, who, by Pezron, are said to be successors of the Curetes, the sages or priests of the Titans, having been the sole repositories of learning, to them were committed the sacred mysteries, and care of things divine, the performing of publick and private sacrifices, the interpretation of religion, the instruction of youth, forms of worship, and rules of morality; and, by observing the motions of the celestial bodies, presaged future events, wherein the vulgar were chiefly concerned. By which they obtained such an authority and veneration among the people, that no laws were made without their proposal or approbation, or persons punished but by their verdict; and all contro-

Pezron. Ant.
tiq. des Celt.
c. 15.
Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 6.

verfies, of what kind foever, were left to their decifion; and whoever refufed to abide by their decrees were excommunicated, deprived of the benefit of the law, and of all places of honour and truft, and, being deemed the moft profligate wretches, were avoided by all.

By this great power the Druids gained fuch an afcendant over the people, that they became the chief directors of all affairs, both fpiritual and temporal, enjoyed all manner of immunities, and were exempt from all forts of taxes; and having never committed any of their myfteries or craft to writing, kept the people in grofs ignorance and flavery to their pretended divine hierarchy: wherein, I am forry to fay it, they have been too much followed by the Chriftian clergy.

The chief doctrines of the Druids were, the immortality and tranfmigration of fouls, concerning the nature of things, and the power and majefty of the immortal gods.

Plin. Hift.

lib. 16. c. 44.

Exod. c. 34.

v. 13.

Levit. c. 26.

v. 30.

Genef. c. 21.

v. 33.

The temples of the Druids, according to Pliny, were erected in woods, or groves of oak-trees: and by the great number of the faid temples ftill remaining in Scotland, efpecially in the northern parts, they appear to have been erected on high grounds. All temples or altars erected in groves on high places, feem to have been of very great antiquity, and of pagan institution; as appears by an injunction of the Almighty to the Ifraelites to destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves on high places. And as to what is faid of Abraham's planting a grove in Beersheba, and calling on the name of God, I imagine that was done according to the custom of his native country of Ur of the Chaldees, before he came to be thoroughly acquainted with the will of God.

The pagan temples in Scotland are of three different forts: the firft confifts of one row of rough unpolifhed ftones, placed in the ground endways, about four feet afunder, in circular order: the fecond confifts of two, and the third of three rows of ftones, as aforefaid. The dimensions of thefe temples being various, are from about fifteen to above fixty feet in diameter; and the incircling ftones from about three to about ten feet in height above the ground. Now as thefe temples differ in magnificence, I am of opinion they belonged to different orders of their priefts, called flamins and arch-flamins, and probably not unlike our parifh, epifcopal, and archiepifcopal churches. Be that as it will, two of the faid temples are commonly together, one encompassed with a ditch, the other not; for the better understanding of which I fhall give an account of one of the faid temples, which is fituated on the weftern fide of the highway, about a quarter of a mile befouth the river Don, near Inverury, in the fhire of Aberdeen.

This anonymous temple confifts of two parts: the fmalleft, lying towards the fouth, is furrounded with a ditch; and the largeft encompassed with three rows of ftones erect, with a fmall cairn or heap of ftones in the middle. That this has been a place of worfhip, of great eminence and diftinction, appears by its long avenue of about two hundred yards, enclosed with a row of large ftones erected on each fide: it leads from the fouth to the leffer circle, and, having croffed the fame, continues its fhort courfe to the larger, enclosed with ftones.

Into the ditch which furrounded the leffer of the aforefaid inclofures, no perfon was admitted but the prieft, who led the beaft for facrifice thrice funways round the circle; and being killed therein, part of its flefh was confumed on the cairn or altar of burnt offerings, in the centre

centre of the larger enclosure, or threefold circle, as an offering to the gods; and the remainder was appropriated to the use of the priests. Near to this there is said to have been an altar of one stone, with a cavity in the upper part, wherein some of the blood of the sacrifice was put, and offered as a farther propitiation for the trespasses of the offender. This altar for burnt offerings, like those in other temples, was an artificial heap or cairn of rough unwrought stones, with a large flat stone on the upper part, whereon to burn the sacrifices.

Besides the private sacrifices, the Druids had a general yearly one on May-day, in honour of the god Beal, Apollo, or the sun. Preparatory to this solemnity, the domestick fires throughout the country were all put out; and the priests having made a fire at each of their principal places of worship throughout the nation, the same by consecration was called the holy fire: to which the people repaired with their offerings, from all parts of their respective districts, and, having offered, walked in a solemn procession round the temple, calling upon Beal to be propitious to them in all their undertakings. And the heads of the several families, not daring to rekindle their domestick fires but by that of the sacred, were obliged to buy of the priests a certain quantity of the holy fire. Then returning to their respective habitations, they made a procession therewith round them and their fields of corn, to obtain a blessing thereon from Beal; and then rekindled their household fires. From this solemnity the first day of May was denominated Bealtine-day, that is, Beal's fire-day. Thus were the holy and simple bigots gulled and tricked by their ghostly fathers, who laid hold of all opportunities to fleece their flocks.

And the horrid superstition and cruel practices of the Druids were such, that, besides the common offerings to their gods, on extraordinary occasions, they offered human sacrifices in a twofold manner. The first we have related p. 36; the second we shall add from Diodorus, who says, that on extraordinary occasions they sacrificed a man, and, cutting open his breast near the diaphragma, judged of the event by the manner of his fall, convulsion of his members, and flux of blood. Diod. Hist. lib. 5. c. 21.

There are divers things concerning the Druids altars worthy of observation. 1. They appear to have been built after the same manner as those which God commanded the Israelites to erect, of rough unhewn stones, whereon no iron tool had been used. 2. The Druid temples being of a round or circular form, one of them by the Romans was denominated circus, which being by the Germans converted into kirk or kirk, and we receiving this word from the Saxons, our places of publick worship at present are hence denominated churches or kirks. 3. The places of worship, here called temples, were by the Gael or ancient Scots and Picts called clachan, that is, stones, from their being encompassed by that fossile. And the people, at their conversion to Christianity, having given that appellation to a Christian place of worship, it continued to be called so till houses were erected in its neighbourhood; and the name of clachan being transferred to them, a small village, in divers parts of Scotland, is still called a clachan. Deut. c. 27. v. 5, 6.

To what has been said concerning temples, I think it will not be amiss to add a compendious account of one of them in Ireland, in a letter from Robert bishop of Cork to the Royal Society. Phil. Trans. n° 471.

“ This

Lib. 6. de
Ling. Lat.

Rosin. Ant.
lib. 3. c. 9.

Genes. c. 28.
v. 12.

Tertul. ad-
vers. Judæos,
c. 7.

" This temple consists of a circle of nine stones erect, with one in
" the centre of a conical form, and one to the north-west at some
" distance without the circle, of an obeliscal form; of which the fol-
" lowing is a description, together with an account of the origin of
" temples, and the manner of the priest's officiating thereat.

" Temples, according to Varro, being anciently open, they received
" the name *à templando*, an ancient word signifying to look out.
" They were by pagans called temples, from their being holy places;
" so denominated by the augurs, from taking their auguries therein:
" and being open erections, the priest, who stood either regarding the
" south or east, might view all around him; for the art of prediction
" depended on the flight of birds, or appearances in the sky.

" The priest stood near the central, which, being lower than the
" rest, was dedicated to a certain deity, and consecrated by pouring
" olive oil thereon. This custom seems to have been borrowed from
" the patriarchs, who called those stones Bethels, divers whereof were
" erected by them. For God appearing to Jacob in a dream, in his
" journey to Padanaram, he, in commemoration thereof, erected the
" stone which in the preceding night had served for his pillow, and,
" pouring oil thereon, denominated it Bethel, or God's house; and
" afterwards the said Jacob, on signal occasions, erected and dedicated
" divers other stones as memorials of God's favour, and called them
" all Bethels.

" Besides, we have numerous instances in Clemens Alexandrinus,
" Herodian, Pausanias, and others, that rough stones were erected in
" honour of pagan deities. Moses, after his descent from the mount,
" erected an altar under a hill, and set up twelve pillars or stones, ac-
" cording to the number of the tribes, which, no doubt, surrounded
" the altar; and the ground encompassing the same being deemed
" holy, it was dedicated to God. Of this kind probably were the
" twelve stones set up by Joshua in Gilgal, after the Israelites passed
" the river Jordan.

" The number of stones surrounding those Bethels or temples were
" at the discretion of the persons who erected them, and might pro-
" bably be according to the number of persons concerned in the dedi-
" cation. The number in this Bethel being nine, they surround the
" centre at the distance of fifteen feet and a half; the height of each
" stone being about six feet above ground, and their breadth is from
" three and a half to near four feet.

" The stone detached from the rest, is supposed to have been the
" burial-place of an eminent person, either prince or priest; which
" seems to be corroborated by many popish families of distinction still
" using the same as a cemetery."

Though the time when the Christian religion was at first introduced
into Scotland cannot be ascertained, yet that it was very early is evident
by Tertullian, who says, that those nations of Britain which could
not be subdued by the Romans, willingly submitted to the yoke of
Christ. Now, as this celebrated father of the primitive church is said
to have died in the year 202, he must have written some time before
this period; which it is thought he did at Rome in the pontificate of
Calixtus I. where having resided a considerable time, he had a good
opportunity to know the time when our conversion happened.

That the nations abovementioned were our ancestors, appears by divers reasons. 1. By our being the genuine descendants of the colony of Gauls, or Gael, that at first peopled this island, who by the Romans were occasionally denominated Caledonians, Scots, and Picts: we have ever since inhabited the northern parts of Britain, as I have already made appear. 2. We and the Picts being the only people of this island that never submitted to or were conquered by the Romans, it is evident, that we are the Christian nations mentioned by Tertullian; for it plainly appears that the Cumri or Welsh, in the southern parts of this island, commonly called Britons, were enslaved by the Romans long before the aforesaid period: and that we are the said Christian nations, is confirmed by Baronius.

Baron. Anna.
tom. 5. col.
587. edit.
Colon.

The enemies to our antiquities, finding this a fact not to be controverted, have maliciously endeavoured to traduce us by a very mean insinuation, that we were professors without the knowledge of the Christian religion; by saying, that if there were at that time any Christians in Scotland, they must have held the faith by tradition, without the use of letters, and of course of the scriptures. Had these malevolent persons been well acquainted with Tacitus, he would have told them that our predecessors were, by order of Agricola, taught the liberal sciences, and the use of the Roman apparel; the former confirmed by a number of Latin words in our Highland tongue; and the latter by its having been the common dress in all parts throughout the highlands of Scotland: which effectually refutes the above false and ill-natured assertion.

Lloyd's Pref.
Hist. Church
Govern. p. 8.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agric. c. 21:

Various are the opinions concerning the time when, and from whom the Scots at first received the Christian religion. Some say we received it from pope Victor I. who lived in the second century. This agrees well with the account of our being Christians by Tertullian, who having resided a considerable time at Rome in the pontificate of Calixtus I. some years after the demise of Victor, he could not but know the time of our conversion. Others think that it was introduced by the Cumri, or South Britons, when they fled from the Roman persecution in the southern parts of this island.

Baron. Anna.
tom. 5. col.
586. 589.
edit. Colon.

Stilling. Pref.
Orig. Britan.
p. 63.

Be these things as they will, it seems episcopacy was not then established in Scotland; for Prosper tells us, that pope Cœlestin having ordained Palladius, he sent him in the year 431 to the Scots believing in Christ, to be their first bishop. This is confirmed by Bede, who says, that this happened in the eighth year of the emperor Theodosius the younger. And Prosper elsewhere tells us, that Cœlestin having ordained a bishop for the Scots, while the bishop endeavoured to keep the Roman island Catholick, he made the barbarous island Christian.

Prosper. Chro.
Coff.

Bede. Hist.
lib. 1. c. 13.

Prosper. cont.
Collat. c. 41.

A certain prelate, imagining episcopacy to be in danger by the declarations aforesaid, has left no stone unturned to support the episcopal hierarchy; and to that end endeavours to shew, that by the Roman island is meant that of Britain, and by the barbarous that of Ireland. And, to put it beyond dispute that Palladius was not sent to us, affirms that the Scots were not then settled in Britain: and, for his own conveniency, generally converts the appellations of Irish and Ireland into those of Scots and Scotland.

Lloyd. Hist.
Church Go-
vern. p. 52.

To this I answer, that the Roman province in this island besouth the barrier or Roman wall, now denominated Graham's dike, was called an island, exclusive of the parts of Britain benorth the same,

Gild. Hist.
c. 19.

as plainly appears, thus: Gildas, speaking of the northern enemies who invaded it, says, the impudent Irish robbers went home, with a design to return soon after; and then the Picts at first settled themselves in the utmost parts of the island, whence they frequently made incursions, and spoiled the provincials.

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. lib. 4.
c. 26.

Ibid. lib. 1.
c. 12.

That the utmost parts of the island here mentioned, were the northern parts of the Roman province, is evident by its being acknowledged by all, that the Picts inhabited the parts of this island benorth the barrier, or wall, long before this period. Nay, I have already made it appear that they were the first inhabitants of our country, by Tacitus called Caledonians. And another proof of those being the parts wherein the Picts settled, at the time of this invasion, arises from Bede's telling us, that in the year 684 they recovered their lands, which had been held by the English and Scots, and these appear to have been the countries on the south side of the river Forth. And as a farther proof that the Roman province in Britain was called an island, the same author tells us, that after the Romans, who were sent to assist the Britons, had defeated their enemies, they advised them to build a wall between the friths of Forth and Clyde, as a barrier against the enemy. The islanders, approving of this advice, raised an earthen wall for their defence.

Now as by what has been said it plainly appears, that the southern part of Britain was called an island, and as it belonged to the Romans, Prosper might well call it the Roman island, to distinguish it from the northern parts of Britain, which, not being under the Roman government, was not civilized; therefore he might call it the barbarous island.

But, to put this affair in a better light, it will be necessary to hear what Lloyd says, in respect to Palladius's being sent to convert the pagan Scots in Ireland, and not to be a bishop over us, who were already Christians; which is as followeth.

Lloyd. Hist.
Church Govern. p. 58.

“ To bring us yet nearer to an end of this matter, we are assured,
“ that pope Cœlestin's death was within a year, or little more, of the
“ time when he sent Palladius on his mission. For as Prosper tells
“ us his mission was in the year 431, so he and others assure us that
“ Cœlestin died the next year; and his death was on the sixth day of
“ April, as we are told in the Pontifical. But it will presently appear
“ that Palladius died so long before him, that this pope had the news
“ of his death, and was thereupon moved to send Patrick to succeed
“ him in the mission. This gives a great colour of truth to that which
“ Bale tells us, that the death of Palladius was on the 15th of De-
“ cember: for that notation of time is very consistent with all that
“ hath been said by the ancients of this matter. There was time
“ enough between that and the 6th of April for Patrick to hear of his
“ death, and afterwards to go to Rome and receive any thing from
“ pope Cœlestin, before his death. There was also time enough in the
“ year 431, before the 15th of December, for Palladius to receive
“ his mission at Rome, and to try what he could do in Ireland; and,
“ finding no success there, to come and die in this island of Britain.
“ All this might come within so short a time as that was, between
“ his mission in the forepart of the year and his death on the 15th
“ of December following.”

REMARK.

REMARK. As we are told by Lloyd that Cœlestin died on the 6th of April, in the year 432, which, he says, was within a year or little more of the time when he sent Palladius on his mission, I imagine, by the indefinite words, little more, that it happened about the beginning of the month of April in the year 431, which is allowing six days for the said indefinite space of time. And as it is said that Palladius died on the 15th of December following, he only survived the date of his mission nine months and a half; from which deduct six weeks, for his journey from Rome to Ireland, which I think is as little as can be allowed for one of his character, who cannot be supposed to have ridden post: and his journey afterwards from Ireland to Fordun, in the shire of Merns in Scotland, which is above 140 miles from Port-patrick in the county of Galloway, where the ferry to Ireland is, for which, together with the way he might travel in Ireland, and in crossing the sea in his Scottish progress, I shall allow a fortnight's time; which added to that of his journey from Rome, makes about two months. So that the whole time our bishop employed in converting the Irish was only about seven months and a half: all which, Lloyd says, might have come within so short a time; which shews what an unfit person he would have been to be employed in the converting an infidel nation; nor, in truth, would Palladius have been much better, had he only employed so short a time in endeavouring to make profelytes. Wherefore I think that this of itself is sufficient to shew, that Palladius never was in Ireland.

Lloyd. Hist.
Church Gov.
vern. p. 58.

And if, according to Lloyd, the Irish had so strong an aversion to the Christian religion, the pope had little reason to be in such haste to send St. Patrick to succeed Palladius in his mission, which must have been within three months and a half; for that was the time that Patrick had to hear of the death of Palladius, and to go to Rome to solicit a mission before Cœlestin's death, which, according to the Roman Pontifical, happened on the 6th of April in the year 432. Besides, 'tis absurd to imagine that Palladius, on his return from Ireland to Rome, would have travelled by the way of Fordun in Scotland, which is some hundreds of miles about.

Though this be a story surmounting all ordinary faith, yet Lloyd, to gain it belief, has brought his countryman, Nennius, to prove that Palladius was sent by Cœlestin to convert the Irish, in direct opposition to Prosper, who, he says, could want no information in this affair; for he knew not only what he writ, but lived in publick business at that time, and is the fountain from whom all others have taken what they have written of this matter: which shews what a writer Nennius is, to impose his inventions on his readers for facts; by which he has misled all the writers, who say, that Palladius was sent to convert the Scots. By this it also appears, that Lloyd stuck at nothing to carry his point; for though he has given Prosper the character of a faithful writer, he has nevertheless brought Nennius, that cannot be so called, to refute him! A practice that cannot be justified.

Nen. Hist.
Brit. c. 54.
edit. Gale.

As I have shewn that Palladius was not sent to Ireland to convert the people of that country, I shall next attempt to prove that he was sent by Cœlestin to be our first bishop, for which we have the authority of that celebrated and faithful historian Prosper, who knew the best of all men, as is acknowledged by the greatest enemy to our antiquities. But as the proof thereof in a great measure depends upon

Prosper. Chron.
Coff.

Lloyd. Hist.
Church Gov.

our P. 52. 55.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol. c. 27.

our being settled in Britain before the third century, I have already shewn, I hope to the satisfaction of all impartial men, that we are the true descendants of the Caledonians, by Tacitus said to have inhabited our country in the first century. It therefore only remains to shew, by the best proofs I can, that Palladius was sent to us as our first bishop.

Prosop. Chron.
Coff.

As it is said that Palladius was a Briton, he must have had a greater regard to the welfare of his own country, than to that of Ireland: and that he had is evident; for, by his sole interest, he prevailed on pope Celestin, in the year 429, to send Germanus and Lupus into Britain to withstand the Pelagian heresy, which then greatly prevailed in this island; and his mission to the Scots corroborates the opinion of his having been a native of Britain.

Usser. Brit.
Eccles. Antiq.
p. 424.

And that Palladius was sent to our country, and not to that of Ireland, divers things conspire to demonstrate. 1. His oratory, or chapel, which is about the length of forty-two feet, and breadth of eighteen, called Paldy-kirk, situated in the Cemetery on the southern side of the church of Fordun, in the shire of the Merns. 2. In the neighbourhood of the town of Fordun is a yearly fair held, called Paldy-fair. 3. Palladius is by all our writers called our first bishop; whereas it is become a proverb among the Irish, that they were converted by St. Patrick, and not by Palladius; nor, indeed, have they brought any proof to shew he was ever there.

Prosop. Chron.
Coff.

Baron. Annal.
tom. 5. col.
684. edit.
Colon.

To illustrate in some measure this controverted affair, it will be necessary to observe, that we are by Prosper expressly told that Palladius, in the year 431, was sent by pope Celestin to be the first bishop over the Scots that believed in Christ. And Baronius says, that God having reserved the conversion of the Irish for St. Patrick, he was sent by the said pope, in the same year, to convert that nation. Whereby 'tis manifest, that, instead of being sent to one people, they were actually sent to two, the former being Christians, and the latter Pagans; therefore as their missions were different, so were their offices. Wherefore I imagine they had their several missions granted about the same time to confirm one nation, and convert the other; which is seemingly agreed to by some of our adversaries, who say, that it is extremely improbable that Palladius could convert or make the barbarous island Christian (which he takes to be Ireland) in so short a time, or small part of a year. To which may be added, that, by sending Palladius to Ireland, the Irish must either have been Christians, or Pagans: if the former, that were only shifting the scene, by removing the anti-episcopal hierarchy from Scotland to Ireland; which instead of answering what it was brought for, to shew that there was then no such church in being, tends to demonstrate, that the Presbyterian church was then established in Ireland, and not in Scotland: and if the latter, it were equally absurd to say that a nation of infidels (such as the Irish then were, as is evident by their conversion afterwards by St. Patrick) believed in Christ. A further demonstration that Palladius was not sent to Ireland.

Lloyd. Hist.
Church Govern.
p. 60.

Before I leave this head, it will be necessary to say something touching the Culdees, who have occasioned long and warm disputes concerning the antiquity of episcopacy in Scotland.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 8. edit.
Hearne.

Prosper, as abovementioned, having told us, that Palladius was in the year 431, sent by pope Celestin as first bishop to the Scots believing in Christ; Fordun, our first general historian, concludes, that before his arrival

arrival the Scottish church was governed by presbyters, or monks; wherein he has been followed by almost all our historians ever since. But the appellation of these presbyters, or monks, by their diligence in preaching and praying, being by the people converted into Cultores Dei, it prevailed to such a degree, that all priests, by an abbreviation, were indiscriminately called Culdei, or Culdees, that is, worshippers of God. These, by common suffrage, chose from amongst themselves a chief priest, who, in things sacred, was called bishop of the Scots.

Boeth. Scot.
Hist. lib. 6.
fol. 95.

Various are the derivations of the word Culdee: Lloyd tells us they were anciently called Kelledei, or Kyldee, from Cylle, a Cell, and Tee or Dee, that is, a House of Cells, or small apartments; wherefore he imagines, that the persons who inhabited the same were severally called Kyldee, that is, one belonging to such a cell. Toland derives it from the Gaelick Kele, devoted, and Dia or Dee, God, that is, persons dedicated or devoted to the worship of God. This derivation seems more suitable to the character of priests, or monks, who are set apart for celebrating the divine offices, than from their living in cells. Besides, it will better account for our places called Kils, such as Kilpatrick, Kil-marnoc, Kil-irvine, &c. which I take to have been so denominated from there being places of worship dedicated to saints of those names, and not from their being cells wherein the Culdees are said to have dwelt: which, I think, may in some measure be accounted for, by the impropriety of names given to some of the said Kils, such as Kil-christ and Kil-mary, as if they had been inhabited by Christ and his mother.

Lloyd. Hist.
Church Govern.
p. 138.

Be these things as they will, I cannot, for divers reasons, be of opinion, that there were either bishops or monks in Scotland before the coming of Palladius; which I think plainly appears by Prosper, who tells us, that Palladius was sent by pope Coelestin, in the year 431, to be first bishop over the Scots. Now, as Prosper is a writer of undoubted authority, and one that knew this affair better than any other person, his declaration is, I think, a proof sufficient to refute all that has been alleged to the contrary. Nor indeed can it be otherwise, seeing we are told by Gildas, the most ancient British historian, who wrote about the year 564, that in his time there were no British writings or historical records to help him in compiling his history; and if ever there had been any, they were either destroyed by enemies at home, or carried abroad by his exiled and distressed countrymen, and all the assistance he had in writing his history was from the works of foreigners: which is farther confirmed by his countryman Nennius, who wrote about nine hundred years ago, and who complains, that the greatest scholars among the Britons had but little learning, and no memoirs; saying, that what he himself wrote was collected from the Roman annals, the works of the primitive fathers, and other foreign writers.

Prosper. Chron.
Coff.

Hist. Gild.
sect. 2. edit.
Gale.

Nenn. Hist.
Brit. Apolog.
edit. Gale,
p. 94.

And Fordun having told us, that before the coming of Palladius the Scottish church was governed by presbyters or monks, by some called Culdees, which, according to Blondel, was about the year 263; that this is a mistake is manifest; for at this time there were no monks in being: for the monkish profession did not begin till the persecution under the emperor Dioclesian, in the year 303, when divers Christians in Egypt fled into deserts, where they could safely serve God; among whom

Blond. Apol.
pro Hieron.

Baron. Ann.
tom. 3. col.
559.
Sulp. Sever.
in Vit. Mar-
tini, c. 4.

Sibb. Hist.
Fife, p. 69.

Buch. Rer.
Scot. in Vit.
Constant.

Crawf. Lives
Offic. Crown,
&c. vol. 1.
p. 6.

Id. ibid.

was one Anthony, who, from his great piety, was called the saint. The first account of those monks was brought to Rome by Athanasius, in the year 340; and from the city of Milan, in Italy, monks were brought into France by St. Martin, who, being soon after made bishop of Tours, founded a monastery within two miles of that town; wherein the monks increased to such a degree, that near two thousand of them were at his funeral. And St. Patrick, a Scot, who converted the Irish, and St. Ninian, a Briton, being relations to the said St. Martin, the former brought the monastick life into Ireland, and the latter into Britain, in the year 432, the year after the arrival of Palladius: wherefore the Culdees, said to have been here before this period, must have been the presbyters or priests, incumbents of the several kils, churches, or places of publick worship. But by the many royal and other benefactions, mentioned by sir Robert Sibbald to have been given to the Culdees, the name, upon the increase of the monks in our country, appears to have been applied to them; which is evident by king Constantine III's resigning the crown about the year 938, and retiring to the monastery of Culdees at the city of St. Andrews, where he spent the remainder of his days.

This is confirmed by a charter of king David I. whereby he grants to the canons of St. Andrews the isle of Lochleven (now denominated St. Serff's island) belonging to the Keledeis. Now, as the said charter is but short, and a curiosity of considerable antiquity, I shall insert the same for the information of the reader, which is as follows:

“ David, rex Scotorum, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, vice-
“ comitibus, & omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ suæ, salutem.
“ Sciatis me concessisse & dedisse canonicis Sancti Andreae, insulam de
“ Lochleven, ut ipsi ibi instituant ordinem canonicalem, & Keledei
“ qui ibidem inventi fuerint, si regulariter vivere voluerint, in pace
“ cum iis, & sub iis maneat: & si quis illorum ad hoc resistere volue-
“ rint, volo & præcipio ut ab insula ejiciantur. Testibus Roberto
“ episcopo Sancti Andreae; Andrea episcopo Catenes; Waltero can-
“ cellario; Nicolao clerico; Hugone de Morevilla; Waltero filio Al-
“ bani; apud Bervie.”

The Keledeis abovementioned, before the erection of the priory of St. Andrews by king Alexander I. were a religious society of monks, and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Andrews, and electors of the bishop. But David, willing to alter the constitution by vesting the election of the said bishop in the prior and canons aforesaid, pressed the Keledeis to agree to the same: but they proving refractory, instead of giving into the project, thwarted the prior and canons, whom they regarded as their enemies, by prevailing on the king to divest them of their ancient rights and privileges. But David, resenting those practices, commanded that the several Keledeis, that would not submit to the new constitutions, should be expelled the monastery. However, the Keledeis, instead of conforming to the new regulations, controverted the same by appealing to Rome, seemingly without success. But in the year 1298, on the election of Lambton to the bishoprick by the said prior and canons, the pope decided the dispute, by decreeing the right of election in favour of the prior and canons.

REMARK. By what has been said of the Culdees, or Keledeis, it plainly appears they were not, as Fordun vainly imagined, a set of presbyters

presbyters or monks, who governed the church independent of bishops; but that they really were the ministers of the church, under the episcopal hierarchy. And, to put this beyond dispute, 'tis manifest that the said Culdees were presented to churches, cure of souls, and other ecclesiastical emoluments, by the bishops; which effectually refutes the story of their being of an opinion different from that of episcopacy.

Crawf. Lives
Offic. Crown,
&c. vol. 1.

Though many are of opinion that the Culdees were peculiar to Scotland, it nevertheless appears that there were some in other countries, who had a diversity of offices. We are told by Giraldus Cambrensis, that in the island of Inchinemeo, in Ireland, were certain unmarried men, called Cælicolæ, or Colidei, who devoutly served God in a chapel there. There were also certain secular priests, called Colidei, who officiated in the choir of the cathedral church of Armagh in Ireland; and their prior, serving as chanter, was chosen by the Culdees, and confirmed by the archbishop of Armagh. There were also priories of the said Culdees at Guin-inis in the county of Monaghan, and at Devenish in the county of Fermanagh, both in Ireland. Nay, this name appears not to have been unknown in England; for in the Chartulary of St. Leonard's hospital in the city of York, in the reign of king Athelstan, the ministers belonging to the cathedral church of St. Peter there were denominated Colidei: and the said Colidei, in the time of William the Conqueror, founded the hospital of St. Peter in the said city, for the reception of its poor. But this hospital being afterwards used by the kings William Rufus and Stephen for a palace, they built a church there, in honour of St. Leonard, and it was thereupon called the hospital of St. Leonard. Those ministers, or Culdees, I take to have been the dean and chapter of York, as the Keledeis or Culdees of Lochleven appear to have been of St. Andrews. Nor were the Culdees strangers in Wales, as appears by Cambrensis, who says, that in the island of Erchli, or Berdesey, were certain devout monks called Colidei. So, upon the whole, the Culdees, instead of being presbyters, appear to have been cloistered monks.

Cambrenf.
Topogr. Hi-
bern. dist. 2.
c. 4.
Ware Antiq.
Hibern. c. 17.

Cot. Libr.

Anderf. Di-
plom: Scotiæ,
chart. 13.
Cambrenf.
Itiner. Cam-
bria, lib. 2.
c. 6.

To what has been said I shall add, that, as it appears by Prosper that Palladius was sent to be the first bishop to the Christian Scots in Britain, 'tis plain they were converted before his arrival by a person or persons of a different communion from those of the church of Rome; as is manifest by the disputes afterwards carried on by Coleman, and other Scottish Christians, against the followers of Austin the monk, concerning the keeping of Easter; which, by its being kept by the Scots according to the practice of the Eastern church, shews that our ancestors, instead of being proselyted by the church of Rome, owed their conversion to the Greek church; as no doubt the Britons did, by their maintaining the same doctrine.

As to what we are told by Boece, and his followers, that king Donald I. was the occasion of bringing the Christian religion into Scotland, in the reign of the emperor Severus, anno 203, that is false; for, instead of our having had a king at that time, I have, from the best Roman writers, above demonstrated, that the government of our country then was popular; and that the other thirty-nine of his first forty kings are equally fabulous, I have, by the same authorities, likewise made appear. For what Boece says concerning his Veremundus,

John

John Campbell, and Cornelius Hibernicus, is rejected by the learned as spurious; and were they otherwise, yet by Boece's having declared them to be the chief authors from whom he took his Scottish antiquities, that effectually demonstrates them to be fabulous writers.

C H A P. VI.

Of the bards of the Gael.

Strab. Geog.
lib. 4. p. 136.
Diod. Hist.
lib. 5. c. 2.

Pezron. An-
tiq. des Celts,
p. 378.

WE are told by Strabo, that the bards among the Gauls were both poets and singers. To which Diodorus Siculus likewise agrees, adding, that they in melodious songs, upon their harps, set forth the praises of some, and dispraises of others. And we are told by a judicious antiquary, and good judge of the Celtick language, that bard is taken from the Celtick bardd, which signifies a poet or prophet, who, amongst the Gauls, was both a poet, and singer of his own compositions; which is confirmed by Pompeius Festus.

Mackenz. De-
fence Roy.
Line, p. 22.

In the Gaelick these poets are likewise called bards: their business was to make verses in praise of ancient heroes, whose feats they set forth in heroick strains; as they also did those of the ancestors of their patrons and benefactors. Besides the bards, the Gael had antiquaries called sanachies, whose office it was to keep the genealogies of their princes and great men, and to proclaim the same on certain occasions; which, according to a late writer, are recited at baptisms, marriages, and burials, in our highlands at this day.

Xiphil. in Vit.
Nero.

The business of the bards, as historians, was in recitative verse, at their publick conventions, and in the day of battle, to sing the praises of their deceased heroes, in order to inspire their young princes and nobility with a generous emulation to equal, if not excel, their predecessors in defence of their country; and, as they advanced to battle, to pour out verses full of bitter invectives and dreadful threatnings, to intimidate their enemies.

Exod. c. 15.
v. 1—20.

Judg. c. 5.
v. 3.

The bards appear to have been of very great antiquity; for amongst the Jews there seem to have been both male and female of that profession, by the triumphal songs which Moses and his sister Miriam sang on the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea; and also by the song of Deborah and Barak, at the defeat of the Canaanitish army, with the death of Sisera, the general who commanded it. Of the harp and bagpipe, see the next chapter.

C H A P. VII.

Of the customs of the Gael.

Cæf. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 5.
Xiphil. in Vit.
Severi.

ONE custom among our ancestors seems to have been peculiar to themselves, which was a community of wives among a certain number of men, according to a mutual agreement among them; and every woman's children were attributed to him to whom she was married: but all had a share in the care and defence of the whole community, since no man knew which were his own. On this custom a learned writer has made the following remark.

Temple, In-
trod. Hist.
Engl. p. 14,
15, 16.

“ Though this custom be alleged as a testimony how savage or barbarous a people the Britons were, yet I know not why it should appear

“ appear more extravagant than the community of women in some
 “ other countries, the deflowering of virgins by the priest the first
 “ night of their marriage, and the unlimited number of wives and
 “ concubines; not to mention the marriage of sisters among the an-
 “ cient Egyptians and Athenians, and the borrowing and lending of
 “ wives among the Romans. On the other side it may be alleged,
 “ for some excuse of these our ancestors, that by such a custom they
 “ avoided the common mischiefs of jealousy, the injuries of adultery,
 “ the confinement of single marriages, the luxury and expence of
 “ many wives or concubines, and the partiality of parents in the edu-
 “ cation of all their own children: all which are considerations that
 “ have fallen under the care of many lawgivers.

“ But the best excuse was made on this occasion by a British woman,
 “ consort to Argentocoxus, a Caledonian prince, who being grown
 “ familiar with Julia Augusta, (the empress consort to Severus) and
 “ other chief ladies of that court; and having observed what passed
 “ there behind the curtain, was one day reproached for this custom
 “ of the Britons, as infamous in the women, as well as barbarous in
 “ the men. She answered coldly, We do that openly with the best
 “ of our men, which you do privately with the worst of yours.”

Soon after the birth of a male child in our highlands, a sword is put
 into his hand: the father, or one in his stead, prays that he may make
 good use thereof in defence of his country, and maintain its honour at
 the expence of his life: and, in order to make their children hardy
 and robust, they frequently bathe them in cold water; and to cure
 them of certain distempers, cause them to go through a large circle
 or hoop, made of ivy-twigs.

In the highlands and northern parts of Scotland, a number of druidi-
 cal customs still prevail; for as their pagan ancestors occasionally
 walked in procession sunways around their temples, or circles of stones,
 so do their Christian descendants, at christnings and marriages, in like
 manner walk around the churches at present, for an omen of good
 luck. This practice they call Deissoil, from deis, right, and soil, sun;
 which, on the first of May, or Bealtine-day, is still customary among
 shepherds, in commemoration of Beal. On Midsummer-eve burning
 torches are carried round the corn-fields, in remembrance of the holy
 fire, which tended so much to their preservation, as is yet believed by
 the simple and ignorant people.

In our highlands are a great variety of amulets, many of which un-
 doubtedly belonged to the Druids, from whom they have been handed
 down from age to age: some whereof are the adder-stone, cock-knee-
 stone, toad-stone, snail-stone, mole-stone, shower-stone, and elf-
 arrows.

The adder-stone is a small glass amulet, generally of a greenish
 colour, though some are blue, and others curiously variegated with
 red, white, and blue. These are supposed to have been used as charms
 by the Druids, as the snake-eggs were by their brethren in Gaul: and
 though the said adder-stones appear as plainly to be glass as any piece
 of glass whatever, yet not only the vulgar, but men of good under-
 standing and learning, believe them to be the natural produce of an
 adder.

The cock-knee-stone, though it be a sort of a flint, it is nevertheless, by some ignorant and ill-designing men, affirmed to be taken out of the knee of an old cock.

The toad-stone, which is a pebble, remarkable for its shape and variety of colours, is said to preserve houses from being burnt, and vessels from sinking; and if the general of an army happens to have it about him, they say, he will either be sure to beat his enemy, or leave all his men dead on the field of battle.

The snail-stone is a small hollow cylinder of blue glass, composed of four or five annulets: this, among other of its mysterious virtues, is said to cure sore eyes.

The mole-stones are rings of blue glass, annulated like the snail-stone.

They have chrystal balls or hemispheres, in great esteem for curing cattle; and by sprinkling them with water, into which these balls were put on a May-day, it prevents their being bewitched, or elf-struck. As to elf-striking, they imagine that fairies carry men into the air, and, furnishing them with bows and arrows, employ them to shoot men, cattle, &c. The arrow-heads ascribed to fairies are chipped flints. Now as the elf-arrow-heads appear to have been but lately used as amulets, we may suppose they were not invented for charms, but were anciently used in archery, as they are still in America. Be that as it will, this is certain, that the people throughout the country are satisfied they fall from the air, whereof they say there are many instances, which will not be easily credited by other people.

The harp, 'tis said, was anciently in use among the Gael: if ever it was, I am of opinion it could not be long; for that being an instrument only fit for the chamber, its soft strains were ill adapted to the martial genius of so fierce a people as our ancestors; whose chief delight being in war, they would naturally chuse the bagpipe, as more suitable to the field and their warlike inclinations; for the musick of the harp was an entertainment only fit for the effeminate and voluptuous.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the laws of the Gael.

Bayne's Disc.
Law of Scot.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 8.

Nicol. Scot.
Hist. Libr.
p. 254.

WE are much in the dark in respect to the antiquity of our ancient laws; for, according to a late writer, "laws were of little account, when every head of a family, or chief of a name, assumed to himself power to determine all matters of controversy with his neighbours by the dint of his sword." The most ancient laws we have are the Macalpine, said by Fordun to have been composed by Kenneth II. who began his reign about the year 834; and to confirm this, Boethius has given us a list of the same, as exactly as if he had lived at that time. However, though these laws are said to be abridgments of the voluminous statutes of former kings, they are nevertheless by some regarded as not genuine, since the accounts we have of them are from men who lived many centuries after, without shewing the least authority from whence they had them. And by the declaration of certain of the most judicious civilians in Scotland, 'tis certain their whole authority is founded upon oral tradition, if not on a more treacherous

treacherous bottom. I confess 'tis very amazing that these laws did subsist so long, since we are told by Buchanan, that the good and useful laws made by Alexander III. above four hundred years after, were by length of time, and negligence of the people, become so obsolete, that they were only known by report. Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. 7.

The laws next in age are those said to be Malcolm II's, (who began to reign in the year 1004) prefixed to the books of Regiam Majestatem; but from the customs, language, and names of magistrates, and other officers mentioned therein, and altogether unknown to us in those days, the antiquity of them is by some eminent writers very much questioned. Also the laws in the books of Regiam Majestatem, said to be ours, are rejected with indignation by our learned Craig, as the works of Glanville, justiciary of England in the time of Henry II. And, if the said Craig may be believed, we had no written laws before the reign of Malcolm Canmore, who was proclaimed king in the year 1057. Before this period our kings, as judges, sat on little mounts, and heard and decided controversies; for which reason the place was commonly called the Mute-hill. An eminence of that denomination is still remaining at Scone, in the neighbourhood of Perth. Nicol. Scot. Hist. Libr. Craig. Jus Feud. lib. 1. c. 8. Ibid. lib. 3. c. 7.

Besides the king, there were other judges, called brehons, who, at certain times or terms, sat on such little artificial green mounts or eminences, each named tome-moid, that is, the court-hillock; many of which being still remaining in Scotland, especially in the highlands, the people, at making contracts and determining controversies, still repair thither to confirm them. This laudable custom of holding courts of justice publickly in the face of the sun, in those early times, seems to have been of great use to the people; for, being admitted to hear the decision of the judges in all controversies, they had not only an opportunity of knowing the pains and penalties due to each transgression, for the better regulating their lives and conduct, but the judges, in presence of such a multitude, were restrained from giving partial or unjust verdicts. As to the appellation of brehon, that is probably owing to their sitting on hills; for as bri, or bre, in the Gaelick, signifies a hill, brehon I take to import the sitter on a hill.

Now as it appears that we have little or no foundation for the laws abovementioned being ours, the statutes subjoined to the books of Regiam Majestatem of king William, Alexander II. Robert I. David II. Robert II. and Robert III. are the only undisputed remains we have of any written law before the reign of James I. But the bulk of these being now obsolete, they are of little more use than to shew us the sources of a few things which are held for law at present. To supply this great defect of written laws, we were obliged to have recourse to the feudal and civil laws, which, together with a few of our ancient customs and modern acts of parliament, are become our present law. Bayne's Disc. Law of Scot.

CHAP. IX.

Of their military affairs.

THE first account of the martial transactions of our predecessors we have from Tacitus, who tells us, that the Caledonians whom Agricola engaged at the Gampian hills consisted of three bodies, of horse, foot, and chariots: the two first were armed with large blunt-pointed Tacit. in Vite Agricol.

Xiphil. in Vit.
Sever.
Herod. in Vit.
Sever.

pointed swords and small shields; to which Dio and Herodian have added a dagger and a lance: at the lower end of the latter was fixed a piece of tin in the form of an apple, which served as a rattle to intimidate their enemies. The chariots were of three sorts, viz. the covinus, with four wheels, drawn by six horses, and armed with sharp crooked irons or scythes; the effedum, of two wheels, drawn by four horses, full of armed men; and the episeda, of two wheels, drawn by three horses, full of armed men. They were inclosed with boards on all sides near breast high; and the two latter had each a pole between the hindmost horses, whereon a man could advance and retreat occasionally to distress the enemies. Chariots in war appear to be of very great antiquity; for they were used by Pharaoh, king of Egypt, when he pursued the Israelites.

Exod. c. 14.
v. 7.

Major de Gest.
Scot. lib. 5.
c. 5.
Buchan. Hist.
in Vit. Don. I.

Our nation having, in all ages, been justly celebrated for their many great and martial exploits, I have often admired how they could perform them; since, instead of receiving pay, like the troops of other countries, they were obliged to supply themselves with accoutrements and provisions, which they carried on their backs; the which being consumed, we have divers instances of their disbanding and returning home, without coming to an engagement, for want of necessaries. This has occasioned me frequently to wonder, not so much at one of our raw and undisciplined armies being defeated, as at their having at any time obtained a victory over a veteran enemy, provided at the publick expence with all the necessaries of war. That our soldiers received no pay so low as the year 1314, appears by king Edward II. of England's speech to his army. However Buchanan, in support of his imaginary king (as I have elsewhere made appear) Donald I. has given him a standing army of veterans. The propensity of our ancestors to war formerly was such, that the chiefs of families and persons of distinction used to form confederacies, and commence war against others, without the privacy or consent of the king.

CHAP. X.

Of their boats.

Gild. Hist.
Nen. Hist.
Brit.

Solin. Poly-
hist. c. 25.
Apolin. Sidon.
carm. 7.

THAT our trade formerly could not be very extensive, I think is evident by the make and small dimensions of our vessels, called scoths or curroughs, which were made of osiers interwoven, and covered with the hides of beasts. Some of these are still in use on the river Spey in the county of Murray, being round at both ends, of the length of five feet, and breadth of three. These boats were not only common among the Cumri, or Welsh, and Irish, but among the Saxons and other nations.

CHAP. XI.

Of the surnames of the Gael.

NAMES, being co-eval with the creation, were given for the distinction of persons. At first every one had only one proper name, which was conferred as an omen of good luck: but as the people increased, for their better distinction it was found necessary to add

add the epithet of son to the father's name, *viz.* John the son of William, William the son of David, and James the son of Peter; which are Williamson, Davidson, and Peterson: and our highlanders, in the same sense, have Macdonald, Maclean, and Macneil, that is, Donaldson, Leanson, and Neilson. And also the Welsh, with their Apowen, Appharry, and Aphefe; and the like by other nations. But this proving insufficient to distinguish families, surnames were devised for that purpose, by which the honour and great actions of respective families might be transmitted to posterity.

Surnames were at first introduced by the Romans, on occasion of a treaty of union between them and the Sabines, wherein it was stipulated, that the Romans should prefix Sabine names to their own, as the Sabines should put Roman names before theirs. The next nation in Europe that assumed surnames were the French, about the year 1000; and the English soon after, in the reign of Edward, commonly called the Confessor, who was greatly devoted to French customs. And our exiled prince, Malcolm Canmore, being, about the middle of the eleventh century, a considerable time at Edward's court, where he was royally entertained, became so enamoured of the manners of the English, that from thence, 'tis said, he not only brought divers new titles of honour, *viz.* duke, marquis, earl, baron, and knight, but introduced the use of surnames among us. But a late writer, mistaking the proper names of our ancestors for surnames, imagines they were in use in Scotland before this period; but as his authorities for this are adduced from the Irish romances, no credit can be given to them.

Liv. Hist.
Rom. lib. 1:
c. 13.

Buchan. Hist.
lib. 7. in Vit.
Malcolm III.
Buchan. Essay
name Buchan.

Be that as it will, 'tis certain that our surnames are chiefly derived from the Scottish, English, French, and Danish. The most ancient and honourable of these being local, are deduced from the seats or places of residence of our nobility and gentry; others from mountains, such as mount, hill, hillock, &c. from rivers, Forth, Clyde, Tay, &c. from trees, and other vegetables, as oak, ash, beach, broom, fern, heath, &c. from situation to other places, north, south, east, and west; from trades or crafts, as taylor, shoemaker, smith, &c. from offices, as steward, marshal, chamberlain, &c. from titles of honour and dignity, as king, prince, duke, &c. from natural qualities, as good, wise, bold, &c. from the construction of the body, as strong, long, short, &c. from age, as young, old, child, &c. from the seasons, summer, winter, autumn, &c. from apparel, as hat, cap, hose, &c. from fishes, as salmon, haddock, herring, &c. from complexion, as white, black, brown, &c. from flowers and fruits, as lily, rose, pink, apple, pear, nut, &c. from birds, as eagle, swan, dove, &c. and from beasts not a few, as lyon, lamb, bull, &c.

The Scottish surnames among the nobility are Abernethy, Arbuthnot, Balfour, Ballanden, Barclay, Boyd, Campbell, Carlyle, Carmichael, Carnegie, Carrick, Cathcart, Cochran, Crichton, Cumin, Dalziel, Dalrymple, Douglas, Duffus, Dunbar, Erskine, Frazer, Galloway, Gordon, Graham, Hay, Hume, Keith, Kennedy, Ker, Kinaird, Lenox, Lesley, Maxwell, Monteith, Murray, Nairn, Napier, Ogilvy, Ross, Ruthven, Scot, Scrimgeour, Steward, and Weems.

Surnames, among our nobility, derived from the English, are Bothwell, Cranston, Crawford, Denniston, Elphinston, Forrester, Gray, Haliburton, Hamilton, Hepburn, Johnston, Lindsay, Livingston, Maitland, Middleton, Osburn, Preston, Ramsay, and Rutherford.

From the French, Bruce, Colville, Forbes, Haines, Lyon, Maule, Melville, Montgomery, Primrose, St. Clare, alias Sinclair, and Somerville. And from Hungary and Flanders, Drummond and Flemming. Among the inferior surnames, the Macs of all denominations, with the Camerons, &c. are Gaulish or Scottish.

C H A P. XII.

Of the sepulture of our ancestors.

THE sepulchral monuments of our predecessors are circular heaps, called cairns, from the Gaelick cairn, implying a heap. Of these there appears to have been two sorts in our country, one sacred, and the other sepulchral: of the former divers are still remaining; one whereof, in the parish of Alfoord, on the river Don, in the county of Aberdeen, we have already described.

Josh. c. 7.

v. 26. c. 8.

v. 29.

2 Sam. c. 18.

v. 17.

The sepulchral cairns, by the Romans called tumuli, and by the English barrows, are erected of different materials, viz. the former of stones, and the latter of earth, owing probably to the want of stones in the countries wherein those of earth are raised. These monuments likewise appear to be of great antiquity, by cairns or heaps of stones being raised over the remains of Achan, the king of Ai, and Absalom. All of these cairns containing urns or stone coffins, filled with ashes and burnt bones, shew that our ancestors, instead of committing the bodies of their dead to the earth in a natural way, (as was early practised by the Hebrews) burnt them. The custom of burning seems to have been founded upon two reasons: 1. According to the pagan religion, it became a sacrifice to the gods. 2. That the dead might not be exposed to the outrages of enemies. Whether our predecessors learnt this custom from the Gauls, or Romans, is uncertain: however, these tumuli seem to have been raised by the Caledonians, Romans, and Danes; but being of one form, I cannot discover the people by whom they were erected, otherwise than by the coins, martial instruments, and inscriptions found therein.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Roman, Gaelick or Scottish, and Danish antiquities.

ALTHOUGH the proper name of the first inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain was Gael, they were nevertheless by the Romans, Britons, and English denominated Caledonians, Scots, and Picts; yet as these names had been imposed by their neighbours, and they were known by them, after the conquest of the eastern Gael (improperly called Picts) by the western Gael, the incorporated kingdom received the appellation of Scotland.

As the several walls in Britain, erected by the Romans to defend their province in the southern part of the island, against the just attacks of their injured foes the Gael or Caledonians, reflect the greatest honour on our nation, I shall, for the information of the reader, give some account of them. I shall begin with that of Adrian, as the first erected.

Adrian's

Adrian's wall.

The Gael or Caledonians, in the reign of Trajan the emperor, having committed great depredations in the Roman province, by taking the castles and forts erected by Julius Agricola across the island, in the first century according to the Christian æra, Adrian the emperor came over in person with a powerful army, to redress those grievances. But, instead of success, he was obliged to give up to the enemy the large country lying between Agricola's prætentura in Scotland, and the estuaries of Tine and Edin in England, (containing at present no less than fourteen counties or shires) as is manifest by his erecting a strong barrier against the Caledonians in that place.

This wall, which was raised by Adrian, about the year 127, against the Caledonians, extended from the river Tine, three miles below the town of Newcastle on the east, to the frith of Solway on the west, was composed of earth, and appears to have been very strong; for it consisted of no less than three aggers or ramparts, with a large and deep ditch adjoining to the most southern, which was the principal agger, another on the northern side without the ditch, and one about five paces below the chief rampart.

But this strong fence proving insufficient to prevent the incursions of the fierce northern enemies, Antoninus Pius, successor to Adrian; having appointed Lollius Urbicus to be his lieutenant in Britain, he, by his great skill, care, and pains, not only expelled the enemy the province, but drove them back to Agricola's prætentura or barrier; where, about the year 140, he erected the strong fence at first denominated the Gaelick wall, but at present Graham's dike, of which the following is a description.

Capitol. in
Vit. Anton.
Ang. Script.
p. 132.

Antoninus Pius's wall, or Graham's dike.

The second fence, which was denominated from Antoninus the emperor, in whose reign it was raised by Lollius Urbicus, consisted of a huge earthen rampart, fortified with a number of castles or large forts thereon, a large and spacious ditch without, and a military way within the wall, for the convenience of marching troops, and driving carriages to and from the several garrisons.

This wall began on the southern coast of the frith of Forth, about a mile to the westward of the town of Borrowstonness, at the brow of a steep hill called the Cowbank, near the pavilion or summer-house at the north-western corner of Kinrieth-park, a little to the eastward of the village of Kinrieth; as is manifest by the eastern end of the ditch's being plainly to be seen at the precipice of the Cowbank, adjoining to the road leading to the town of Borrowstonness. And though the station or fort at this end of the wall is become a prey to the plough, yet by the unevenness of the ground within the ditch, resembling ruins, is shewn its site. The rampart and military way are lost in the arable land; and the latter, having deserted the wall, continued its course eastwards through the park of Kinrieth, as hereafter shall be shewn. The ditch only appearing ascends the hill in a western direction, and, passing on the southern side of the village of Kinrieth, continues its course to Inneravon, where it joins the second fort on the wall, which, from the eastern end of the wall, is one mile two furlongs twenty-eight poles and one link.

REMARK. That there was a station at Inneravon is generally believed, without assigning any other reason for this opinion than an imaginary

imaginary distance between the stations: and Gordon and Horsley both declare they could find no clear vestige of a fort at this place; whereas had they carefully searched the gardens on the northern side of the village, they would have discovered certain remains of a fort, with the wall for its northern boundary, without reckoning the stone circular tower at the south-western corner of the place as part thereof, which Dr. Irvine seems to imagine.

The ditch which only appears, having left Inneravon, descends the hill, and crosseth the river Avon, where undoubtedly there was a bridge, about a hundred yards to the eastward of a house called the Boggy-hole, or Bank-end, from its situation on the northern bank of the ditch: hence ascending the steep hill, it goes on the northern side of the hill-house, where the ditch appears in great perfection, of the breadth of twenty-eight feet, and almost filled with water; and continues its course along the brow of the hill besouth the villages of Jenkabout, Smallburn, Northfit, and the little Carfs: then deflecting towards the north-west, it runs down the very steep end of Windy-edge-hill, and crossing Polmont, or the little Carfsburn, on the southern side of Mill-hall and Carfsy-bank, mounts the adverse hill, with a faint appearance, through the plowed grounds; and traversing the gardens and road leading to the village of Polmont, crosseth the church-yard on the northern side of the church. And a little to the westward, near the head of the Cadger-brae, for the first time appears the military way; but going down the hill, all is lost in the corn-fields, till we pass the village of the Numerills: but by stones being dug up in divers parts of the said way, it was observed to have run in a right line on the northern sides of the park and Pott's houses, and besouth the village of Weedons; whence intersecting the burn of that name, ran through the bottom between the Numerill braes, and, continuing its course westward, joined the fort on the wall at the south-western corner of the said village, denominated Castle-towry; out of which many Roman chequered stones have been dug, (with a hand-mill) which are erected in the walls of the houses, besides a number of urns and broken vessels discovered at this place; but that there ever were any coins or inscriptional stones found here, I cannot learn. From Inneravon to Castle-towry is two miles two furlongs eighteen poles and eleven links.

REMARK. Gordon and Horsley are both of opinion, that there must have been a fort at the Numerills; but where situated, they did not discover: no more did they the course of the wall from the Numerills to the Cadger-brae, as is manifest by their leading it so far out of its way, round by the village of Bencrofs. After the same manner have the people of Polmont served the military way, by placing it on the southern side of their church-yard wall; whereas the causeway at that place is a new and narrow pavement, laid some years since across the country in a south-western direction, for the convenience of the neighbouring inhabitants, to repair to and from the mill of Polmont.

At the western end of the Numerills the ditch appears again, and, running westward, goes by the name of the Swine's dike; and passing on the southern side of a village of the same denomination, goes on the northern side of the village of Langton, and, descending the Gallow-hill, crosseth the Gallow-sike or rill, and, mounting the opposite eminence, deflects twenty-four feet southwards; then entering the eastern

eastern end of Callender-park, recovers its western course; and running parallel to the park-wall, crosseth the avenue leading to the mansion-house of Callender; then enters the western part of the said park, wherein the ditch appears in its best state; and proceeding near the brow of the hill, seems to have taken a turn northward, to recover its rectilineal state; and descending the hill, intersects the eastern burn of Falkirk; then continuing its course about one hundred yards, is lost in the corn-fields and gardens: in the latter of which, in the southern suburb of Falkirk, called the Pleasants, a few years since was discovered the military way; as it likewise was in the arable grounds bewest the same. The causeway lies on the southern side of the Pleasants, at a considerable distance from the ruins in the gardens on the northern side of the said suburb, which, by their appearance, seem to have been parts of the wall and ditch; and the interjacent space, which is now occupied by a street, court, and houses, I take to have been the site of a station or fort on the wall. The distance between Castle-towry and the fort at Falkirk is two miles twenty-four poles and eight links.

The wall and ditch, having left Falkirk, ran in a south-western direction along the brow of the hill, and, descending the same, crossed the western burn of Falkirk; over which undoubtedly there must have been a bridge: whence mounting the adverse eminence, both wall and ditch faintly appear; but the wall soon after disappearing, the ditch proceeds to Bentaskin, and, passing on the northern side of the mansion-house, recovers its pristine dimensions; then running down the hill with a small deflection southwards, intersects the Stockbridge-burn, where the ditch only appears; and going on the northern side of the village of Tamfur, and crossing the burn of that name at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, joins the Madun-castle, a fort on the wall to guard the gateway, that gave passage to the great military way from the southern parts of Britain to the northern, through Camelon, Stirling, &c. the vestigia whereof still appear on the outward side of the said gateway.

At this fort, and in its neighbourhood, the wall, ditch, and military way appear very great; whence proceeding westward, at the distance of about half a mile, they join the Rough-castle, a strong fort about ninety paces square, inclosed with a double rampart and ditch with obtuse angles. The distance between the Pleasants at Falkirk and the Rough-castle is two miles two furlongs twenty-four poles and seven links. This fort, according to Gordon, is the most entire and most magnificent of any to be seen on the whole track of the wall; which, though it is certainly fact, Horsley, with a sort of sneer, says, that the ramparts are lower than he should have expected from Mr. Gordon's account of it.

REMARK. Horsley is greatly mistaken in placing the town of Camelon at the Madun-castle on the wall; for Camelon is a large Roman oppidum, situated above half a mile benorth this place, benorth the wall, and within view of the said Madun-castle.

The wall, ditch, and military way continuing to appear very great, having left the Rough-castle, in their course westward, cross the Rown-tree-burn; but do not form such a frightful precipice to me, as Gordon and Horsley have represented it. A little farther is the remains of a castellum, of sixty-six feet square, and of the same dimensions with those

Gord. Itin.
Sept. p. 57.

Horsf. Brit.
Rom. p. 271.

those on the stone wall in the northern parts of England. The wall, which is left by the military way about two chains and a half, runs on the southern side of an eminence, where it is said that Grime, a celebrated hero, from whom the wall is denominated, broke through the same, and committed great ravages in the Roman province. The wall proceeding westward, crosseth the Dam-head, or Bony-mill-burn; and continuing its course, passeth a small but beautiful little mount, (where the ditch is only to be seen) inclosed on three sides by its own ditch, and on the southern by that of the wall. We are told by Gordon, that at this place abundance of lead and iron ore were dug up: wherefore he is of opinion, that the Romans had a foundary here. And Horsley, who placeth the said mount on the wrong side of the ditch, tells us that here are some ruins, that possibly may be the remains of a station.

This mount, which I regard not as Roman, I take to have been either a Scottish or Pictish tom-moid, or court-hill. The ditch continuing its course westward, runs on the northern side of Dick's-house, or rather probably the dike-house, from its being situate thereon; and leaving the mansion-house of Seabeg on the south, proceeds through the wood of that name, wherein the wall and ditch are plainly to be seen, though the causeway but faintly, which, by its direction, must have passed through the gardens below the house, and being the only part of the fence to be seen, which crosseth the Trannach-burn, and passeth the villages of Netherton, Dike, Wood-end, Gate-side, and Booneck; near which is a tumulus on the wall, thought by Horsley to have been an exploratory mount, which, on inquiry, I found to be the remains of a corn or malt-kiln. The rampart continuing imperceptible, the military way and ditch are seen in great perfection, till they join the fort of Castle-carey; which, from the station of Rough-castle, is three miles three furlongs and eleven poles.

The fort of Castle-carey, which from east to west is about one hundred and sixty yards in length, and in breadth from south to north about one hundred and forty of the same measure, is one of the largest; and by the appearance of triple ramparts and ditches still to be seen on the southern side, as no doubt there were both on the eastern and western sides, it was probably the strongest fortress on the wall. The innermost ramparts are said to have been faced with stone walls, but of what height is not mentioned: but as I think they must have been all of a height, I take them to have been about four feet high, and three feet in thickness, like that facing the lower part of the northern side of the wall adjoining the ditch; out of which, the last time I was there, they were digging stones, to erect out-houses at the mansion-house of Castle-carey.

This stone wall was of rough ashler, consisting of large free-stones laid in clay, running along the face of the rampart as a security to the foundation. This manner of construction being different from that of the other forts, for aught I could discover, I take to be owing to the rocks on this side almost adjoining to the ditch, out of which the stones in the ramparts were undoubtedly dug. We are told by Horsley, that three sides of this fortress have each a triple rampart and ditches. That it had, is manifest by the vestigia on the southern side: but that it had in his time, is certainly a mistake; for Gordon, who surveyed it some years before him, only mentions the fortifications on the southern side,

side, as aforesaid, which are still remaining. The prætorium, or site of the governor's residence, is still visible; as are the vestiges of other edifices.

In this station divers Roman antiquities have been found, amongst which was an altar with the inscription, *Legio Britannorum*, which was seen by my author. In this place were likewise found three other altars: on one of them, which is broken, were the words *Cohors Batavorum*. On another small portable altar, part of the inscription being obliterated, that remaining below the cornice is *Milites Vexillation. III.* The thuribulum on the upper part is very plain, as are the other decorations commonly found on Roman altars. And on another broken altar were the following letters, P. PES. V. S. L. M. The four last being only understood, they imply *votum solvit lubens merito*. Here was also discovered a brazen Roman lamp, adorned with a variety of figures; but in whose hands at present, I cannot learn.

Gord. Trin.
Sept. p. 57.

From Castle-carey the ditch, which is only to be seen, descends the hill, and crossing the Red-burn a little below the bridge, mounts the adverse eminence, whereon the military way soon appears, running parallel with the ditch at the distance of about forty feet; and leaving the village of Netherwood on the north, the ditch appears in the greatest perfection, and, with a west-south-western course, goes on and joins the station at Westerwood, which is about one hundred and thirty yards in length from east to west, and from north to south about eighty-five of the same measure. It is fortified with a rampart and ditch, and the military way runs round the latter in a different position from what it does at most of the other forts. Betwixt Castle-carey and Westerwood is one mile seven furlongs thirty-two poles and nine links.

In the walls of the houses of this village are divers Roman stones, which were dug out of the fort; on one of which was a Priapus, with the words *ex voto* below, and on the point or upper part was X. VI. Other stones I saw with letters thereon, but so defaced that I could make nothing of them.

From Westerwood the ditch, which is very wide and deep, proceeds in its usual direction down the hill to the village of Dilator, attended by the military way in a ruinous condition: there being no appearance of a wall within the ditch, a mighty rampart is raised without the same; to the composing of which the vast quantity of earth dug out of the ditch seems wholly to have been employed: and by the said rampart's vast artificial height, and great declivity on the enemy's side, with the huge ditch within, and hill on the southern side, the fence in its whole course seems not to have been stronger than at this place.

The ditch and military way leaving Dilator on their northern sides, cross the burn of that name, and running parallel up the hill, both appear in their best state: whereby I had an opportunity of coming at the true breadth of the causeway, which measured just eighteen feet. The ditch and military way arriving at a few houses denominated Crowyhill, many, by their distance, imagine that there must have been a station at this place: nay, sir Robert Sibbald avers that there was a large fort at this place; which I, after the strictest search and inquiry, could not discover the least vestige of, nor learn that there ever was a fort at or in the neighbourhood of the said Crowyhill. I must confess,

confess, that as there is a rock in the ditch at this place, about the length of twenty feet, whereby it is levelled, and serves at present as it were for a bridge to cross the said ditch by, I think that no place in the course of the wall had more occasion for a fort than this: and as in this neighbourhood appear the great pains taken by the Romans, in erecting a passage for the ditch through rocks, it cannot be reasonably imagined they would leave a rock undemolished in this part. Now as I am, for certain reasons, (too long to be inserted in this place) of opinion that rocks vegetate, the rock here, by its form, must have sprung up since the making of the said ditch; which is the only mean I can think of, to secure the wall at this place without a fort.

Be that as it will, the ditch, in a west-south-western direction, continues its course on the northern side of the said Crowyhill; and running along the foot of great precipices and huge rocks, the wall, almost in its primitive perfection, passeth on the brow of the hill above the same. But that the said rocks, according to Horsley, were in a certain place, between the ditch and wall, cut and smoothed to render the latter inaccessible to an enemy, is a great mistake; for they appear to be in their natural state, without the least sign of art thereon.

The wall and causeway disappearing again, the ditch goes on the northern side of a house denominated the Craig-end, (so called from its situation at the western end of the aforesaid rocks) and southern side of a village named the Beugh; and the wall and ditch mounting the Barhill, leaves the house of that name to the southward, the common road near it being the military way; and the ditch passing on the northern side of the northern head or summit of the said hill, winds to the south-west, and joins the station on the Barhill, which is about one hundred and fifty yards square; wherein the prætorium, with the several stations of the officers and troops formerly in garrison, are plainly to be seen: and by the remains and appearance of the arable land, it seems to have been fortified with triple ramparts and ditches.

Gord. Itin.
Sept. p. 55.

REMARK. As both Gordon and Horsley are greatly mistaken in their descriptions of this place, I shall, for the information of my readers, subjoin their relations. That of the former is, "The military way
" along Graham's dike divides itself into two branches here, the one
" running by the side of the great ditch, the other coming up to the
" ramparts of this fort. Here also the causeway leaves the ditch con-
" siderably to the south of it, the fossa running down in a straight line
" from the top of the hill." And a little farther says, that "when
" the fossa and causeway descend from the Barhill, the causeway on
" this ground keeps about seventy paces to the south of the ditch, and
" both pass by a small village called the town of the Barhill."

To this I answer, that his making the military way divide at this place is a mistake; for, after the strictest search, I could not discover its having passed on the northern side of the hill where the ditch and rampart ran. Besides, 'twere impeaching the Roman sagacity to cause them to make two ways, where one would serve, which could have answered no other end than to inhanse the charge. This Gordon, through incogitancy, seems to acknowledge, by his telling us, that here the causeway leaves the ditch considerably to the south of it: and a little farther, when the fossa and causeway descend from the Barhill, the
causeway

causeway keeps seventy paces to the south of the ditch, and passeth a village called the Barhill, as aforesaid.

This account of the military way answers exactly with that which runs from the eastern gate of the fort, and is still plainly to be seen passing on the northern side of the said village of the Barhill. Besides, the northern imaginary branch of the causeway could not run by the side of the great ditch; for the wall always ran between the ditch and military way, for its greater security.

And Horsley says, "The (Bar) hill has, as it were, two summits opposite to each other: the wall and ditch pass over the more northerly summit, but the more southerly is the higher." And a little further says, that "there is a branch goes off from the principal military way to the north entry of this fort, and goes out again at the east entry, and then passing round the south side of the southern summit, comes up again to the main way."

ANSWER. By Horsley's account of this place one would imagine he had never seen it, when he tells us, that the wall and ditch pass over the most northerly summit! This is a great mistake; for they both pass on the northern side of the summit, or northern head of the said hill, (which is of a conical form) about fifty or sixty feet below the top of it. And as to a branch's going from the military way to the northern entry of the fort, and going out again at the eastern gate of the same, and thence taking a vast compass round the southern head or summit of the said hill, it is so palpable an error, that I cannot conceive how it could happen. And as to a branch of the causeway's being said to have entered the fort from the north, and gone out at the eastern gateway of the said fort, this is a course so preposterous, that it no ways agrees with the rout of the military way, which appears all along to have run within the wall and ditch for its security: whereas, by this imaginary and ridiculous course, it must have crossed the wall and ditch on the western side of the fort into the enemy's country, and recrossed the same, and entered the fort, whereof there is not the least appearance; for by the direction of the causeway, both on the eastern and western sides of the said fort, it plainly appears to have crossed the station in a right line, by entering at the eastern and passing out at the western gate, without taking a turn either to the northward or southward.

At this place divers altars with inscriptions have been found: one with a triumphal crown, but the inscription defaced: upon one side, in relievo, is a quiver of arrows, and on the other a bow, with divers fine borderings and wavings, and upon the top is a curious thuribulum. Another altar, which is pretty large, being part of a column, has the following inscription: IMPERATORI CÆSARI TITO ÆLIO HADRIANO ANTONINO PIO PATRI PATRIÆ VEXILLATIO VOTUM SOLVIT; the meaning of which is, "An anonymous vexillation dedicated this to Antoninus Pius, father of his country." And a third altar, without an inscription, had on one side a patera, and on the other a præfericulum. From the fort at Westerwood to that of the Barhill, is three miles four furlongs eight poles and thirteen links.

From the fort on the Barhill, the ditch, in descending the hill, appears both broad and deep, as the military way does, but faintly; and running on the southern side of a village called the Quaicker, part of the wall and ditch make the road leading to Shirvey; and passing on the

southern side of certain houses called the Dike, from their situation on the wall, proceed to the village of Auchindavy, and join the strong fort there, which is of the length of about one hundred and fifteen yards, and breadth of seventy-six of the same measure. It is fortified with triple ramparts and ditches, within which are situated the houses of the place, in the walls of which are divers Roman stones without inscriptions; and in this station divers medals are said to have been found, but in whose possession they are I could not learn. The fort at Auchindavy from that of the Barhill, is two miles fifteen poles and three links.

The wall from Auchindavy proceeding in a west south-western course, appears but faintly; and the causeway being lost in the plowed grounds, is only to be seen a little to the westward of Auchindavy, where it runs about three chains to the southward of the ditch, and passing the southern end of Inchbelly-bridge, goes on almost parallel to the river Kelwin, where it is plainly to be seen, (excepting about the space of one hundred yards a little bewest the said bridge) to the village denominated the Hill-head, near the eastern end of Kirkintulloch, by Bede called Caerpentulloch; the northern row of its houses being built on the wall, and the road or street leading through it is the military way, which running down the hill, and crossing the small river Logy, where there must have been a bridge, all is lost in the corn-fields: but, by the bearing of the wall at the said Hill-head, it seems to pass along the ground whereon the church of Kirkintulloch is situated, and on the southern side of the fort named the Peel, which from its situation without the wall, seems to have been one of Agricola's castella, built before the erection of this fence.

Be that as it will, this appears to have been a very strong fortress, of the length of about ninety yards, and breadth of eighty of the same measure, fortified with a spacious ditch of the breadth of about thirty-five feet, and depth of twenty feet; and, by the remains of the rampart, I take it to have been about ten feet in height. The entrance to this fort was undoubtedly from the south, and not, according to Horsley, from the east. This mistake is certainly owing to a modern edifice's being erected in the middle of the said fortress, by an inhabitant of Kirkintulloch, to and from which a passage was made thro' the eastern rampart and ditch. Besides, Horsley has given to this fort two stone ramparts, whereas it plainly appears to have had but one; and whether the same was of stones, will admit of a dispute: though I am of opinion it was of earth; for there is not the least appearance of stone work in the ditch, and the stones dug up in this place at the time of Horsley's survey, were those of the building abovementioned. From the fort at Auchindavy to this of Kirkintulloch, is one mile six furlongs two poles and three links.

Horsl. Brit.
Rom. p. 168.

Though I cannot learn that ever there were any inscriptional or curious Roman stones discovered at this place, yet a few years since, a little bewest the aforesaid bridge of Inchbelly, a legionary stone was dug up, now in the college of Glasgow, whereon is the following inscription: IMP. CÆSARI T. ÆLIO HADRIANO ANTONINO AVG. PIO P. P. VEXILLA. LEG. VIC. P. F. PER M. P. That is, *Imperatorii Cæsari Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriæ, vexillatio legionis sextæ victricis piæ fidelis per mille passus*. In English to this purpose, "The vexillation of the sixth legion called Victrix, who carried on the work
" of

“ of this wall for one mile, erected this stone in honour of the emperor
 “ Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius, father of his country.”

All being lost in the neighbourhood of Kirkintulloch, about a furlong and a half to the westward, the wall and ditch appear again; and, crossing the Park-burn, run along the brow of the hill; where passing the Kilfur-burn, part of the causeway faintly appears, which, winding westward, runs on the southern sides of East-calder and the White-moss; then recovering its western direction, forms almost a right angle near the Kirktown of Calder; and turning toward the north-west, goes on the northern sides of the Castle and Sheeling-hills; and deflecting westward, crosseth Calder-burn, and leaves the mansion-house on the north, and enters Calder-wood and park, where both the ditch and causeway appear; and going on together in their best state, and passing on the southern side of the village of Bochley, join the strong fort at Balmudy, or Balmully.

The western part of the fort at Balmully, which was on the western side of the wall, appeared, till the year 1745, to have been very strong, by the remains of four ramparts and ditches, as no doubt the other sides were also; but they being demolished, and almost levelled by the plough in that year, are now almost invisible. In the area of this fort, which I take to be about one hundred and fifty yards in length, and ninety in breadth, is situated the village of Balmully, by the inhabitants of which abundance of idle tales are told, as, that there are in this place a number of subterraneous arched stone-vaults, and conduits, to bring water from the river; but, as ill-luck would have it, they never saw any of the said vaults or ducts. No more do they consider, that as the fort was situated on an eminence, a great deal higher than the Kelwin, water could not be brought to it from the river, unless forced by an engine, the pressure whereof a square stone ductus could not resist. However, the tattle of the people is not so much to be regarded as what we are told by Horsley, that the Kelwin is a river so large, that it is seldom fordable for any time considerable: the contrary whereof is manifest, by the stones placed in the said river, for people to step across the water on; and it only happens during the land-floods that it is not passable this way, which I imagine cannot amount to a twentieth part of the year.

Out of this fort many Roman stones have been dug, divers whereof are to be seen in the walls of the houses; but the most considerable, for preservation, are placed in the walls of Calder-house. On one of the said stones, within the court, is a civic crown, supported by winged Victories, and beneath it two cornucopia's; and within the crown are the following letters, LEG. II. AUG. FECIT, signifying, that this monument was erected by the second legion Augusta. And on the western end of the said house is this inscription, IMP. CÆS. TITO ÆLIO HADRIANO ANTONINO AVG. PIO P. P. LEG. II. AVG. PER M. P. III. DCLXVI; that is, *Imperatorii Cæsari Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio, patri patriæ, legio secunda Augusta, per mille passus, sexcentos sexaginta sex.* Meaning in English, “ This stone was set up by the second legion Augusta, in honour of their august emperor Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius, father of his country.” From the fort at Kirkintulloch to that at Balmully, is four miles seven furlongs four poles and two links.

REMARK.

REMARK. Whether there ever was a fort on the wall at the Kirk-town of Calder, I could not learn: if there was, it is become a prey to time and the plow; for there is not the least appearance of a fort in that neighbourhood, that I could hear of, or discover. For the eminence called the Castle-hill, which stands at a considerable distance within the wall, and gives countenance to a fort's having been at this place, has given occasion to the ignorant people to call the small tumulus, or mount on the eastern side of Calder-burn, the castle; and by some it is taken for an exploratory mount: but that it was not erected for that purpose, I think is evident, by an eminence just across the burn, which is much higher and fitter for exploration. Now as this small mount seems to have been neither a castle, nor a place for observation, that which bids the fairest for the use it was designed for, I think, is a tom-moid or court-hill, whereon courts of justice were anciently held.

The wall and ditch forming a right angle at the eastern end of Balmully, winding northwards, crossed the river Kelwin a little below the steps in the river; and ascending the hill, passed at the eastern end of Simmerston, as the military way did, (after it crossed the Kelwin a little to the westward of the said steps, where there must have been a bridge of communication for defence of the wall on the northern side, in case of an attack by the Caledonians during a land-flood, whereby they would have been deprived of succours from the opposite side of the river) at the western end of the village. But the rampart and causeway being lost in arable grounds, the ditch, with a gentle turn towards the north-west, continues its course with a faint appearance through the corn-fields to the top of the Temple-hill, whence winding to the south-westward down the hill, crosseth the bottom, and, with a strong deflection toward the north-west, runs along the foot of the eminence below Boglar; and proceeding up the hill, with an easy turn recovers its western direction. In all the way from Simmerston to the south-west of Boglar, the causeway is only to be seen for a short space on the eastern side of the Temple-hill; but leaving the corn-fields, it again appears in the highest degree on Fergustown-moor, where, running parallel to the ditch, they descend the hill; and crossing Fergustown-burn, join the fort at New-kirkpatrick, which is about the length of one hundred and seventy yards, and breadth of sixty of the same measure. This station, which lies south-east from the village, is fortified with a rampart and a spacious ditch: the causeway runs through it, parallel to and near the wall, and continues its course west and by south in great perfection. The distance between the fort at Balmully and this at New-kirkpatrick, is two miles five furlongs and four poles.

At this place a large monumental stone was found, of the length of five feet, and breadth of two and a half, now in the college of Glasgow, whereon are divers beautiful ornaments in relievo, with the following inscription: IMP. CÆSAR. T. ÆLIO HADRIANO ANTONINO AVG. PIO, P. P. VEXILATIO LEG. VI. VICT. P. F. PER M. P. III. DCLX. V. S.
 " The vexillation of the legion sexta Victrix, who carried on
 " the work of the wall three miles six hundred and sixty paces
 " erected this monument in honour of the emperor Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius, father of his country."

REMARK. Sir Robert Sibbald has placed a fort at Simmerston, and Dr. Stukely has made it a Roman city, by the appellation of Simetica. Now, there is not the least appearance of a fort at Simmerston, nor indeed can it be expected there should; for it were inconsistent with the Roman sagacity to have erected a fortress at this place, in the neighbourhood, nay, almost adjoining to one of their strongest forts or stations at Balmully. Gord. Itin. Sept. p. 53.

The wall being lost in the plowed grounds, the causeway leaves New-kirkpatrick, and continues its course west and besouth, as aforesaid; and the ditch, with a faint appearance, ascends the eastern and descends the northern side of Camroch-hill, and passing on the northern side of a house called the Moss-head of Ledcamroch, accompanied by the military way, runs up the hill, and on the summit thereof joins the station denominated the Castle-hill-fort, which is about ninety yards in length, and fifty in breadth, fortified with a ditch and rampart; betwixt which and the fort at New-kirkpatrick is one mile one furlong thirty poles and seven links.

Out of this fort was dug a legionary stone, of the length of two feet, and breadth of one and a half, at present in the college repository at Glasgow; whereon, besides human and other figures, is this inscription: IMP. CÆS. TITO ÆLIO HADRIANO ANTONIN^o. AVG. PIO, P. P. LEG. II. AVG. PER M. P. IIII. DCLXVI. That is, "The second legion Augusta, who carried on the work of the wall for four miles six hundred and sixty-six paces, erected this stone in honour of the august emperor Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius, father of his country."

REMARK. At and near this fort, Horsley seems to have been quite bewildered; for, in speaking of the said fort, he says, that thorns grow round its ramparts; whereas the spot inclosed with trees and thorn-bushes is only a part of the said fort, about fifty feet square, which is manifest by the remains of the ditches on the southern side of the said inclosure. And although Mr. Horsley tells us, that three furlongs to the eastward of Cladden (which must be at the southern foot of the Castle-hill) the military way is the length of twenty chains distant from the ditch; yet, with the greatest incogitancy, he immediately after makes the said military way cross the Peelglen-burn at the western end of the said hill, which is some hundreds of yards to the northward of the place by him assigned for the rout of the said way; which is demonstrable by the causeway's passing close by the southern end of the said Castle-hill fort, and in a south-western direction points to the Peelglen-house, where the fence crossed the burn. And by Horsley we are likewise told, that the ditch, in ascending Hutcheson's-hill, only appears in the first degree, that is, that it is just discernable; whereas the said ditch, in its ascent, is almost in its primitive state of perfection. Horsl. Brit. Rom. p. 165, 166.

The ditch only, which faintly appears, leaving the Castle-hill fort, runs down the hill, and passing on the northern side of the Peelglen-house, crosseth the burn, and ascends Hutcheson's-hill, whereon it appears in a high degree; and running down the western side of the said hill to the Red-burn, the military way appears again on the eastern side of the said burn; but the ditch only crossing the same on the southern side of Hutcheson's-house, and with a faint appearance mounting the adverse eminence, passeth between the village of Cladden

den on the south, and that of the Watch-hill on the north, and continuing its course down the hill, crosseth an anonymous rill or strype, and, mounting Duntocher-hill, joins the station thereon, which is about one hundred yards in length and sixty in breadth: and the distance between it and the Castle-hill fort is one mile seven furlongs eight poles and eleven links.

Out of this fort divers Roman stones have been dug, some of which, with defaced and unintelligible inscriptions, are erected in the walls of the miller's house and gardens at Duntocher-mill.

Gord. Itin.
Sept. p. 52.

REMARK. Some are of opinion, that there was a fort at the crossing of the wall at the Peelglen-burn; but, after the strictest search and inquiry, I could not discover the least appearance or vestige of a fort at that place. Besides, to have erected a fortress within a quarter of a mile of that on the Castle-hill, was needless; for that would have answered the end of both. Nor did the stone foundation of a bridge appear to me in the Peelglen-burn, as Gordon says it did to him. I must confess, that in no place in the course of the wall a bridge was more wanted; and, if there was one here, I am of opinion, by the straitness and depth of the abyss at this part, that it must have been a wooden one, like that over Duntocher-water, though a much larger brook than this of the Peelglen.

The wall still disappearing, the ditch on the northern side, and the military way on the southern side of Duntocher-fort, descend the hill to the burn of that name, which the former crossed on the northern side of the mill, and through the miller's garden, and the latter over the bridge on the southern side of the same. But all being lost for the space of about one hundred yards bewest Duntocher, the ditch faintly appears again on the northern side of a few houses called the Dike, from their being situated on the wall; but the ditch being levelled by the plough, disappears; and the military way, which is part of the common road, continuing its course westward, the ditch appears again, going on together to a village called the Gateside of Auchintoschen, betwixt which on the south, and Caerleith on the north, the ditch is in great perfection; whence proceeding obscurely, it plainly appears again on the upper part of the Sandyburn-hill, about half a mile to the eastward of the town of Old-kirkpatrick, pointing in a right line through it to the village denominated the Feny-dike, on the northern bank of the river Clyde, about a furlong to the westward of the said Kirkpatrick, where the said wall or fence ended, as quickly will appear: but as there are no certain remains of the station, I cannot demonstrate its dimensions. However, the distance between it and the fort of Duntocher is two miles three furlongs twelve poles and five links.

REMARK. Gordon, in his print of Duntocher-fort, has, by making the wall pass through it, laid part of it on the enemy's side or country. This I take to be owing to a mistake, and not design; for all parts of the said fort plainly appear to have been within the rampart and ditch.

That there was one of the principal, if not the chief station, on the wall at the village now called the Feny-dike, I think is demonstrable, by the great number of curious Roman monuments discovered at this place; amongst which is a stone of two feet square, given by the late marquis of Montrose to the college of Glasgow, on the upper

part of which is a pediment, supported by two fluted pilasters of the Corinthian order, with the following inscription: IMP. C. T. Æ. HADRIANO ANTONINO AVG. PIO, P. P. Between the pilasters a winged victory leaning on a globe, supporting a civic crown with her right hand, wherein are the words VEX. LEG. XX. V. V. FE. and in the lower part a boar, with the letters P. IIII. CDXI. The whole inscription in English runs thus: "The vexillation of the legion Valens
" Victrix, who carried on the work of the wall for the space of four
" miles four hundred and eleven paces, set up this monument in
" honour of their august emperor Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus
" Pius, the father of his country." On another stone I saw lying at the threshold of the door of the most eastern house of Fenydike, of twenty-eight inches square, and six inches thick, with a border of three inches and a half curiously wrought; but the inner part being greatly worn by people treading thereon, I could only discern that there had been an inscription there, which was then unintelligible. This stone, which was dug up at the eastern end of the house where it lies, I take, by its form, to have been a legionary stone erected in the wall at or near the place where it was found, setting forth the name of the legion or vexillation, with the part of the wall erected by either of them.

Besides the abovementioned Roman stones, there are many others of the same nation built in the walls of the houses in Old-kirkpatrick, and park-walls in its neighbourhood. To which may be added two beautiful stones of great length, laid across the Sandy-burn for bridges: their corners are finely decorated with carved work, betwixt which as there are the imperfect remains of something like letters, it seems to have had inscriptions thereon. The most northern of these stones, which is of a flattish form, (as is also the other) tapering upwards, appears to have stood in the ground, by one of its ends being rough for the length of fifteen inches, its whole length being nine feet seven inches and a half, in breadth at the lower end twenty inches and a quarter, and at the top sixteen inches; in thickness at the lower end fourteen inches and a half, and at the upper end eight inches of the same measure. These I take to have been milliary or mile-stones, set up in the ground to point out distances on the road to travellers.

And Horsley is of opinion, that the western arch of Duntocher-bridge is Roman. That this bridge at first was not stone, nor that the said arch owes its origin to the Romans, I think will appear to every one that carefully views the same, when he may observe in both sides of the rock, under the eastern arch, cavities or resting places cut for wooden beams to lie in, as no doubt there was in the rock under the western arch; but by the greatest part of the water running therein, and the fall being so great, the rock on both sides is greatly diminished, insomuch that the places or cuts in the rock, for the reception of wooden beams, are not only gone, but the arch is thereby so much impaired that it is in danger of falling. Wherefore, I think, it is in some measure shewn, that, instead of stone, the first bridge at this place must have been of wood, and no doubt owed its origin to the Romans.

Horsf. Brit.
Rom. p. 165.

Observations on Antoninus Pius's wall, commonly called Graham's dike:

Julius Agricola, the Roman lieutenant in Britain, to secure the Roman province in the southern part of the island, about the year, according

Capitol. in
Vit. Anton.
Pii, Hist.
Aug. p. 132.

According to the Christian æra, 78, erected a prætentura, or strong barrier of castles and forts, across Britain from sea to sea. But that fence proving insufficient to restrain the fierce invaders from ravaging the province, Antoninus Pius, by his lieutenant Lollius Urbicus, beat the Caledonians, and removed them to a greater distance, by erecting another earthen wall across the island, between the castles of Agricola's prætentura, as is supposed, which, being as it were conjoined, were thereby rendered much more formidable than formerly. That the aforesaid fence, at present denominated Graham's dike, is that called the other or second wall, is manifest by the vestigia of the first wall, erected by Adrian the emperor, being still to be seen in the northern parts of England, running parallel with the stupendous stone wall said to have been erected by Severus the emperor.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot.

Considering we are at an uncertainty concerning the time when Graham's dike was built, I think nothing bids so fair for a discovery as an inscription in the college library of Edinburgh, which I take to be on a legionary stone erected at the building of the said wall; and as the said stone is dedicated to the emperor Antoninus Pius in his third consulate, which happened in the year 140, according to the Christian æra, this fence must then have been begun to be built: though Buchanan, contrary to this and the accounts of all other historians, probability, and fact, asserts that the said wall was erected by Severus the emperor, about one hundred and sixty years after its construction by Lollius Urbicus, as aforesaid.

Boece's Hist.
Scot.
Horf. Brit.
Rom. p. 173.

Various are the opinions of writers concerning the appellation of Grime's or Graham's dike given to this wall. Our historians, without mentioning time, place, or authority for their belief, affirm, that it was so denominated from one Graham's breaking through it. Others say that there is a trench in Oxfordshire, and a Roman road near Silchester in Hampshire, which bear the name of Greme dikes; and likewise a rampart and ditch running through a great part of the county of Northumberland, tending toward the German sea, near the town of Morpeth, called the Black-dike, from its black appearance on the moors or heaths. Now, as our wall or dike has the same appearance on the moors, upon an imagination that Grime signifies black, its name has been said to signify the Black-dike.

Be that as it will, I think it may be justly presumed that our wall had not its name from being broke through by Graham, nephew to one of our kings, during the Roman government in Britain; for the Romans left this island before the middle of the fifth century, and our Scottish ancestors became not possessed of any part of the country between the frith of Forth till the year 839, when they subdued the Pictish nation. Again, it could not receive the appellation of Graham's dike from one Graham's breaking through it during the Roman government in Britain; for the latter part of the compound, dike, being Saxon, it was not known in this island before the arrival of the Saxons or English in the year 449, which was several years after the Romans left Britain.

Now as I think it is evident that it could not receive its name from a man called Graham, as conjectures are free, I shall offer one: which is, that it owes the name of Graham's dike to corruption; for the country people, instead of Rome's dike, or the Roman dike, corruptly call

call it Reem's dike, from which is a very easy transition to Grime's or Graham's dike.

Nor are our writers more divided in their opinions concerning the modern name of this wall, than they are in its length, beginning, ending, and manner of construction. Fordun says it began at Karedyn on the east, and, after a course of twenty-two miles, ended near Kirkpatrick on the west. Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 4.

By Timothy Pont we are told, that the said wall began at the church of Kirkpatrick in the west, and, after a course of thirty-six miles, ended at Abercorn in the east: that it was ten feet in thickness, and the ditch twelve feet in width; between which was a wall of squared stones two feet in thickness, thought to have reached higher than the rampart; watch-towers within less than call of one another; a military way within the wall five feet in breadth; courts of guard for soldiers to quarter in; and a number of royal forts sufficient to contain an army. By comparing this pompous account with the three late actual surveys of the wall, and its concomitants, it will appear to consist scarcely of any thing but falsities. Sibbald. In-
trod. Hist.
Inq. c. 6.
p. 27, 28.

The wall by Dr. Irvine is said to have begun at Dunbarton on the west, and viewed by him to Inneravon on the east; whence, in a most amazing manner, it is continued and led as it were forward and backward, by sir Robert Sibbald, through the wood of Kinniel, and by the house of Grange to Bridgeness; thence to Carriden or Carin, Blackness-castle, house of Meadup, Abercorn, and the wind-mill of Manners, a little bewest the town of the Queen's-ferry. And by the same author we are told, that from Carriden to Kirkintulloch the wall was built with stones; which any person viewing, will perceive that both the said relations are entirely groundless. And so wild are the notions of some concerning the course of this wall, that they are of opinion it passed through a village about a mile besouth Carriden, called the Wall-town; whereas, instead of Wall-town, its proper name is Well-town, so denominated from a well at the foot of an eminence at the southern end of the said village. Ibid. p. 30,
31.

Gordon, in his survey of Graham's dike, makes it begin at Old-kirkpatrick in the west, and, after a course of thirty-six miles eight hundred and eighty paces, would have it end at Carriden or Carin in the east. And, according to Horsley's mensuration of the said wall, from Old-kirkpatrick to Carriden, it is almost thirty-four miles and three quarters: but having precluded the sinuosities of the wall, and measured as it were in a right line, (which is very unwarrantable) and as he doubts not that Gordon in his survey has included the windings of the wall, he is of opinion that there is little or no difference betwixt his and Gordon's surveys, in respect to the number of miles, or length of the fence. By my admeasurement the said wall only amounts to thirty-three miles six furlongs twenty-four poles and fourteen links; that is, thirty-three miles three quarters one hundred and thirty-six yards and two feet, English measure; whereon, as already discovered, were the sixteen forts or stations. Gord. Itin.
Sept. p. 64.

That the different opinions of the abovementioned writers, concerning the beginning and ending of the Roman wall, or Graham's dike, is owing to their not consulting proper authorities, is evident; for, had they had recourse to the celebrated Bede, who wrote above a thousand years ago, when the said wall must almost have been in its primitive

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. lib. 1.
c. 12.

Nen. Hist.
Brit. c. 19.

perfection, he would have told them that it began two miles to the westward of Abercurnig, at a place in the Pictish language called Peanfahel, and in English Penneltun, and ended at the town of Alcluith, that is, the rock of (the river) Clyde. The appellation of Peanfahel, or Penneltun, is illustrated by Nennius; who, though he mistakes the builder, is manifestly right as to the site, by his telling us that it began at a place in the British called Guaal, in Pictish Pengaauel, in English Penneltun, and in the Scottish tongue Cenail, that is, the head or end of the wall; but now corruptly Kinniel, from which the village hard by received the name of Kinniel, as did the mansion-house of the same appellation from it. And it is to be observed, that as the Gaelick or ancient Scottish alphabet has not the letter K, the letter C performs its office both in sense and sound; so that Cenail is pronounced the same as Kenail, which, as already mentioned, is on the southern side of the frith of Forth, about a mile to the westward of Borrowstounness.

The only reason assigned by Fordun and Gordon for their fixing the beginning of the wall at Carriden, is Bede's saying that the said wall began two miles to the westward of the monastery of Abercurnig, or Abercorn: and as Carriden is just two miles bewest Abercorn, they are of opinion that it must have begun at that place; without considering that Bede expressly tells us that it began at Peanfahel, or Penneltun, as aforesaid; which is explained by Nennius to be Cenail, or Kinniel, as abovementioned, which can only amount to a mistake in Bede in point of distance: which is not to be wondered at, if we reflect that Bede, who lived in the bishoprick of Durham, in the northern part of England, is excusable for a small mistake of a mile or two, when many persons in this neighbourhood at present scarcely know the distance at this time. Besides, the monastery of Abercurnig might have been a considerable distance bewest the town.

Gordon, to confirm his opinion of the wall's ending at Carriden, tells us, that divers Roman antiquities were found at that place; and that the wall ran through the wood of Kinniel, to the eastward of which, for the space of a mile, a faint track of the rampart may be traced to the house of Grange. This is seemingly confirmed by sir Robert Sibbald, who acquaints us, that in travelling that way he saw stones dug out of the foundation of the said wall.

To this I answer, that from the eastern end of the wall, near the north-western corner of the park of Kinniel, I carefully viewed the ground whereon the wall is said to have stood; which, instead of its having gone that way, I plainly discovered the supposed wall to be the remains of the military way running eastwards to Carriden, and thence no doubt to Cramund, one of the most considerable naval Roman stations in Scotland; for the said military way, in an eastern direction, appears again on the eastern end of the moor of Ecklin, south-westward from the Queen's-ferry pointing to Cramund. And as to the antiquities found at Carriden, I take that place to have been one of the Roman forts erected on the southern coast of the estuary of Forth, to prevent petty descents in the province from Caledonia, when the Gael or Picts had not on foot an army sufficient to attack the wall.

And as to the wall by Pont said to have ended at Abercorn, and by sir Robert Sibbald at the wind-mill of Manners a little bewest the Queen's-ferry, these are notions so far out of the way, that they have

not so much as a probability to support them. And that the said wall began at Kinniel, as aforesaid, is not only ascertained by the two very ancient writers abovementioned; but I have likewise to demonstration proved that it began at that place, as is evident by the ditch, which belonged to the said wall, and always joined it, being still to be seen for divers miles running to and ending at the brow of the high and very steep hill denominated the Cow-bank, or southern boundary of the frith of Forth, a little to the east of the village of Kinniel, as aforesaid, to which the tide anciently undoubtedly flowed; which is not only apparent by the numerous strata of marine shells in the neighbourhood at present, many feet higher than the flux of the sea, but likewise, by the almost perpendicular face of the said hill, it is shewn to have been a boundary to the tide, by its appearing to have been greatly preyed upon by the sea.

The reasons assigned by Dr. Irvine for the west end of the wall's extending to the town of Dunbarton, are, that there are the remains of divers Roman forts in that neighbourhood, *viz.* at the said Dunbarton, Dunbarton-castle, the foot of Dunbuck-hill, and Dunglafs.

To this I answer, that, after the strictest search and inquiry, I could not learn that there ever was a fort at Dunbarton: and as to the fort at Dunbarton-castle, it is only the vestigia of certain trenches opened against the said castle the last time it was besieged; and the fort said to be at Dunbuck-hill, seems rather to be the vestiges of an irregular sheep-fold; and at Dunglafs there is not the least appearance of a Roman work: for the ruinous building at that place is by some said to have been erected by the laird of Lufs, and others say by Oliver Cromwell.

And as to what Horsley says, concerning the wall's having passed at a village called the Close, about half a mile to the north-eastward of Old-kirkpatrick, by the people's talk of striking sometimes on its foundation at that place; and that if the wall proceeded in that direction, it must have gone as far as Dunglafs before it reached the frith:

I answer, That the wall did not pass at the village called the Close, I think I have in some measure already made appear: but as it is necessary to add something on that head, to illustrate what has been said, I shall observe, that the ditch is to be seen at the brow of the Sandyburn-hill, pointing through the town of Old-kirkpatrick to the ferry-dike: but making the wall pass at the Close, would not only be leading it out of its way divers points to the northward, but likewise make it descend the very steep north-western side of the said Sandyburn-hill, and thence to run along the foot of a steep and cragged mountain near the space of two miles; whereby, instead of being of service, it would have become an easy prey to the enemy.

That which has chiefly occasioned people to be of opinion that the wall ran to Dunglafs, is a small spot of ground at a place called the Dike, about the length of forty feet, width of four, and depth of two feet, representing part of a ditch, and from which the house before it is denominated the Dike; therefore, of course, it must have been part of the trench belonging to the Roman wall: whereas, by its partly lying in and at the side of a garden, I take it to have been part of a ditch formerly appertaining to a garden. Besides, as this small piece of trench is within a few feet of the flood-mark in the estuary of Clyde, there is not space left for the wall to have stood on, without mentioning the military way, that would have lain within the same.

Add

Horf. Brit.
Rom. p. 159.

Add to this, that those who are of opinion that Graham's dike ran this way ought to have observed, that at the bottom of the aforesaid piece of ditch is a rock, which rising gradually westward, at the distance only of about fifty yards, runs with a great descent into the river Clyde; which, I imagine, puts it beyond dispute that the wall could not pass that way. And as to what is said by Horsley of the military way's being visible at Dunnerbuck, about half a mile from Dunblane, that is a very great mistake; for it plainly appears to be no other than the natural rock and gravelly soil which abounds in that neighbourhood. Thus we see what a hopeful site the western end of the said wall is by some thought to have been erected on.

Having, I hope, to the satisfaction of the reader, shewn that Antoninus Pius's wall, or Graham's dike, did not pass by the Clove; I shall now endeavour to demonstrate that it ended at the Ferry-dike, as already observed.

That the Roman wall aforesaid began at Kinniel in the east, and ended at Alcluith or Alclud, on the northern bank of the river Clyde, in the west; and that the said Alcluith stood where the village called the Ferry-dike is at present situated, about a furlong beneath the town of Old-kirkpatrick; appears by a tradition amongst the people, that on that spot and neighbourhood anciently stood the famous city of Alclud, which is confirmed by the great number of Roman antiquities found there, as abovementioned. And as an additional proof that the wall came to this place, we have the word Dike, the latter part of the compound Ferry-dike: after the same manner as the whole fence is called Graham's dike. And as this seems to have been one of the most considerable or principal stations on the wall, I am of opinion, that the Roman trajectus or ferry across the Clyde was at this place, as was till of late the Old-kirkpatrick-ferry; but within these few years a sand-bank being arisen in the river, the ferry is removed about a quarter of a mile higher.

And that nothing may be wanting to shew that the wall ended at this place, I shall only add another tradition, that the wall in its way thither ran along where the church of Old-kirkpatrick is at present situated, on the line of the wall, as appears by its course from the Sandyburn-hill head to the said Ferry-dike, as aforesaid. But all being lost in the town and fields, I could not discover the least vestige of the wall, ditch, or military way. However, I am fully persuaded that Ferry-dike, and its neighbourhood, is the place whereon Alcluith anciently stood, and for which Dunbarton has been generally taken by writers, though at the distance of three miles.

Gord. Itin.
Sept. p. 63.

We are told by Gordon, that this wall had a stone foundation throughout. This is a very great mistake; for I observed in divers parts, where the said wall was washed away by brooks and other water-courses, even lower than the bottom of the ditch, that in such places there was not the least appearance of stone work therein; and in a number of other parts I endeavoured to discover a stone foundation without success: wherefore I am of opinion, that the very few places wherein stones were laid in the foundation, as a security for the wall, were placed in oozy grounds along the side of the ditch, to prevent the ground's falling into it, whereby both wall and ditch in those parts would have been endangered, if not destroyed. And in other parts where I observed stones in the foundation, they were in narrow bottoms,

bottoms, forming apertures in the wall, to give passage to small currents occasioned by rain; whereas in other parts, in a dry soil, it would have been both ridiculous and unnecessary to have given a stone foundation to an earthen wall.

This strong barrier or fence consisted of an earthen rampart, ditch, and military way: the rampart, by its best appearance at present, I take to have been about twenty feet in thickness, and about ten feet in height, besides the parapet at top. But that there was an agger or rampart on the northern side of the ditch, according to Gordon, I cannot give into; for the earth dug out of the ditch appears to have been laid on the inner side of the foss to form the wall, except on the brow of a hill, where an agger was wanted to form the ditch; and the mote, by its common appearance, I take to have been generally about twenty feet in width, and, where broadest, not to have exceeded thirty feet; and the military way, which is paved with pebble-stones, is about eighteen feet in breadth, and, by its present appearance, I imagine it to have been about two feet in height: although Gordon has not only made it twenty broad, but at one place he has made the ditch measure no less than sixty feet; but for what reason I know not, unless he measured from the upper part of the rampart to the upper part of the adverse bank of the ditch. And as the rampart seldom appears but in desert and barren parts, the defect is owing to the people, who have in most places converted it into arable ground, by filling the foss therewith; and elsewhere, where it consisted of a rich soil, they carried it off to manure their lands withal: as they likewise have in most parts spoiled the military way of its stones, to build the walls of their houses, gardens, and parks withal. Nay, the ditch has not escaped plundering; for in divers parts thereof they have dug both peat and turf out of it.

In the erection of this great and strong fence, which, for its greater security, ran along the brows and crossed the tops of the greatest declivities and highest hills, were employed the second legion called Augusta, the vexillations of the legions sexta Victrix and vicesima Valens Victrix, and the first cohort of the Cugerni. And that they were assisted in this great work by the inhabitants of the country, according to the practice of the Romans on other occasions, may be learnt from Galgacus the Caledonian general's speech to his army, before they engaged the Romans under the command of Agricola on the Grampian mountains; wherein, amongst other things, he reminded them of the intolerable servitude and grievous slavery they were brought into, and that their bodies were worn out with hard labour and toil imposed on them by their lordly masters the Romans.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol.

C H A P. XIV.

Of Severus's earthen wall in Northumberland.

SEVERUS the emperor, after the great loss of fifty thousand men in his North British expedition, having concluded peace with the Caledonians, the better to secure the Roman province from their dreadful invasions and destructive ravages in times to come, about the year 209, according to the Christian æra, raised a strong earthen wall, or third fence, across the island from sea to sea, fortified with a number

Xiphil. in Vit.
Sever.

Spart. in Vit.
Sever. Aug.
Script. p. 354.

C c c

of

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. lib. 1.
c. 12.

of castles, and a deep and spacious ditch. Historians greatly differ in respect to the length of it, which I am at a loss how to ascertain. However, as we are told by Bede that the stone wall in the northern parts of England, since indifferently called Severus's or the Picts wall, was erected on the site of the said Severus's wall, it must probably have been of the same length with it; which, by two surveys lately made by Gordon and Horsley, appeared within a few yards to be of the length of sixty-eight English miles. And another instance of the Picts wall being built on the site of that of Severus, is its name being given to the stone wall, which was built about two hundred and twenty-three years after.

The Pictish or great stone wall.

The Roman empire drawing towards its dissolution, by the numerous attacks of the Huns, Goths, Germans, and Vandals, the Roman troops in Britain were called home to defend their country. The Scots and Picts, in the mean time, renewing their incursions, committed the most unheard-of depredations amongst the provincial Britons in the southern parts of the island, insomuch that these applied to Rome for assistance; which being readily granted, a Roman army arrived soon after, and falling unexpectedly on the enemy, killed a great number, and cleared the province of the rest.

By this great success, the southern Britons were delivered from the bondage of the northern for some time: but the Romans no sooner left Britain, than the Scots and Picts re-entered the province, and laying all waste with fire and sword, reduced the provincials to the lowest abyss of misery: and now, being in a worse condition than ever, they renewed their application to their friends the Romans, who generously sent powerful succours both by land and sea, who falling unexpectedly on the enemy, again defeated and drove them out of the province. Then acquainting the Britons, that as it suited neither with the security or interest of the Romans to make such long and expensive expeditions by sea and land, they proposed to them the erection of a strong stone fence or wall, to secure them against the attempts of their enemies, which should extend from sea to sea across the island, along by the forts or barrier in the place where Severus's wall stood.

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. lib. 1.
c. 12.
Camd. in
Com. North-
umberl.

Gord. Itin.
Sept.
Horsf. Brit.
b. 1. c. 4.
p. 63.

This wall, according to Bede, was erected at a publick and private expence, and by the joint labours both of the Romans and Britons, as Gildas informed him. This stupendous fence, according to Camden, who measured part of it, must have been about nineteen feet in height, and nine feet in thickness: this I rather imagine to have been at a place less defensible than the rest, seeing we are told by Bede that it was only twelve feet in height, and eight in thickness. According to two late surveys made of the said fence by Gordon and Horsley, it appears to have been within a few yards of sixty-eight English miles and a half in length; to have had thereon eighty-one castles of sixty-six feet square each, and three hundred and twenty turrets or watch-towers, each of twelve feet square, which no doubt were higher than the wall, for the convenience of exploration, with a deep and spacious ditch on the enemy's side.

And though this amazingly strong stone wall ran over the highest mountains, rocks, bogs, and vast declivities, and crossed all rivers and other water-courses in its way; yet the said fence was no sooner finished, the Romans gone, and the defence thereof left to the Britons,

tons, than the Scots and Picts, according to Gildas's moving and most melancholy account, attacked it; and by pulling some of the defenders from the top of it with hooked instruments, the rest deserted, and the enemy breaking through, a melancholy scene began: the fields were covered with dead bodies, houses in flames, with all the miseries an enraged enemy could inflict. In this deplorable and woful state the distressed Britons sent a letter to Rome for assistance, of which the following is an English translation.

"To Ælius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons." And a little after, "The barbarians drive us to the sea, and the sea back again to the barbarians: thus tossed backwards and forwards between two deaths, we either perish by the sword or the ocean."

Gild. Hist.
edit. Gale,
p. 14.

The above letter was sent by ambassadors to Rome, in the year 446, when the Romans, who were almost in as bad circumstances as the Britons, could give them no relief.

Before I leave the wall, I think it will not be amiss to add, that the Scottish nation is highly obliged to Nennius, the British or Cumrian historian, (who wrote in the ninth century) for his telling us, that the fence in the northern part of Britain, by us called Graham's dike, was denominated the Gaelick wall: whereby is discovered the grand secret which has lain hid for so many ages, viz. That our ancestors, by foreigners called Scots and Picts, called themselves Gæl, which till this time seems to have been unknown to foreigners, nay, even to ourselves; for although our highlanders, the descendants of the first inhabitants of this island, call themselves Gael, yet, for aught I can learn, it seems to them unknown that their predecessors proper appellation was Gael; which it is evident it was, by the western extremity of the said Gaelick wall's terminating in their neighbourhood, and from whom, and the Picts, it could only be denominated, as already mentioned.

Nen. Hist.
Brit. c. 37.

CHAP. XV.

Of Roman and other antiquities in Scotland.

THE Romans first entered Scotland about the year 78, under the command of Agricola the proprætor, who having subdued a great part of the country, erected a prætentura of castles and forts, and, for the better preserving a communication between them and those in the southern parts of the island, now called England, made divers military ways. The chief whereof, by their remains, appear to have entered Scotland at the rivulet Sark, in the eastern part of Annandale, near the confluence of the rivers Esk and Lid in Eskdale, at Jedburgh in the county of Teviotdale, and at Berwick at the mouth of the river Tweed in the county of Berwick, or the Merse: and as the first is the principal and most conspicuous, I shall be most particular in my account of it.

The great Roman military way having left Cumberland, in the north-western part of England, crosseth the rivulet Sark, and enters Scotland at the Barrow-slacks in the stewartry of Annandale, and continuing its course westward, at the distance of five miles joins the station at the Birns. This fortress, which consists of two parts, is situated on the northern bank of the Haugh-hill-burn, in the parish of Middleby

dieby and stewartry aforesaid. This station, by its works, appears to have been very strong, the eastern part having been fortified with quadruple ramparts and ditches, and the western part with triple ramparts and ditches; and although the place has suffered greatly by the brook's preying upon it, it is nevertheless one of the fairest Roman works to be seen in Scotland.

Gord. Itin.
Sept. p. 18.

This place, by its ruins, appears to have been a town of great note; for it seems to have consisted of divers streets, with subterraneous arched stone vaults, as may be gathered from one of the said vaults, which is said to be at the southern side of the said town, but being now filled up I could not see it. This is farther demonstrated by a number of broken and imperfect inscriptional stones and coins found here: amongst the former is a stone erected in the wall of a house, whereon are the letters AXINV CONIS. the meaning to me unknown; and of the latter is a golden medal of Constantius Chlorus, in the possession of baron Clark. Gordon, having only taken notice of the eastern part of this station, tells us, that it is four hundred and sixty-two feet in length, and three hundred and forty-nine in breadth, which makes but about half the dimensions of the whole.

The military way having left the Birns, ascends Burnswork-hill in a north-western direction for the space of two miles, and joins the camp on the southern side of the said hill, in which space it is in divers places plainly to be seen.

On this hill are the remains of two Roman camps to be seen: that on the southern side, which is two hundred and seventy-eight yards in length, and two hundred and sixty-four in breadth, is inclosed with a spacious ditch and double ramparts; without the latter, on the northern side, are three tumuli, but for what use I cannot ascertain. The camp on the northern side of the hill, which is united to the abovementioned by a covered way that runs round the eastern end of the hill, is likewise fortified with a ditch and two ramparts, about three hundred yards in length, and in breadth one hundred and thirty-one of the same measure: it has also four tumuli on each side; but for what use erected, is also unknown. But as Gordon imagines the said fortrefs to resemble a wall adorned with turrets, he thought their artillery was placed betwixt them! They did not appear so to me; for I saw not the least appearance of a turret, unless the tumuli aforesaid were reckoned as such: if they were, 'tis not in the least probable that the Roman artillery, the catapultæ and balistæ, were placed between them; for the first mentioned of the said tumuli being at the upper end of the camp, near the steep summit of the hill, was a position no ways proper to annoy an enemy from: but as the said tumuli are without the camp, they are more likely to have been sepulchral monuments than turrets.

Be that as it will, those camps, by their lofty situations, having extensive views over the country on all sides, I take them to have been either castra exploratorum, or castra æstiva, summer encampments to the station at the Binens; which were circular dry-stone fences, for the reception and security of cattle in time of war, and being very numerous in this part of the Scottish border, especially upon the aforesaid hill, I imagine the appellation Burnswork is a corruption of Binenswork: wherefore, instead of Burnswork, it ought probably to be called the Binenswork-hill.

The

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

The military way proceeding by the western end of Burnswork-hill, in its course northwards, a vicinal way from it crosseth the country in a north-western direction; and crossing the road from Lochmaben to Moffat, about a mile benorth the former, goes on to the river Nid or Nith, and runs on the eastern side thereof to a Roman fortress in the neighbourhood of Drumlanrig, called Tyber's castle; and being joined by the Roman road from Elwin-foot, go on together to the county of Air and estuary of Clyde. It ought to be remembered, as to the military way from Elwin-foot, before it leaves the pass at the western end of the mountains, about a mile to the eastward of Durisdeer, that there is a small but strong square Roman fort, to secure the entry of the said pass from Niddale and Galloway. But to return.

The military way from Burnswork, proceeding in its northern course, leaves the town of Lockerby on the west, and falling into the road to Moffat, runs on to Dunwoody-hill, where it is plainly to be seen: a little farther it disappears again; for the river Annan, having altered its course, has washed it away for a considerable space. But re-appearing soon after, it becomes the common road to Moffat; and in the neighbourhood of Darnham-shaw passeth on the eastern side of a considerable Roman camp, fortified on the eastern side by a rampart and a morass, on the northern and southern sides by a marsh, and without doubt a rampart, and on the west by a high rampart and ditch: whence proceeding to Thirfly-holm, it intersects the river Annan near the confluence of the said river, and the riverets of Moffat and Avon; and crossing the plain on the western side of the said river, mounts the hill called Kirkby-rigg, (probably so denominated from the road or a ridge's formerly passing a church on the said hill) runs along the upper part thereof to Ekerstone-brae, the highest hill in all its course; and crossing the summit, runs on and crosseth the river Clyde near its source, in the neighbourhood of two houses called Clyde's burn. This very small and pitiful rill or strype, a little lower, runs obscurely into the river Daar, which contains above twenty times the quantity of water that the sorry current of Clyde doth! Surely, never any other river has had so much injustice done it as the Daar, in not having its name given to the great river denominated the Clyde!

The military way continuing its course northwards to Newton, and hence winding eastwards, runs along the southern side of the river Clyde, where it is plainly to be seen; and leaving the town of Crawford on the northern side of the said river, and turning the angle formed by the Clyde, deflects northward; then leaving the said town of Crawford on the western side of the said river, the causeway is lost in the arable grounds; but in ascending the hill of Serrat it plainly appears again, and, crossing the summit of the said hill, descends the northern side of it to the village of Serrat; whence winding eastwards, it becomes the common road, and for divers miles runs on the southern side of the river Clyde, where it is to be seen in many places; and proceeding in a north-eastern direction to the town of Biggar, is the causeway which crosseth the moss at that place, (whence the water running both eastward and westward into the rivers Tweed and Clyde, shews it, exclusive of the neighbouring hills, to be the highest ground in this part of Britain) and falls in with the fort near the church, where it divides, one branch with a north-western course running to Graham's dike, and the other in a north-eastern by the eastern end of

Pentland-hills, in the neighbourhood of which it is to be seen pointing to the station at Cramund, on the southern side of the frith of Forth.

Gord. Itin.
Sept. p. 19.

Before I proceed, I think it will not be amiss to observe, that Gordon has greatly mistaken the course of the Roman road to Biggar, by leading it many miles out of its way, causing it to cross and recross the mountains to and from the country of Galloway to the town of Crawford aforesaid: whence, in an amazing manner, he leads it divers miles back to Elwin-foot, and thence to Biggar; whereas the military way at Crawford has no communication with that of Biggar, it being only a vicinal way from Galloway by Durisdeer and Elwin-foot to Crawford, through which it passeth on the western side of the river Clyde; whence deflecting north-westwards, probably goes on to the country of Renfrew.

The main branch of the military way from Biggar crosseth at a ford in the Maidwin-burn, about three miles north-west from Biggar; and passing the villages of Lampert, Renstruther, and the avenue leading to Lockart-house, runs through the station denominated the Castle-dikes, which is an exact square of about two hundred yards, fortified with double ramparts and ditches; but the outward rampart, and a great part of the inner, being demolished, both ditches are thereby almost levelled, and the surface of the station being then covered with corn, I could neither discover the site of the prætorium, nor other remains therein: though 'tis said that divers coins, and other Roman antiquities, have been found at this place; but I could not learn in whose custody they were. However, the prætorian, decumana, dextera, and sinistra gates of the fortress are plainly to be seen.

The causeway, having left the Castle-dikes, is lost in the arable grounds; but appearing again in the moor of Lanerk, it is visible for the space of a mile, and crossing the Mouse-water a little to the east of the bridge, ascends the hill, whereon, in divers places, it is to be seen as high as Kilcudrey-law, whence it appears in a good condition for a great way: but being demolished by the plow for divers miles, it appears again near Over-cambusnethan, in the neighbourhood of which it is to be seen in sundry places by the appellation of the Biggar-road, by which name it is known as far as the Roman wall called Graham's dike; but being plundered of its stones, and levelled by the plow, it is rarely to be seen during that interval. But crossing the said Graham's dike at the Madun-castle, about two miles to the south-westward of Falkirk, and continuing its course through the great station at Camelon, goes on to Sterling, and joins the Roman station on the southern side of the castle, which is fortified with a rampart and spacious ditch; which, though greatly defaced, appears to be of Roman construction.

The destruction of this large station, which was situated near the Roman trajectus, or great ferry across the Bodotrian estuary, seems to be owing to the erection of a beautiful work, situated in the prætorium of the station, denominated the King's knock or mount, for which the ramparts, and other fences belonging to the said prætorium, were obliged to make way. This handsome erection consists of two eminences, of an octagonal form, one with a parapet, the other without, which surround a small octagonal mount, whereon our kings, 'tis said, used

used frequently to dine in publick, and occasionally to divert themselves at other times.

The military way leaving the station, it passed on the western side of Stirling-castle, by the way at present called the Craigforth-road or causeway, to a place about half a mile bewest the said castle, on the southern side of the river Forth. That the Roman *trajectus* or ferry was at this place, I think is demonstrable, by the course of the military way on both sides the said river; and it is generally thought that the said military way owes its origin to Agricola, the Roman lieutenant: nay, it is not to be doubted that he ferried over his army at this place to Caledonia, on the northern bank of the said river Forth.

The military way from the *trajectus* went on to the town of Dunblane, near to the northern end of which the causeway plainly appears by the name of the old road, (to distinguish it from the new road lately made by the government, leading by the town of Crief, through the highlands, to the town of Inverness) and crossing the riveret Allan, near the Wood-end, goes on and crosseth both the new road and the water of Kneck a little below the bridge; and ascending the eminence, runs along the eastern side of the Roman camp, near the village of Ardoch. This camp, through heedlessness, is by Gordon asserted to have been only a fort, occasioned by his having only observed the *prætorium* of it; whereas the largest part of the said camp lying towards the north, is in length about four hundred and forty yards, and in breadth about three hundred and forty of the same measure; which being added to the *prætorium*, the length of the whole will appear to be about seven hundred and twenty-five yards in length, and in breadth about three hundred and forty yards, as aforesaid.

The *prætorium* or southern part of this camp, by its remains, appears to have been fortified with quintuple ramparts and ditches, and the spot whereon the governor's tent was situated is likewise to be seen: the northern part of the said camp was fortified with a spacious ditch and rampart, whence runs a very deep ditch fortified with two ramparts, extending to an anonymous brook; the use of which I cannot account for, unless the ditch between the said ramparts was a covered way to secure a communication with the said brook, for the convenience of fetching water from it to supply the camp withal.

We are told by Gordon, that a number of Roman coins and inscrip-tional stones have been found at this place; but where to be seen, was to him seemingly unknown: for he only gives us one inscription, then at Drummond-castle, of which the following is a copy: AMONIUS DAMIONIS COHORTIS PRIMÆ HISPANORVM STIPENDIORVM XXVII. HÆREDES FIERI CVRARVNT. That is, "The heirs of Amonius, the son of Damion, of the first cohort, who served the empire as a soldier for the term of twenty-seven years, erected this monument in commemoration of him."

The military way from Ardoch ascends the hill, and passing on the western side of a village called Redfoord, goes on to a very strong oblong fort on the upper part of the hill, denominated Kemp's castle, which is about the length of thirty yards, and breadth of twenty-five of the same measure, fortified with a double ditch and triple ramparts; which, by its lofty situation and extensive prospect, about half way between the camps at Ardoch and Innerpeffery, I take to have been an exploratory castle. Be that as it will, the causeway passing within
a few

a few yards of the eastern side of this fortress, runs down the hill, and intersects the large Roman camp on an eminence at the mains of Strageeth, near the southern bank of the river Ern; the most conspicuous part whereof being the prætorium, by its remains it appears to have been about two hundred and fifty yards in length, and two hundred in breadth, fortified with quadruple ramparts and ditches; and by some vestigia of the other part of the said camp, it seems to have been of large dimensions, the whole occupying (according to the opinion of the farmer who rents it) upwards of thirty acres of ground.

As the country of Erin, or the Roman Ierne, seems to have been the chief theatre of military actions between the Romans and our Caledonian ancestors, the former, for their greater security, not only erected a number of small forts, but likewise divers large camps or stations, the above described being two thereof, and the third about six miles to the westward of Innerpeffery, in the upper part of Strathern, called Dalgenrofs. Although this camp has been a great sufferer by the river Rochel, which has demolished and carried off a great part of it; yet, by its remains, it seems to have been about three hundred and forty yards square, fortified with double ramparts and ditches, and the gates in the several sides fenced with triangular outworks. This fortress appears to have been the prætorium, and that towards the south the common part of the camp, which, by the plow and other incidents, has likewise been a great sufferer. However, a military way, in a north-western direction, leads by the said camp; but whether from Ardoch or Innerpeffery, or from both, I cannot ascertain. On the western side of this camp are three tumuli; but whether exploratory, victorial, or sepulchral, is not known: and just within the rampart, on the southern side, is a large erect stone, about the height of ten feet above ground, which having been surrounded by other stones in the same position, now fallen and lying round it, I take them to have formed a Caledonian druidical temple, set up in this place before the arrival of the Romans in those parts.

Gord. Itin.
Sept. p. 39,
40.

A modern writer has racked his invention to make this the place where the battle of the Grampian mountains was fought, betwixt the Caledonians and Romans, under the command of their generals Agricola and Galgacus; and, in the greatest raptures, exults at his good-fortune in discovering the place, in the following words:

“ Having calculated the number of men contained in the south-
“ most camp, according to the allowance of ground made by Poly-
“ bius for each footman, I was most agreeably surpris’d to find it
“ contained the precise number of foot which Tacitus says that Agri-
“ cola had along with him at the battle of Mons Grampius, viz.
“ eight thousand auxiliaries; and in the other square, where I sup-
“ pose the horse lay, exactly three thousand horse.” And a little far-
“ ther, “ For the form and dimensions of this camp, he refers the
“ reader to a plate, where there is a scale to measure the super-
“ ficial feet of the area of each of them, which, by the foregoing
“ allowance, will be found (he says) to contain the precise number of
“ men mentioned.

“ Moreover, the situation of this ground is so very exact with the
“ description given by Tacitus, that, in all my travels through Britain,
“ I never beheld any thing with more pleasure, it being directly at the
“ foot of the Grampian hills. Besides, there are the colles, or small

“ rising grounds, on which the Caledonians were placed before the
 “ battle; and also the high hill on which the body of the Caledonian
 “ army lay, and from which they came down upon the Romans.
 “ Nor is it difficult, on viewing the ground, to guess at the place
 “ where the *covinarii*, or charioteers, stood. In fine, to an antiquary
 “ this is a ravishing scene. But, were these arguments not sufficient
 “ to prove demonstratively this place to be that spoke of by Tacitus, I
 “ have one left, which in a manner puts it out of question; which is,
 “ that *Galgacus*’s name still remains on this ground: for the moor on
 “ which this camp stands is called to this day *Galdachan*, or *Galgachan*
 “ *Rofs-moor*; not that I assert, from its being called so, that the
 “ camp there was made by *Galgacus*, but that here he engaged *Agri-*
 “ *cola*’s army, for which reason his name is left on the place.”

REMARK. Our author, in calculating the number of troops in the camp at *Dalgen-rofs*, is greatly mistaken in assuring us, that it contained the precise number, both of foot and horse, that Tacitus says *Agricola* had along with him at the battle of the *Grampian mountains*, namely, eight thousand foot and three thousand horse. I shall not say that this was done to serve a turn; but that it is a very great error, is manifest, by his having omitted the legions, and the reserved body of horse belonging to the said army, which together, according to the number of men allowed by the Romans to a legion, must have amounted to about double the number mentioned by him.

And as to what the said writer says in respect to the ground’s answering exactly to Tacitus’s description, that is likewise a mistake; for Tacitus tells us, that the Caledonians, before the battle, encamped on the *Grampian hill*; whereas the hill on the southern side of *Dalgen-rofs*, supposed to be it, has not the least appearance or remains of a camp on it, that I could discover. Besides, the ground betwixt the Roman camp and the foot of the *Grampian hill*, according to Tacitus, was rough and uneven; insomuch, that in a great measure it contributed to the great disorder and confusion the military chariots were put into, which breaking in upon their own army, greatly contributed to the loss of the battle; whereas the ground of *Dalgen-rofs* is even and smooth, like a bowling-green.

Add to this, that as the three camps, above described, must have been made in the sixth year of *Agricola*’s expedition, as must the numerous Roman camps or stations in the countries of *Horestia* and *Mernes* in the seventh year of that general’s war in Britain; and *Agricola*, in the eighth year of his military transactions in this island, having marched to the *Grampian hill*, and discomfited the Caledonians, ’tis evident the battle could not be fought at *Dalgen-rofs*: if it had, *Agricola* could not properly be said to lead his army back into *Horestia* or *Angus*, a great way to the northward of *Dalgen-rofs*; for that would have been advancing his conquests in the enemy’s country: whereas by the battle’s being fought in the country of the *Mearnes*, as I shall hereafter endeavour to make appear it was, *Agricola*, after the battle, might well be said to have led his army back into the country of *Horestia*, (a considerable way besouth the field of battle) to take winter-quarters in the large and numerous fortresses or stations there. This shews that *Agricola*, instead of advancing against the enemy, retreated southwards; and gives reason to suspect, that the victory, by

E e e

Tacitus

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol.

Tacitus said to have been gained over the Caledonians, was not so great as he has represented it.

Gord. Itin.
Sept. p. 40.

And that nothing might be wanting to make Dalgen-rofs the place where Agricola fought the Caledonians, Gordon lays that the moor wherein the abovementioned camp is situated, is at present called Gal-dachan, or Galgachan Rofs-moor; which he insinuates is derived from Galgacus, the Caledonian general. This is an appellation and etymology as wild as strange, and probably never thought of before; for it is entirely new, and unknown both to the inhabitants and curious in those parts: for the right and proper name of this spot is Dalgen-rofs, which being a Gaelick compound, the former part, Dalg, implies a point on the, and Rofs, a peninsula; that is, the point of the half island. But to return:

The military way from the camp at the mains of Strageth descends the eminence, and, crossing the river Ern, mounts the hill to the village of Innerpeffery; in the neighbourhood of which it becoming the common road, runs between the park-walls of Gask, and proceeding to Tipper-moor, crosseth it and the river Almond a little way besouth the bridge; then going on to Bertha, which is about six miles north-eastward from Innerpeffery, passed along the northern side of the station, which, by its remains, appears to have been a rectangular parallelogram, fortified with a high rampart and a spacious ditch: part of the northern rampart, which is still to be seen, is about two hundred and twenty-six yards in length; but part of it being thrown into the ditch, it is thereby levelled and converted into arable ground; and the remaining part of the southern rampart, running along the brow of the hill, or northern bank of the river Almond, is in length about one hundred and fifty yards: but the eastern and western ramparts and ditches being demolished by the plow and river Tay, the dimensions of this fortress cannot be ascertained. However, that the military way ran along the verge of the northern ditch, is manifest by an arable ridge thereunto adjoining, called the Causeway-ridge, the pavement whereof is still to be seen (crossing the road from Perth to Dunkeld, which no doubt formerly ran through the station) leading to the river Tay, across which was a Roman bridge, the remains whereof are still to be seen in autumn, when the water is at the lowest. That this was a station or Roman town, and not a camp, is evident from a number of Roman stones and bricks dug up here; but whether any inscrip-tional stones or coins were ever found here, I cannot learn.

Boece, Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
p. 288.

As I have given an account of the station at Berth, I think it will not be amiss to observe that we are told by Boece, that the royal mansion of king William I. situated at this place, was carried away by an inundation of the rivers Tay and Almond about the year 1202; and that that king, about the year 1210, founded a town a little lower on the river Tay, and denominated it Perth, after one Perth, the noble proprietor who gave the ground whereon it stands. That this is a mistake is plain; for by the charter of foundation of the abbey of Holyrood-house, near Edinburgh, granted by king David I. in the year 1128, Perth then seems to have been a place of considerable note, which is near one hundred years before it is by Boece said to have been founded! If king William had a house at Bertha, I think it must have been situated without the fortress, on the northern bank of the

Chart. in
Arch. Eclib.

the river Almond, and by the rapidity of the stream undermined and carried away.

The military way having crossed the river Tay over the bridge at Bertha, continues its course eastwards between the Golden-castle on the north and a small village denominated Rome on the south, a little above Bertha; the Tay winding eastwards, a Roman fort, called the Golden-castle, is situated on its southern bank: at present it is about one hundred and eighty yards in length, and one hundred and twenty-two in breadth, inclosed with a rampart and ditch on all sides, except the northern, where both have been demolished by the river. In this fortress is a tumulus, out of which a considerable quantity of golden coins have been dug; and therefore it received the name of the Golden-castle.

Between the aforesaid fort and the military way is a handsome square, inclosed with a rampart and ditch, resembling a fort; but as it is full of water, with a small island in the middle, it must have been for another use: perhaps a seat of pleasure in the isle, for the governor or other persons of distinction in the town of Bertha.

Be that as it will, the causeway continuing its course eastward, runs through the moor of Upper Collen, and leaving divers villages both on its northern and southern sides, goes on to Camps-Michael, near which is a small Roman fort, on the southern bank of the river Tay; and passing on the southern sides of the house and park of Byres, proceeds towards Coupar of Angus, leaving the mansion-house and village of Delvin on the northern side of the Tay, where there plainly appears to have been a Roman station.

That the fortress at Delvin, or Dalwin, in the county of Perth, about six miles north-eastward from Perth, was a Roman town, and not a camp, is evident from the balneum or bath discovered there a few years since, which being in the plowed grounds, and covered with corn when I was there, I had not an opportunity of seeing it. At this place a number of Roman bricks have been dug up; but whether any coins or inscriptional stones, I could not learn. This station appears to have been about five hundred yards square, fortified with a double rampart and a broad and deep ditch: the interior rampart was of stones, and the exterior of earth, taken out of the ditch: and as a greater security to this strong place, the entrance of the military way (which runs through the town) at the trajectus, or ferry across the Tay, was defended by a strong fort, about one hundred and fifty yards in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth. And as an additional strength to this station, on the western extremity of the hill stands a very strong semi-circular fort, fenced on the eastern side with five very high earthen ramparts, and the like number of very deep ditches, and all the other sides are secured by the natural declivity of the hill, which I take to be about one hundred feet almost of a perpendicular height, whereby it was rendered as it were impregnable.

The military way running through Coupar-moor, passed on the northern side of the beautiful Roman camp at the southern end of the town of Coupar of Angus, about nine miles from Bertha. This camp, in which was situated the abbey of Coupar, the remains of which are still to be seen; this camp, I say, appears to have been an equilateral quadrangle of four hundred yards, fortified with two strong ramparts and large ditches, still to be seen on the eastern and southern sides, and
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on part of the northern; but the western, by agriculture, is demolished.

The causeway being lost in the neighbourhood of Coupar, I imagine it ran by the village of Castleton, so denominated from a strong fort of an oblong form, about the length of one hundred yards, and breadth of sixty, fortified with an exceeding high rampart and deep ditch, which, from the great appearance of ruins, I take to have been a considerable Roman fortress.

The military way being lost for divers miles, it appears again on the southern side of the village of Riddy; and entering the moor, becomes the common road for about the space of half a mile, pointing to the town of Kenymoor, about a mile to the eastward. This is the last time I could discover its course, either eastward or northward: however, by its eastern direction, it must have proceeded to the large camp about two miles to the eastward, called the Battle-dikes; which is manifest by John Webster, the farmer, (who dwells in the dikes) having turned up with a plow the foundation of the way in divers parts, in its course through the camp, which is one of the largest in Scotland, being above half a mile square, and, by appearance in some places, it seems to have been fortified with a double rampart and ditch; but the whole inclosure being converted into arable land, I cannot ascertain its having had more than one rampart and ditch; no more than I can the site of the prætorium: however, the exterior part of the gates appear to have been fortified with a rampart, parapet, and ditch, which rendered them very strong.

About three miles south-east from Forfar, near Caerbuddy, is a Roman camp of a parallelogram form, denominated the Hare-fold, (that is, the camp or inclosure of the army) of the length of about eight hundred yards, and breadth of about four hundred of the same measure, fortified with a strong rampart and ditch, with six gates, each fortified with a rampart and ditch. A few years since, on the western side of this camp, the foundation of a military way was discovered by the plow, leading to the fortress. Some have taken this for a Danish camp; but that it was not is manifest, both by its form and military way; for the Danish camps in Scotland are all either oval or round, and never had a military way leading to any of them.

Although the military way from the Battle-dikes be demolished by the plow, and by the country people's pillaging it of its stones, yet some faint vestigia of it seem to appear in the moor of Brechin, pointing to the mansion-house of Kethick; near to the eastern side of which, distant about nine miles from the Battle-dikes, is a Roman camp, denominated the War-dikes, fenced with a rampart and ditch, about four hundred and seventy yards square: the rampart and ditch on the eastern, western, and northern sides, are plainly to be seen; but on the southern side, both being converted into arable ground, the small remains only appear at one place.

Though the causeway does not appear to the eastward of Kethick, that I could discover, it must however have past in the neighbourhood of the town of Fettercairn in the Mearnes, and vicinity of the village of Balmain, about three quarters of a mile besouth the said Fettercairn on the road from Brechin, where there is a beautiful Roman fort about the length of sixty-six yards, and breadth of about thirty-six of the same measure, fortified with double ramparts and ditches.

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The people in the neighbourhood, not knowing what to make of this fortress, take it to have been a garden belonging to the house of Balmain.

This fort I take to have been erected to guard the western road from the Cairney-mount, to prevent incursions across the mountains from the north; as the strong fort on the northern side of Turder-burn served to defend the eastern way from the said mount. As this mount, or very high hill, is part of the Grampian mountains, some are of opinion that there is a Roman camp on the said hill; but having examined it in the strictest manner, I find it has not the least claim to that honour: for, by its great irregularity, it appears to have been an inclosure for beasts, raised by men altogether unacquainted with military architecture.

The fort abovementioned, situated on the northern side of Turder-burn, north-eastward from Fettercairn, is of an oblong form, about seventy yards in length, and thirty in breadth, fortified with a very thick and vastly high rampart and a broad and deep ditch, with an entry from the north-east, and another from the south-west: the latter, no doubt, for the convenience of fetching water from the brook.

Although the course of the military way from the fort at Balmain does not appear, that I could discover; yet that it proceeded to the fort at the mansion-house of Fordun, (which from that at Balmain is about five miles) I think is not to be doubted. This fortress, which is of an oblong form, is about eighty yards in length, and forty-four in breadth, and is fenced with a spacious ditch; but the rampart, as in other parts, is carried away by the neighbours to manure their grounds withal.

Adjoining to this fort, on the north, is another about seventy yards square: by its remains, on the eastern side, it appears to have been fortified with double ramparts and ditches, without a communication by a gateway with the former. Near to the town of Fordun, about the distance of half a mile benorth the said forts, by the remains of ditches on the hill, there seems to have been a large Roman fortress, which, by its distance of about ten miles from that at Kethick, may probably have been a station, erected to defend the passage of the great road over the Cairn-cross mountains from invasions from the north. And as the forts at the mansion-house of Fordun aforesaid appear to be the work of the same people, they might have been raised prior to that at the said town of Fordun, to secure the pass across the mountains, as aforesaid: but as the said forts are situated on a plain, at some distance from the said pass, they might not be deemed so proper to defend the same as the fortress at the town of Fordun, situated at the southern end of the said pass; wherefore it might have been erected posterior to the forts aforesaid.

Be that as it will, before I leave Fordun, I think it will not be amiss to observe, that it was the place where Palladius, our first bishop, resided, and erected a chapel, which, or its continuation, is still to be seen on the southern side of the parish-church. It is about forty feet in length, and eighteen in breadth; and at present is a sepulchral repository for the family of Halkerton. At the eastern end of the said chapel, within, are still remaining the places where the altar stood, and those wherein the holy water was kept, and pix deposited. The town of Fordun was either the birth-place or residence of our first

general historian, from it stiled John of Fordun, who probably was the incumbent or parson of the parish.

The military way from Fordun must have gone to or near by the large camp on Ury-hill, on the northern side of the water of Ury, about three miles north-westward from the town of Stonehaven, in the said county of Mearnes. This camp is about three quarters of a mile square, or three miles in circumference, fenced with a high rampart and a very deep and broad ditch; and each of the gates, which are six in number, are fortified with a rampart and ditch, at the distance of about twenty-four yards without the said gates.

This is the largest Roman camp I have seen, or can learn that there is in Scotland; and, from its circumstances of situation on the Grampian mountain, an eminence at the eastern side, unevenness of the ground in its neighbourhood, and capacity to contain Agricola's army of about twenty-four thousand men, answers in all respects to Tacitus's description of the place where the battle was fought between the Romans and Caledonians, under the command of the generals Agricola and Galgacus: whereas the petty camp at Dalgen-ross and its neighbourhood, vainly imagined by Gordon to be the place where the battle was fought, is in no respect answerable to the account of it by Tacitus. I am therefore of opinion, that there is not the least room to doubt of this place's being the spot whereon the battle was fought. And as I could neither by search nor inquiry discover or learn that there was either a military way or Roman camp beyond this place, to the eastward on the Grampian hills, I imagine that the Roman conquests on this side terminated at the camp aforesaid. And as this place is situated in the country of the Mearnes, benorth the country of Horestia or Angus, Agricola, after the battle, might well be said to lead back his army into Horestia; for no other province in Caledonia had so great a number of Roman fortresses: for, besides a number of small forts, there were no less (if we reckon Delvin and Liff, at present in Perthshire, but then in Horestia) than eight large camps or Roman stations in it; and therefore no other country, in the northern part of Britain, was so fit to take winter-quarters in as the said Horestia.

Besides the great and principal military way above specified, there are divers other Roman roads in Scotland: the vestigia of three of most note are still to be seen in many parts of the country. The first of these entered Scotland at the town of Berwick upon the river Tweed, which being situated in a peninsula, there was probably a station at this place; and the military way, in a northern direction, having crossed Coldingham-moor, passed the village of Old Cambus, corruptly so called, as I imagine, from the appellation of Old Camp; whence it continued its course to Dunbar, where, tradition tells us, there was a Roman camp: hence deflecting westwards, it goes on to the camp situated on the north-eastern end of the Camp-hill, about a mile and a half north-eastward from the town of Haddington, in the county of East Lothian. This fortress, by its lofty situation and number of fences, appears to have been very strong, and fit for exploration, having a far extended prospect on all sides. It is of a parallelogram form, fortified on the eastern, western, and southern sides with triple ramparts and ditches, and on the northern with a perpendicular rock of great height, and the entrance or gateway was in the western side.

The military way having continued its western direction, faintly appears again on the western side of the town of Mussleburgh, and, winding north-westward, proceeds towards the town of Leith; and crosses the river of that name, at the end of the Weigh-house-wynd, where it was discovered about fifty years since, under the foundation of the pier of Leith, at the time of its reparation; whence it undoubtedly ran to the marine Roman station at Cramund, on the southern side of the frith of Forth; from which place continuing its course westward, it plainly appears again on the moor of Eklin, and proceeding in its western direction, joins the Roman wall or Graham's dike near the village of Kinniel, about a mile to the westward of the town of Borrowstounness.

The station at Cramund, which was situated in the lower town on the eastern side of the river Almond, at the distance of four miles north-westward from Edinburgh, I take to have been one of the most considerable Roman towns in Scotland; and by its being situated on the southern bank of the estuary of Forth, with a harbour in the mouth of the Almond, it was undoubtedly a marine station, for the reception of the Roman fleet as well as vessels for traffick.

The Roman antiquities found at this place are incredibly numerous, especially coins of gold, silver, and copper, together with divers altars and inscriptional stones; which shew that this town has, at sundry times, been garrisoned by the second legion Augusta, the twentieth Valens Victrix, and a cohort of the Gaulick legion. Near to the western side of the harbour is a rock, whereon, in Alto Relievo, is cut the figure of an eagle as big as the life, but greatly defaced by time and the inclemencies of the weather. In Nether-Cramund, a few years since, in a garden, at the depth of six feet under ground, was discovered a stone with the effigies of an eagle, with a crown in its beak, and a fulminating thunderbolt in its claw. This stone, for its preservation, is erected in the wall of an out-house belonging to the parson. In the same place was found the pedestal of a column, with a medal of Faustina, consort to M. Antoninus. And in digging in the grounds of the incumbent's glebe, in the year 1748, at the depth of four feet, were discovered the remains of divers stone walls in different directions, at a few feet distance and height of four feet; amongst which were found a fibula, head of a spear, many fragments of urns, and divers Roman coins.

The station at Cramund is by sir Robert Sibbald taken to be the Alanna of Ptolemy: and we are told by Gordon, that the Roman road led from Cramund to Edinburgh; whereas the said road, instead of going to Edinburgh, proceeded southwards by the eastern end of Pentland-hills, on the northern side of which it is plainly to be seen leading to the brook at the foot of the said hills.

It will not be amiss to observe, that the river which runs by Cramund, instead of Almond, I think, ought to be called the Crame; for Cramond, or Cramund, being a Saxon compound, importing the mouth of the Crame, and the transition being easy, the appellation might readily have been converted into Almond; which is demonstrated, if Cramesmthe (amongst other towns in the county of East Lothian, given by king Edgar, above six hundred years ago, to the church and monks of Durham) be Cramund, which I am of opinion it is; for Cramesmthe being only a different dialect of the Saxon, it

likewise signifies the Crame's mouth. Besides, Royston in this neighbourhood, being one of the towns mentioned in Edgar's grant, it is there called Riston: wherefore the different readings, I think, are not sufficient to invalidate the present conjecture.

The second of the said military ways from England enters Scotland in the neighbourhood of Jedburgh, in Teviotdale: hence running in a northern direction, it crosseth the river Tweed, near the confluence of it and the Etrick, and, ascending the Rink-hill, runs on the western side of Gallow-water; and proceeding through Bosthwick-moor, and by the castle, it without doubt went on to Pentland-hills, and joined the Roman roads from Peebles and Biggar at the eastern end of the said hills, whence they went on together to Cramund aforesaid.

This road, which differs from the other military ways in Scotland in its form, has two ridges with a ditch between them, and goes by the general appellation of the Pechts or Picts work-dike.

The third of the aforesaid military ways, which enters Scotland on the eastern side of the river Esk from Netherby in Cumberland, crosseth the river Lid; and proceeding through Canonby-moor, where it is plain to be seen, intersects the river Esk, about a mile and a half below Langholm-bridge; then taking another western direction, intersects the riveret of Walhop near Milkholm, and, continuing its course along the western side of the hill of that name, goes on to the camp of Castle-over in Eskdale-moor, and so on to Peebles; and falling in with the Roman roads from Bosthwick and Biggar, accompanies them to the station at Cramund.

REMARK. This way being at present denominated the Catrail, I am told by Macfarlane of That-ilk, a critick in the Gaelick language, that it is, a corruption of the Gaelick Catrait, that is, the battle or military way; which plainly demonstrates it to have been a road, and not, according to Gordon, a boundary or march to distinguish between the dominions of different nations. This, it seems, is the opinion of his friend Mackenzie, who takes this and another ditch with two ridges, a considerable way to the eastward, to be of the same kind, which is likewise called the Catrail; which, we are told by Gordon, runs betwixt the town of Gallowshiels in the county of Selkirk on the north, to the Pirlefell in the dutchy of Cumberland on the south, twenty-two miles in length: this he imagines to have been raised at the conclusion of the peace between the emperor Severus and the Caledonians, to distinguish the lands given up by the latter on the eastern side of the supposed boundary, from their own on the western side of the said limit or march. And, to shew his confidence in this mighty discovery, says,

Gord. Itin. Sept. p. 104. "Nor can I think any body so ignorant to imagine it a military way, seeing the ditch between the two ramparts destroys that conjecture."

Ibid. p. 103. But, as ill-luck would have it, our author forgot that he had told us, just before, that in another journey a more distinct track of the said Catrail appeared to him near Langholm, on the river Esk, some distance to the westward of his Catrail boundary; whereby, instead of one, he has given us two marches or limits! To which he might have added a third, had he observed the course of the principal branch of the said ditch with two ridges, by him called ramparts; which, after its having crossed the river Tweed near Sunderland-hall, runs in a very conspicuous southern direction through the duke of Roxburgh's park to the town of Jedburgh in Teviotdale, by the appellation of the Picts work-dike.

dike. Now, as those ditches are within a few miles of one another, 'tis much more reasonable to presume that they were roads, and not a number of short imaginary boundaries or marches, as alleged by Gordon.

As by what has been said it appears that three military ways led to Cramund, it may reasonably be presumed that a Roman *trajectus* or ferry crossed the frith of Forth at that place; but whether a Roman road from the opposite shore ran in an eastern direction through the county of Fife, I cannot learn. However, that a military way ran along the eastern coast of Angus is evident, by a Roman road's having led through the town of Montrose in the said county, which, by its direction, seems to have crossed the river South-Esk at Inchbrake; and that the church, and a great part of the eastern row of houses of the said town, are situated on this military way, which was lately discovered in digging a cellar and foundation for a new building, which consisting of gravel or channel, the people imagine it to have been thrown up by the sea. The said road leaving the town, runs close by the western side of the wind-mill, where it is plainly to be seen; but a little to the northward both the ridge and causeway disappearing, by the appearance of the ground in the neighbourhood they seem to have terminated there.

That there was a Roman road at this place is in some measure confirmed by the country people's calling the road, without the port or gate of the town, Mitchel Scot's causeway, a general name given by the vulgar to all the Roman military ways throughout Scotland: for, being unacquainted with the Roman transactions in Britain, they simply believe that those roads, to them very stupendous works, were all made in one night by a number of devils, over whom the said Mitchel Scot is said to have had the command, and that they, not daring to control him, performed the said works without grumbling. And as an additional proof of a military way's having been at this place, the vestigia of a Roman camp are still to be seen in the links or common belonging to the aforesaid town; in which are likewise divers tumuli, and an artificial mount, whereon at present stands a wind-mill, which, from its vicinity both to the camp and town, must either have been an exploratory mount, or a tom-moid or court-hill, whereon, in the open air, were anciently heard and determined all controversies betwixt man and man, in the hearing of the people, as we have before observed.

The spacious road without the town's gate being laid with small stones or gravel, about the same extension with the ridge of the Roman road near to its eastern side, the gravel wherewith it is covered I take to be the plunder of the military way; for the ancient Gaelick name of the town was Monross, (and not, according to the fictitious invention of our historians, Montrose) that is, the mossy or marshy peninsula, as is manifest by digging in divers parts of the town, and from the marshy soil still to be seen in several parts without the northern end: whence I conclude, that the stones and gravel were taken from the Roman road to make the new way through part of the marsh; which is farther corroborated by the military way's extending about the same length with the said new road.

To the Roman camps abovementioned I shall add a few others, with some account of other things thought to be Roman.

Although the Roman station at Netherby be without the Scottish border in the dutchy of Cumberland, yet as it is without the Roman walls in the northern part of England, and for which, and the country wherein it is situated, our Caledonian ancestors for many ages so bravely struggled, against the mighty Romans and the provincial Britons, I shall take some notice of it in this place.

The station at Netherby, by its great ruins, is shewn to have been a place of considerable note; which is in some measure demonstrated by the uncommon heaps of demolished buildings in all parts of the area of that large fortress, wherein no doubt is contained a great treasure of Roman antiquities, out of which are already said to be dug divers statues, inscriptional stones, coins, and broken sculptures; but how disposed of, I cannot learn. Indeed, in lord Preston the proprietor's garden I saw a statue in a sacrificing posture, with a mural crown on its head, in the right a patera held over an altar, in its left hand a cornucopia, a toga across the body, and the lower parts of the legs covered with the caliga or short hose.

In the year 1745, in digging amongst the ruins for stones to erect out-houses, were discovered two Roman baths; one consisting of six rows of square stone pillars, six in a row, of the height of twenty inches, nine inches square, and distance of sixteen of the same measure, covered with large flat stones, with a thick cement thereon: the fire-place being at the southern end, the fire and smoke passed between the pillars under the bath, and vented themselves through a chimney at the northern end of the said bath. The other bath, on the southern side of the former, consisted of four rows of pillars, of the same kind and dimensions with the abovementioned. The first I take to have been a balneum to wash in, and the latter a laconicum or sudatorium to sweat in.

About a mile to the northward of Netherby, near the confluence of the rivers Esk and Lid, on the English side, is an exploratory castle of great strength, denominated the Mote-hill, in length about forty-six yards, and breadth of forty of the same measure. It consists of two parts; the most northern whereof is fortified on the north-eastern and south-western sides by a huge rampart and a very large and deep ditch, with the prætorium or governor's quarters at the north-western corner, and a very high mount at the north-eastern; and instead of a ditch on the western side, it was defended by a precipice above sixty feet of almost perpendicular height. The southern part of the fort, which is about eighty yards in length, and forty in breadth, on the southern and eastern sides is fenced with a ditch, and on the northern by a ditch and the precipice aforesaid. By the great quantity of stones on the upper part of the rampart, it seems to have been inclosed with a stone wall.

On the southern side of the river Caron, about a mile and a half below Falkirk, in the county of Stirling, is the remains of a spacious Roman town called Camelon: the military way from Graham's dike is plainly to be seen running through it, in a northern direction, towards the station at Stirling; as likewise in this place divers pavements of streets seem to cross one another at right angles. This place seems to have been fortified with a ditch and rampart; but as the former has been filled with the latter, there is little of the wall remaining.

Near Duratree, a little higher on the river Caron, where an harbour is said to have been, a few years since an anchor was discovered, which

in some measure confirms the tradition of Camelon's having been a sea-port, and town of commerce, although the tide at present does not flow within a mile and a half of the said Camelon; which is not to be wondered at, considering that the Caron, as well as other rivers, is choaked and filled up by the great quantities of stones and gravel brought down from the high-lands. And, according to a tradition amongst the people, in Camelon were likewise a number of vaults or arched cellars; and, to corroborate the same, it is said that the late earl of Callender, after the defeat of the rebel army at the battle of Sheriff-moor in the year 1715, concealed himself for a considerable time in one of the said vaults: which is certainly false; for though I made the strictest search in the place, and inquiry amongst the neighbours, I could neither discover nor they shew me any one of the said vaults.

Camelon is grossly misrepresented by two of our writers: Boece, with his usual assurance, asserts it to be the Camalodunum of Tacitus. For, according to the progress of the Roman arms in Britain before the arrival of Agricola, 'tis manifest that Camelon cannot be the Camalodunum; which is confirmed by our most celebrated historians and antiquaries, who have justly placed it in the county of Essex, above three hundred miles to the south-eastward of Camelon. Horsley, by a very great mistake, placeth Camelon on the Roman wall, or Graham's dike, above half a mile besouth it, at a place where the military way crosseth the said wall. In this station divers Roman coins and inscriptional stones are said to have been dug up; but where deposited at present, I cannot learn.

Boece, Hist.
Scot.

Horsl. Brit.
Rom.

Near the mansion-house of Dunie-pass, on the northern side of the rivulet Caron, in the county of Stirling, are two small mounts or hills, made famous by a wild account thereof given us by Buchanan; who, having latinized the Gaelick name of the place, calls them Duni-pacis, that is, the hills of peace; vainly imagining them to have been raised in commemoration of a peace concluded betwixt the Romans and Scots. To which, for divers reasons, I cannot assent: 1. Had two such large monuments been erected to perpetuate a treaty of peace, they would undoubtedly have been raised on an eminence or place conspicuous on the confines of both countries, where they might have been seen at a great distance, as witnesses of so memorable a transaction; but these are, as it were, buried in a bottom. 2. Had Buchanan considered the most western of the said hills, he would have perceived that it has not the least appearance of art; for being of a conical form, it gradually declines from the south-east to the north-west, about the space of two hundred and twenty-four feet; and the former part being about fifty feet in perpendicular height, the latter is level with the bottom. On the most eastern of the said hills is a great appearance of art, by its rotundity and beautiful conical form. It is of a very steep ascent on all sides, except towards the west, whence it is ascended by a winding pathway towards the south-east. Near the top the mount appears to have been surrounded with a ditch; and the uppermost part of the summit being plain, it is inclosed with a hedge about seventy-two feet in circumference, planted a few years since, when both mounts were set with fir-trees.

Notwithstanding of the above appearances of art, I am of opinion that this mount, by its huge dimensions, is not wholly artificial, being about ninety feet in height, in diameter at the foot about two hundred and forty, and in circumference at the same place about seven hundred feet. Were this hill artificial, it would have been attended with an immense expence of labour and money in the erection; and as, in the neighbourhood, no places appear whence such a prodigious quantity of earth could be taken as this mount contains, I am of opinion that the said mount at first must have been natural, and by art formed into the shape it at present puts on. Therefore I imagine that Buchanan never saw the said hills: if he had, I am persuaded he would not have converted them into Duni-pacis; for Dunie-pas, the genuine name of the said hills in the Gaelick language, imports the steep hills, as I was informed by Macfarlane of That-ilk, a great master and critick in that tongue. Besides, had Buchanan been at Dunie-pas, he might have observed a number of hills fitter for his purpose, by their greater resemblance of art than nature; but their names not corresponding with Duni-pacis would not have answered his design.

Gord. Itin.
Sept. P. 24.

Gordon, in his account of the said hills, is as much mistaken as Buchanan, by telling us, that those mounts were erected by Agricola for exploratory castles: and in the next breath says, that one of the said hills is artificial, and the other supposed to be natural. But, instead of those mounts being erected on the account of peace, or for exploratory castles, I am of opinion, as already hinted, that the one is entirely natural; and the other, partly so, was a tom-moid or court-hill, whereon were heard and determined causes both civil and criminal, which every where abounded in our country, and are still to be seen in many parts of Scotland, of the same form with the most eastern of the said hills of Dunie-pas.

About two miles north-eastward from Dunie-pas, a mile and a half benorth Falkirk, and about three hundred yards from the northern bank of the river Caron, on the eastern side of the road leading to the mansion-house of Stanners, at the south-western corner of its park, on the gentle descent of a small eminence, stood the noted and remarkable edifice called Arthur's Oven, from the manner of its construction.

This building, including the base or foundation, which consisted of four rows of rough field stones, of the height of about four feet and six inches, (which, by the ground's being worn away, were to be seen on the declivity at the south-western side) was in altitude twenty-six feet and eleven inches. Above the foundation, on the outside, the body of the fabrick consisted of twenty-four layers and a half (the other half of the uppermost layer being wanting, shews that the upper part of the building must either have been taken down, or, by decay of the edifice, fallen down) of dry stone ashler, without cement; and the body of the work on the inside consisted of twenty-three layers and a half, of the same manner of construction: whereas Gordon, in his draught of this fabrick, only makes them twenty-three in number! The internal diameter of the building was nineteen feet and six inches, the thickness of the wall at the base four feet three inches, and at the spring of the arch three feet seven inches: the exterior part of the house-wall was smooth; and on the interior were two projections, the lowermost whereof, which was about four feet above the floor,

floor, extended eleven inches inwards; as was the uppermost, whereon the arched roof rested, of the same dimensions.

In the eastern side of the edifice was a large door-way of the height of nine feet, and breadth of six feet four inches. But as to what we are told by Buchanan, of a Roman eagle and ensigns being engraven on a stone over the arch of the door on the inside, I could not discover the least remains thereof: nor could I perceive the letters I. A. M. P. M. P. T. said by sir Robert Sibbald to be cut on a stone in the inner side of the wall. However, as we are told by Buchanan that in his time the first were plainly to be seen, without doubt the part of the body of an eagle, and that of one of its wings, which Gordon says were faintly discerned by him, were the same with those of Buchanan; though to me they were both invisible.

At the height of eight feet above the door-way was a window of three feet two inches in height, three feet two inches in breadth at the lower part, and at the upper part two feet six inches, and from the upper part of the said window to the aperture at top (which was eleven feet and six inches in diameter) was above two feet three inches.

This edifice, which was greatly decayed on the south-western side by the weather, which had honeycombed the stones to a considerable depth, I take at first to have been built upon a flat, some distance from the declivity on the south; but the ground whereon it stood being a sandy clay, it was on the southern and south-western sides so greatly impaired and diminished by the weather, that the foundation of rough field stones abovementioned was laid open and the fabrick endangered, insomuch that, without a proper reparation, it might in a few years have fallen down, without waiting for its destruction by an enemy to antiquity, as quickly will appear.

Various are the opinions of writers concerning the origin, manner of construction, and use of this building. Nennius, a British or Welsh writer, tells us it was erected by Carausius, who assumed the purple in Britain, from whom the river Caron was denominated, and to whose honour a triumphal arch was built in this neighbourhood. But as it does not appear, by any Roman writer, that Carausius ever was in the northern parts of Britain, these relations are justly regarded as fabulous. Nen. Hist.
Brit. c. 19.

John Major says this edifice was built by Julius Cæsar, and from him denominated Julius's hoff. This is an invention equally absurd as gross, and deserves no other answer than to acquaint the reader, that by Cæsar's accounts of his expeditions into Britain, he could have advanced but a short way in this island, which, by the most judicious and faithful writers, is agreed to have been no farther than the colony of Verulam, in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's in the county of Hertford, twenty miles benorth London. Major Hist.
Scot. lib. 1.

Hector Boece says, that this fabrick was built by Vespasian in honour of the emperor Claudius, to whom and the goddess Victory he likewise erected statues; and that the remains of Aulus Plautius, who died in Camelon, (by him falsely called Camelodunum) were interred in Arthur's Oven. But as Boece is justly noted for the most fabulous of all our writers, little credit is due to him, especially in the case before us: for by Tacitus it appears that Julius Agricola, many years after Plautius, was the first Roman general that entered the Boece's Scot.
Hist.
Tacit. in Vit.
Agricol.

H h h

country

country now called Scotland; whereby it is manifest, that Arthur's Oven could not be built by Vespasian, nor the ashes of Plautius buried therein.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 1.

Stukeley on
Arthur's
Oven.

Buchanan seems to have been of opinion, that this structure was erected for a temple to the god Terminus. This is contradicted by a modern writer, who says that the Romans, instead of building temples to Terminus, only set up stones or square posts in the ground, as a land-mark to direct travellers on the road.

REMARK. Whether the Romans built temples to Terminus, I shall not take upon me to determine: but that a land-mark or boundary should be set up to direct travellers on the road, is certainly a mistake; for countries or lands are bounded by limits or marches, and not by roads for the convenience of travellers.

However, though Buchanan at first seems to have been doubtful in respect to the use of Arthur's Oven, by there being in the northern parts of Scotland certain edifices resembling it; yet elsewhere, in speaking of it, he says, "for aught we can conjecture, it was erected to the god Terminus." Be that as it will, had Buchanan seen the edifices in the county of Ross, and those in the island mentioned by him, he might have observed, that there is no other resemblance between them and Arthur's Oven than the rotundity of form: for those buildings in the northern parts being duns, or Gaelick castles, are rough dry stone edifices, of a circular form, tapering upwards, with an open area or court in the middle. Divers of those structures having been surveyed by Gordon, he tells us, that in the vale of Glenbeg in the county of Inverness, formerly part of Ross-shire, were situated four of the said circular fabricks; two whereof, denominated Castle-chalamine and Castle-chonil, have only their foundations remaining. The third, called Castle-telve, is a rough circular dry stone building, without cement or order in laying the stones: those near the ground are pretty large; but diminishing in size upwards, some of the stones scarcely exceed the thickness of a brick. The only aperture on the outside was a hole in the western side near the foundation; of so small dimensions, that my author was obliged to creep into the same on his hands and feet. The fabrick consisted of a double wall, with a cavity between, which, being overlaid with large flat stones, not only served as a covering for the lower apartment, but likewise a floor for that above, and a binding whereby the walls are knit together.

Gord. Itin.
Sept. p. 166.

The fourth structure, named Castle-troddan, being probably the most entire of the kind in Scotland, please take our author's account thereof as follows. "On the outside were no windows, nor were the materials of this castle any way different from those of the other already described, only the entry on the outside was somewhat larger; but this might be by the falling of the stones from above. The area of this makes a complete circle, and there are doors in the inner wall which face the four cardinal points of the compass: these doors are each eight foot and a half high, and five foot wide, and lead from the cavity between the two walls which run round the whole building: the perpendicular height of this fabrick is exactly thirty-three foot; the thickness of both walls, including the cavity between, no more than twelve foot, and the cavity itself hardly wide enough for two men to walk abreast. The external circum-

ference

“ference is one hundred and seventy-eight foot. The whole height
 “of the fabrick is divided into four parts or stories, separated from
 “each other by thin floorings of flat stones, which knit the two walls
 “together, and run quite round the building; and there have been
 “winding stairs of the same flat stones ascending, between wall and
 “wall, up to the top. The undermost partition is somewhat below
 “the surface of the ground, and is the widest: the others grow nar-
 “rower by degrees, till the walls close at top. Over each door are
 “nine square windows, in a direct line above each other, for the ad-
 “mission of light; and between every row of windows are three
 “others in the uppermost story, rising above a cornice, which pro-
 “jects out from the inner wall, and runs round the fabrick.”

By the above accounts of some of the circular buildings which abound in the northern parts of Scotland, (of which I shall be more particular elsewhere) it plainly appears they no otherwise resemble Arthur's Oven than in their round form, as aforesaid; and by their having windows in the inner walls, regarding the area or court within, and none without, is demonstrated their having been places of strength, for securing the inhabitants against the attempts of roving plunderers, till assistance came from their friends and neighbours to their relief.

And as to what is said by Buchanan of the stones in the wall of Arthur's Oven being mortised, or let into one another, for the greater security of the building, it is a very great mistake, as I shall in its proper place demonstrate.

Sir Robert Sibbald, without the least reason given for his opinion, declares this edifice to have been erected by the emperor Severus. And Dr. Stukeley thinks it owes its origin to Julius Agricola, by its being sometimes called Julius's hof, and that it was a temple; which I think is not in the least probable, as I shall presently endeavour to make appear. And Gordon says, “I agree with my friend Dr. Stukeley,
 “that this building was erected by Julius Agricola, the first winter
 “that he was in Scotland; but, I believe, it was never designed for a
 “temple of worship, but was only a *facellum* or little chapel conti-
 “guous to his camp, in which the *vexilla* or ensigns of the legions
 “were kept. It may perhaps have been also used as a mausoleum, or
 “depository for holding within its hollow basement the ashes of some
 “illustrious Roman, who may have died in that country.”

REMARK. It no where appears, that I can learn, that this small circular building was erected by Agricola: and that it was built for a *facellum* or little chapel contiguous to a camp, or that it was a repository for the ensigns, I think is not in the least probable, for the following reasons. 1. It was not contiguous to a camp; for Camelon, the nearest Roman fortress in that neighbourhood, is about a mile and a half from it. 2. By our author's believing that this fabrick was built with an aperture at top, it could not be a proper conservatory for beautiful and delicate military ensigns, which, by being continually exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, would soon have been rendered useless; which our author seems to have been aware of, by his un- luckily telling us, that “great care was taken to preserve the *aquilæ*
 “of the legions, and the *signa* of the several cohorts, because if they
 “had been always exposed to the weather, without shelter, the images
 “painted upon them, as legionary and company distinctions, would
 “have received damage. These *facella* were likewise proper to pre-
 “serve

“ serve them from lightning, with which when struck it was reckoned
 “ an ill omen, portending a defeat:” and a little after, to salve the
 contradiction, ridiculously imagines, that the cornices within were
 made to support a canopy or covering, to defend the said ensigns and
 standards from the weather. This is a notion so wild and trifling, that
 it makes the Romans guilty of the greatest indiscretion in erecting a
 stone building, with seemingly no other view than to render it useless,
 by stuffing it, from within four feet of the floor, with wooden props
 to support his imaginary canopy! which must have extended through
 and above the aperture at top, (which was eleven feet and six inches in
 diameter) otherwise the droppings would have fallen within the house:
 whereby we see that, even by this preposterous contrivance, the edi-
 fice was inclosed above, to the no great applause of the inventor!

But the worst of all is Gordon’s saying, perhaps it was a mausoleum:
 had he given himself the trouble to have inquired into the probability
 of this surmise, he would have found that the pagan Romans did not,
 like their Christian descendants, defile their temples or chapels with
 the putrid carcases or ashes of the dead; for, by a law of the Twelve
 Tables, dead bodies were to be burnt, and interred without the city;
 whereas their temples were all erected within their cities, stations, or
 camps.

To what has been said concerning Arthur’s Oven, I shall add my
 own opinion, and let it take its chance with the abovementioned; and
 though I cannot tell who built it, I shall endeavour to point out its
 use.

This edifice, as already hinted, was of a circular form, and open at
 top, which, by all that have hitherto wrote thereon, is believed to
 have been so erected, without observing that there were no coping
 stones on the upper part of the wall; which, had it been built with
 an aperture above, there undoubtedly would, not only as a necessary
 fence against the weather, but to secure and knit together the upper
 part of the wall, to prevent the stones therein from being loosened by
 tempestuous winds, which would occasion their falling. But in the
 upper part of the said wall, instead of being secured by a coping of
 stones, there was only one half of a common layer remaining: the
 stones of the other half were fallen down, and carried off; which is
 a strong presumption that the building at first was not open at top.

Add to this, that as there was a large window over the spacious
 door-way in the arch or roof of the house, that was sufficient to en-
 lighten the area of this small circular house, without an additional and
 unnecessary aperture above the said window. Wherefore I am of opi-
 nion, that it is not in the least probable there was another opening in
 the upper part of this edifice, other than the window aforesaid.

Now, as I take the said Arthur’s Oven to have been originally close
 at top, it must, in proportion to the other parts of the building, have
 had six layers of stones above the half layer aforesaid; so that the edi-
 fice must have consisted of thirty-one layers of dry stone ashler in
 height, and the altitude of the fabrick, including the base, must at
 first have been about thirty-three feet.

As, by what has been said, I think it does appear that Arthur’s Oven
 was neither a temple, sacellum or repository for military ensigns, nor
 a fortress; I imagine, by the circular form of divers sepulchral monu-
 ments I have seen, which are all close at top, with a window in each,

it must have been a mausoleum: wherefore, the better to enable the reader to judge in the case before us, I shall, from Wright's Travels, subjoin an account of a mausoleum much resembling our edifice aforesaid.

" We saw the noble monument of Cæcilia Metella, the daughter
 " of Q. Creticus, as the inscription, still plain upon it, shews Q. Cre-
 " tici F. Metella Craffi. It is a rotunda, as several of the ancient
 " mausolea were. One side is much ruined, and there we had an
 " opportunity of observing that the vast stones, whereof it is built,
 " were laid together without mortar, or any other cement. There is
 " a frieze toward the top, adorned with heads of oxen, from which
 " the whole structure is commonly called Capo di bove. There is a
 " fine sarcophagus in the court of the Farnese palace, which they say
 " was brought from hence, and is supposed to have contained this
 " lady's remains. She was wife to the rich Marcus Craffus, who fell
 " in the war against the Persians."

Wright's
 Trav. p. 355.

Although the abovementioned mausoleum in a great measure resembles our late circular structure, I am of opinion that, had Wright been more particular in the description, it would probably have been found to be near or of the same dimensions, and manner of construction, with our rotunda, which seems chiefly to have wanted a sarcophagus to demonstrate its having been a sepulchral monument. Besides, our building may be supposed to have been a mausoleum by its having stood by the road-side, leading from the Roman wall at Falkirk to the frith of Forth, which probably was a military way at the erection of our said edifice: for as by the sides of the publick roads were ranged the Roman cemeteries, their sepulchral monuments were erected therein.

Our late fabrick went by two names, *viz.* that of Julius's hoff, and Arthur's oven: the former it is said to have received from Julius Agricola, the imaginary founder; and the latter from its resembling an oven. But as these appellations have been considered already, that shall suffice, without mentioning certain allegations brought by Mackenzie, (which seem foreign to the purpose) to shew it to have been a temple, from the Gaelick Ardhenan suainhe, signifying a high place, such as the pagans anciently performed their religious duties in.

This memorable and celebrated small rotunda, which by all was deemed the most entire Roman antiquity in Scotland, was, in the year 1742, shamefully pulled down and destroyed by that great enemy to antiquity sir Michael Bruce, the proprietor, to his eternal reproach, who employed the large stones in repairing his mill-dam of Stanners: wherein I observed that the said stones had not been mortised, or let into one another, for the security of the building, as asserted by Buchanan; for the only things remarkable in the said stones are their large dimensions, and a tackle-hole in each, for the convenience of laying them by the help of a pulley.

The destruction of this famous structure enraged the antiquaries to such a degree against the destroyer, that one of them, on beholding the remains thereof in the said mill-dam, wrote the following dialogue concerning the same.

I i i

A dialogue

A dialogue between a traveller and certain stones in the mill-dam of Stanners, &c. in the river of Caron.

Traveller. I think I see something venerable in your aspect!

Stones. Ah, sir, we who in this neighbourhood composed the most celebrated piece of Roman antiquity in Scotland, are now reduced to the mean and despicable state you see us in!

Traveller. What was your condition heretofore?

Stones. We who, by the manner of our construction, were by the people denominated Arthur's oven, were erected near seventeen hundred years ago, by that magnanimous and celebrated Roman hero Julius Agricola; a temple sacred to the Romans, for the celebration of the holy mysteries of that great and renowned nation in this part of Britain.

Traveller. How! a temple, sacred to the wise and magnanimous Romans! What impious wretch durst presume to lay profane hands on the edifice?

Stones. The building wherein we were erected had the misfortune to become the property of an ignorant, sordid, and ungenerous man, who, abandoned to covetousness, made us the objects to glut his insatiable thirst of lucre; and tho' revered for so many centuries, by the most learned, curious and worthy part of mankind, we at last fell a sacrifice to his boundless avarice.

Traveller. Were you known to foreigners?

Stones. Yes, many having repaired to visit us in our flourishing state, have celebrated our praises at the return to their respective countries, by which our memory will be preserved in those parts to future ages, in honour of our great founder, as it has and will be by the curious observations made on us in our late state by the ingenious and learned antiquaries of our own country, though now reduced to the ignoble condition you behold us in!

Traveller. O thou once precious and inestimable monument of antiquity, which stood the test of time, inclemencies of the weather, and danger of the most inveterate enemies of the Scottish nation for so many hundreds of years; one whereof, the most implacable, Edward I. king of England, though he aimed at the destruction and extirpation of the Scottish race, yet, regarding thee as a sacred pile, offered thee not the least indignity. And though at last thou art fallen a prey to a sordid, insatiable, and detestable creature, you will have this consolation, that whilst he shall become the just reproach of, and his memory stink to future ages, thine will be revered by the curious, great, and wise, till time shall be no more.

In the country of Braidalbin and vale of Glen-lyon, about a mile benorth Loch-tay, is a Roman camp, denominated Fortingald, that is, the fort of strangers. It is almost of a triangular form, occasioned by the river Lyon, which, on the southern and western sides, serves for ditches, and the high and almost perpendicular banks on the same sides are its ramparts. The eastern side of the camp is fenced with a rampart and ditch: the prætorium is almost in its original state of perfection; and the military way, leading through the camp towards Loch-tay, is plainly to be seen. This fortress I take to have been erected to secure the beautiful country of Loch-tay against incursions from the

the western highlands, through the passes of the said Loch-tay and Glen-lyon.

In the carse of Gowry and parish of Liff, two miles to the westward of the town of Dundee, and about half a mile benorth the estuary of Tay, is a Roman camp about two hundred yards square, fortified with a high rampart and a spacious ditch; but as the southern side appears to have been fenced with triple ramparts and ditches, these I take to have been the northern fortifications of the *prætorium*: the other sides being demolished by the plow, the vestigia appear but faintly. However, they are sufficient to shew that this fortress was of a parallelogram form, about a quarter of a mile in length, which, from its vicinity to the frith of Tay, I take to have been one of the camps which occasionally contained both the land and sea forces. This is in some measure confirmed by Tacitus, who tells us that Agricola, the Roman general, the better to accomplish his designs against the Caledonians, fitted out a powerful fleet, to attack them by sea as well as by land; and every thing being ready for the expedition, he began the operations of his sixth campaign by ordering his fleet to explore and view the maritime countries, with their respective harbours, on the northern side of Bodotria; and having about the same time crossed that estuary with his army, entered Caledonia, where he erected divers fortresses for the security of his troops: nay, the same camp often contained the foot, horse, and marine forces.

Tacit in Vit.
Agricol. c. 29.

Adjoining to the northern side of Lochore, in the county of Fife, is a camp, about the length of two hundred and fifty yards, and breadth of about eighty of the same measure, fenced with a rampart and ditch on all sides but the southern, which is bounded by Lochore, and a small rising of a semicircular form, representing a half moon; and within the camp is the remains of an ancient chapel.

This fortress is, by sir Robert Sibbald, thought to be the place where Galgacus the Caledonian general fought the Romans under the command of Agricola. Which is a very great mistake; for the ground and neighbourhood of this camp is no way answerable to the account given by Tacitus, who tells us, that the Roman army was drawn up in order of battle before their camp, the Caledonians on the opposite hill, and on the interjacent plain were the Caledonian military chariots ranged in battle-array.

REMARK. That this is not the place where the said battle was fought, is manifest by its great distance from the Grampian mountains, the real field of battle; which is further confirmed by its situation: for, as already hinted, it is bounded on the south by a lake denominated Lochore, on the northern side and eastern and western ends by a moss or boggy ground, and on the northern side of the said moss or bog a steep and craggy hill, abounding with large field stones. Whereby is shewn that no place could be more improper to draw up an army on; as no place could be more unfit than a bog for military chariots and armies to fight on: besides, this camp, by its small dimensions, could not contain a quarter part of the Roman army.

Gordon is of opinion, that this is the camp wherein the ninth legion was attacked by the Caledonians. This seems no better grounded than that of Sibbald's; for the flight of the Caledonians, after their defeat by Agricola, could not be favoured by the bogs and marshes,

among

among which the battle must have been fought, had it happened in this place.

We are told by Sibbald, that in the neighbourhood of Orrock, a few miles south-westward from Lochore, are divers Roman camps, with a military way at Crossgate. This is so far from being true, that there is not the least appearance of either a Roman camp or road in this vicinage; for the places by him taken for camps are all natural, without the least shew of art, that I could discover.

The Roman camps, stations, and forts are by some thought to have been confined to certain forms, *viz.* either square or oblong; whereas on viewing the same, especially on hills and eminences, they appear to have been laid out in a diversity of shapes, according to the form of the ground on which they are situated.

To the Roman monuments and antiquities above described, I shall subjoin some others of a different taste, which are certain stones erected in divers parts of Scotland, *viz.* at Forreß in the county of Murray, Benachie in Mar, Aberlemno and Camustone in Angus, Inverkiething in Fife, Newburgh and Miegle in Perthshire, Gask in Strathern, Eccles in Niddale, &c. with emblematical symbols and rude preposterous figures drawn thereon. These are accounted for according to the caprice of writers: by Boece in his usual romantick strain, as is observed by a learned and judicious antiquary, who says, that "Hector Boetius, in one of his particular fancies, thinks them to be relicks of the Egyptian fashion, looking upon their figures of birds, beasts, &c. as the old hieroglyphical way of writing practised in the country from which the Scots had their original. He observes likewise, that there was in old times an alphabet, which admirably expressed the particular vowels and diphthongs of their primitive language, which he says was (even in his days) taught by men skilled in the mysteries of their ancient poetry. How these things agree with his making king Reutha the first contriver of these monuments, let the friends and patrons of his history consider."

Other writers are of opinion, that those stones were erected by the Danes; which I cannot give into, for the following reasons:

1. Were those stones Danish or Gothick monuments, the intent and use they were erected for would, like those in Scandinavia, have been explained by Runick inscriptions.

2. As the Danes and Norwegians who invaded Scotland were bands of strolling thieves and robbers, who came in search of plunder, not in quest of honour or fame, it cannot be reasonably supposed that they would have erected monuments; more especially if we consider that they received divers great overthrows from the Scots, and at last were not only expelled the country, but compelled to swear that they never would return to Scotland. Besides, had the Danes erected those monuments in commemoration of victories obtained by them, it is not to be supposed that the Scots, whom they had so unjustly robbed and destroyed without the least provocation, would have suffered them to stand as memorials of their slavery. Wherefore, I think, it is not in the least probable that the said stones were set up either by the Danes or Norwegians.

3. As all the said stones are of the form of our modern stones placed at the heads of graves at present, and many of them standing in publick cemeteries or church-yards, according to the practice of papists before

Nicol. Scot.
Hist. Libr.
p. 64.

before the reformation; instead of victorial, they must have been sepulchral monuments: for I cannot learn that it ever was a custom among our ancestors to erect monuments as memorials for victories obtained by them; nay, not so much as one for the ever memorable victory gained over the English at Bannock's burn, though by it we were not only rescued from an abyss of misery, and the vilest servitude, but to it we owe all the rights, liberties, and privileges dear to men, that we have enjoyed ever since. And the stones of the same kind standing in the fields, having likewise the cross cut on them, they must also have been erected for the dead: and those whereon the figures of men, horses, arms, and chariots are sculptured, were probably raised for princes or generals slain in battle; and others whereon are carved the effigies of religious persons, beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, and domestick implements, perhaps were designed according to the inclinations of the deceased, and fancy of the erector.

4. The only Danish monuments hitherto discovered in Scotland, that I can learn, are two; one at Campbeltown in Argyllshire, the other in the church of Ruthwell in the stewartry of Annandale, both of an obeliscal form, with four sides; which is widely different from that of the stones abovementioned, which, being flat, have only two sides. The obelisk at Ruthwell is adorned with the figures of the crucifix, Joseph and Mary, St. Paul, and Mary Magdalen, with waved flowerings, birds, and other animals, with two inscriptions, the one Runic, the other a modern character, but not Saxon, as affirmed by our author. However, that this was also a sepulchral monument, I think, does in some measure appear by the figures thereon. Upon the whole, I am of opinion, that the stones whereon Runic inscriptions are engraven are Danish sepulchral monuments, and that those without characters are either Scottish or Pictish grave-stones.

Gord. Itin.
Sept. p. 61.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Scottish coins.

THOUGH the riches of man at first consisted in the number of their cattle, yet gold and silver appear to have been early in use; but whether in coin or for domestick uses is not mentioned: but that money was of great antiquity amongst the Egyptians and Jews, is evident; as it was soon after amongst the Greeks and Romans. But at what time it came to be used in Britain, I cannot learn: however, that it has been long in use in this island is manifest, by Cæsar's telling us, that at his arrival here the money used by the Britons was brass and iron rings, which passed by weight. But this being amongst the Belgick Gauls, who inhabited the southern part of Britain, 'tis not said whether the inland or northern Britons had the use of money amongst them: nor, indeed, I think, can it be expected that money was so early in use in Scotland as in the southern countries of Europe; for, being seated at the northern extremity of Britain, it could, before the introduction of agriculture and commerce, have little or no intercourse with foreign nations, therefore must for a number of ages have been unacquainted with the use of money, and much longer before the art of coining was brought in amongst us.

Genes. c. 13.
v. 2.

Ibid. c. 23.
v. 16.

Cæs. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 5.
c. 5.

We are told by Boece, that there was no money in Scotland in king Reutha's time. That is not to be disputed; for being one of his fa-

K k k

bulous

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 2.
fol. 20.

Ibid. lib. 5.
fol. 89.

Ibid. lib. 3.
fol. 35.

Reg. Majest.
lib. 4. c. 40.
v. 7.
Nicol. Scot.
Hist. Libr.
p. 291.
Lest. Hist.
lib. 2. p. 109.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.

Nicol. Scot.
Hist. Libr.
p. 29.

MS. Chron.
in Arch. Lond.

bulous race of monarchs, as I have already demonstrated, the story of Reutha is false; as is likewise his ordinance for the exchange of things, and payment of fees and wages to men of different professions in beef and corn. Now, as perhaps this story is not to be paralleled, I shall insert it, to shew the author's fertile invention, *viz.* To an advocate or counsellor, the tongue of an ox; to a physician and surgeon, two ribs each; to a smith, the head; to a forester, the neck; the kidneys and part of the short ribs to a carpenter; and to an indagator, or detector of thieves, the remaining part of the short ribs. We are also told by the said Boece, that king Donald I. coined both gold and silver pieces, with his bust on the one side, and a cross on the other: but Donald being unluckily one of the aforefaid race of kings, this is likewise a fable.

And the same author acquaints us, that Malcolm III. appointed a certain golden coin to be paid, in lieu of the obscene privilege granted to the nobility by Ewen III. on the marriage of their tenants and vassals: but this coin, instead of being gold, Boece, through great incogitancy, tells us was of the same kind of metal with that in his time called Marcheta; and elsewhere he calls it Dimidiata argenti marca, that is, half a mark of silver: which by no means will serve to prove that gold was coined by the said Malcolm.

And as to David I. coining gold, which we have from the Regiam Majestatem, the five last chapters thereof being of a suspected authority, are not to be depended on. And of equal credit is Lesley, who acquaints us, that leathern money was stamped by order of the aforefaid fabulous king Reutha.

And that nothing may be wanting to shew that coinage was early introduced amongst us, we are told by Buchanan, that sterling money was first coined by Donald V. about the middle of the ninth century. That this is a mistake is evident; for the coiners from the coasts of the Baltick sea, called Easterlings, and from whom the English coin received the name of Easterling or Sterling, are, by the earliest accounts, only said to have come into England in the twelfth century, and reign of Henry II. Now, as it is by all agreed that we received the appellation of sterling money from England, 'tis plain we could not have it about three hundred years before it was known in England.

Scotish golden coin.

A learned and judicious antiquary, being of opinion that the first gold coined in England was in the reign of Edward III. seems, with good reason, to think that the first golden Scotch coin can be carried no higher than the royal family of Stuarts, and time of Robert II. who, for aught appears, was the first king of Scotland that coined gold, about the year 1380. But as for gold being first coined in England by Edward III. in the eighteenth year of his reign, it is a mistake, whereinto all the historians and antiquaries who mention the same have fallen: for in my researches for materials for my history of London, I discovered, in the archives of that city, a MS. chronicle, wherein is set forth, that Henry III. in the eighteenth year of his reign, anno 1234, caused to be coined a piece of gold of the weight of two sterlings. Whereby is shewn, that gold was at first coined in England about one hundred and eleven years before the time it was by all believed to have been coined, in the eighteenth year of Edward III.

anno

anno 1345. And by the above piece of gold's being of the weight of two sterlings, it is evident that sterling was the name of a certain piece of coin; but the appellation being converted into an appellative, it was applied to the several denominations of English money, viz. pounds, shillings, and pence sterling.

Now as, for aught appears, gold was at first coined in Scotland by Robert II. I shall subjoin an account of the several pieces of gold coined by our respective kings from that time to the union of the kingdoms by James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, taken from the late reverend and learned archdeacon of Carlisle's Scottish historical Library, and Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*.

ROBERT II.

Robert II. being justly esteemed the first of our kings who caused gold to be coined amongst us, the three following pieces are supposed to belong to him.

1. The first has on it the Scottish lion on a crowned shield, and in a circle without the same *Robertus Dei gracia rex Scotorum*; and on the reverse, St. Andrew extended on the cross between two flowers-de-luce, with *Dus. Protector M. S. & Libera.* of the weight of an English dram, all the rest being weighed by the same standard.

Nicol. Scot.
Hist. Libr.
p. 294.

2. This only differs in the words *Liberato* and *Scoto*: weight one dram.

3. The lion rampant on a shield not crowned, the legend *Robertus Dei G. rex*; reverse, St. Andrew on the cross, with two flowers-de-luce and two trefoils, *Dus. Protector M. S.* weight twenty grains.

The five following coins are by the archdeacon thought to belong to

ROBERT III.

1. The lion within a crowned shield, *Robertus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; on the reverse, St. Andrew stretched on his cross, with *X. P. C. regnat, X. P. C. vincit, X. P. C. imperat*; weight two drams. On this piece (though omitted either through inadvertence of the archdeacon or printer) is a flower-de-luce on each side St. Andrew's cross.

2. The lion on a crowned shield, *Robertus rex Scotorum*; reverse, St. Andrew on the cross, beardless, with a flower-de-luce on each side: weight thirty-four grains.

3. This differs from the former only in *Robertus Dei gracia rex Sco.* Ibid. p. 295. weight one dram four grains.

4. The shield not crowned, *Robertus Dei G. rex Scoto.* reverse, a St. Andrew's cross, with a flower-de-luce on each side, and a trefoil above, and below *X. P. C. regnat, X. P. C. vincit.*

5. The lion in a shield not crowned, within a rose, *Robertus Dei gracia rex co.* reverse, *X. P. C. vincit, X. P. C. regnat*; weight thirty-four grains.

6. This in all respects as the next above, *co* excepted.

JAMES I.

The two next pieces resembling some of Robert III. are by our author supposed to belong to James I.

1. The lion in a crowned shield, between two flowers-de-luce, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, St. Andrew on the cross, betwixt two crowned flowers-de-luce, *X. P. C. regnat, X. P. C. vincit, X. P. C.* weight one dram twenty-four grains.

2. The

2. The lion in a crowned shield, with a crown on each side, *Jacobus D. gracia rex Scotor.* reverse, St. Andrew on the cross, between two flowers-de-luce, *salvum fac populum tuum*; weight one dram twenty-four grains.

JAMES II.

Parl. 8 Ja. II.
c. 33. Oct.
25, 1451.

James II. in his fourteenth year, with his parliament, enacted, That there be stricken a new penny in gold, called a lion, with the print of the lion on the one side, and the image of St. Andrew on the other side, with a side coat even to his jute, holding the sum in weight of the English half noble.

This piece was to pass for six shillings and eight pence, and its half at three shillings and four pence, being the same currency with the demy and half demy. And in the eighteenth year of the same reign, the demy and new lion were ordered to go at ten shillings; of which coins are the following pieces:

1. The lion in a crowned shield, with a crowned flower-de-luce on each side, *Jacobus Dei gracia rex Sco.* reverse, St. Andrew on the cross, and *salvum fac populum*; weight twenty-seven grains.

2. The Scottish shield not crowned, with flowers-de-luce on the sides, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, St. Andrew on the cross with flowers, *salvum fac populum tuum Domine*; weight twenty-seven grains.

3. St. Andrew carrying his cross, *Jacobus Dei gracia rex Sco.* reverse, the lion in a shield crowned, *salvum fac populum Domine*; weight one dram twenty grains.

4. A lion on a shield in form of a lozenge, with a small crown above it, *Jacobus Dei gracia rex Scot.* reverse, a small St. Andrew's cross between two small flowers-de-luce, within a pretty hexagonal star, each point tipt with a flower-de-luce, with a small rose betwixt every two points, *salvum fac populum tuum Do.* weight one dram twenty-seven grains.

5. A piece of the same size and stamp with the next above; weight one dram eighteen grains.

6. Another piece of the same stamp, but smaller; weight thirty grains.

JAMES III.

Oct. 12, 1457.
c. 18.
Parl. 4. c. 23.
Nov. 20,
1475, c. 67.
Feb. 24, 1483,
c. 93.

By the third parliament of James III. the demy and lion were ordered to be raised to twelve shillings: but by that which was held a few months after, they were reduced to their former value of ten shillings. In James's eighth year the demy was again raised to thirteen shillings and four pence; and the Scottish crown (which probably was another name for the lion) to thirteen shillings. In his thirteenth, a coin of gold was ordered to be struck, of the weight and fineness of the rose noble, and value of thirty new groats, of ten in the ounce, fine silver. Another golden penny, with the same inscription, to pass for twenty groats; and a third for ten of the same pieces. Of the two latter the following are supposed to be:

1. An unicorn holding the Scottish shield and lion, a small St. Andrew's cross under the unicorn's feet, and *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a cross flory, charged with a blazing star, *exurgat De. & dissipet. inimici ej.* weight two drams.

2. A piece of a smaller size, being half of the above, *Jacobus Dei gracia rex Scot.* reverse, *exurgat Dus. dissipet. inim.* weight thirty-three grains.

JAMES IV.

James IV. in his first year, coined both gold and silver pieces of the same weight and fineness with those of his father; of which the following are supposed to be.

1. An unicorn holding the Scottish shield and lion, a small St. Andrew's cross under the unicorn's feet, and *Jacobus IV. Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a cross flory, charged with a blazing star, *exurgat Deus & dissipent. inimici ej.* weight two drams.

2 The king on horseback in armour, with a sword in his hand, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotor.* reverse, the lion in a crowned shield, with a large cross extended to the outer circle of the piece, with the motto *salvum fac populum tuum Domine*; weight two drams eighteen grains.

3. The Scottish lion and shield, with a cross reaching the outer ring, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotor.* reverse, the king in armour on horseback, with a sword in his hand, *salvum fac populum tuum Domine*; weight one dram eight grains.

4. A smaller piece, only differing from the preceding one in size; weight twenty-two grains.

In an old ordinance of a king of Spain there's a piece called the croone van Schotland, which seems to be of this king's coining. It bears the Scottish shield crowned, and *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotorum* IIII reverse, St. Andrew on the cross, *salvum fac populum tuum Domine*; weight two drams sixteen grains.

In this place I shall describe a noble golden medal, struck by John duke of Albany, regent of Scotland during the minority of James V. It bears the duke and dutchess's arms on a shield with a ducal crown, a large cross throughout the field, and *Joannes Albanie duc. gubern.* reverse, a shield with the duke's arms, on which is a dove with her wings extended, and a cross above her head, and at her feet 1524; weight seven drams.

JAMES V.

There are likewise certain pieces of James V. seemingly of the medal kind, which are as follows:

1. A massy one of the dimensions of one of our present half crowns, but thicker, bearing the Scottish shield and lion crowned, between two small St. Andrew's crosses, with *Jacobus V. Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a cross flory, with four thistle-heads, and *crucis arma sequamur*; weight one ounce two drams and thirty grains.

2. Another of the same stamp, but smaller; weight one dram twenty-four grains.

3. The king in bust crowned, *Jacobus V. Dei gra. rex Scotor.* reverse, the Scottish shield and lion, not crowned, on a cross fouchet, inscribed *villa Edinburgh*; weight seven drams twenty-seven grains.

The common golden coins of this reign, known by the names of bonnet-pieces, said to have been coined out of the native gold of Scotland, are very beautiful, and little inferior to the finest medals; of which are the four following:

1. The king in bust with a bonnet on, *Jacobus V. Dei G. R. Scotorum*, 1539; reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned, and *honor regis judicium diligit*; weight three drams.

2. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, incircled with a collar of SS. and thistle-heads, inscribed *Jacobus V. Dei G. R. Scotor.* 1539; reverse,

reverse, a large St. Andrew's cross, charged with a crown; between *J* and *R* in the upper quarter a thistle-head, and in the lower a flower-de-luce; motto, *honor regis judicium diligit*.

3. This piece is the same in all respects with that of N^o. 1. only the date is 1540.

4. This, which is half of the next above, bears the king in bust with a bonnet on, *Jacobus D. G. R. Scotor.* 1540; reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned between 1 and 5; legend, *honor regis judicium diligit*; weight two drams.

5. This piece, which is a quarter part of N^o. 3, differs only from it in size, weight, and value; weight one dram.

MARY.

Although the vicissitudes and strange turns of fortune were so great and numerous in queen Mary's time, that no reign afforded more copious matter for medals than hers; yet the archdeacon declares he had seen none of hers of the golden sort: but being informed by his friend James Sutherland, of his having seen one of hers of that metal, of the same stamp with the first of her coins, and weight of her father's first medal, my author concludes it was struck at the first opening of her mint, as probably was that of her father. Be that as it will, her ordinary coins are as follows:

1. The Scottish shield and lion crowned between two stars, with *Maria Dei gra. regina Scotorum*; reverse, a cross flory, with a thistle-head in each quarter, and *crucis arma sequamur*; weight one dram twenty-four grains.

2. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, *Maria D. G. R. Scotorum*, 1543; reverse, *MR*, with a crown above and a star below, *ecce ancilla Domine*; weight one dram sixteen grains.

3. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, betwixt the letters *J* and *G*, *Maria D. G. Scotorum regina*; reverse, a cypher, including all the letters of *Maria regina*, with a crown above, and a star on each side, *diligite justitiam*, 1553; weight two drams eighteen grains. The letters *J* and *G*, shew James earl of Murray to have been regent when this piece was coined.

4. This piece, being just half of that next above, weighs one dram nine grains.

5. The queen's effigies, with her head in dress, *Maria D. G. Scotorum regina*; reverse, the Scottish shield crowned, *justus fide vivit*, 1555; weight four drams.

6. Half of the next above, of the same stamp, coined in the same year; weight one dram thirty-two grains.

7, 8. Two more of the stamp and weight of that of N^o. 5, coined in the years 1557 and 1558.

9, 10. Two more of the stamp and weight of that of N^o. 6, coined in the years 1557 and 1558.

FRANCIS and MARY.

1. Francis and Mary face to face, with a large crown above their heads, legend *Fran. & Ma. D. G. R. R. Scotor. Delphin. Vien.* reverse, four pair of dolphins linked together and crowned, a cross of Lorraine between every two pair, with a St. Andrew's cross in the middle, and *horum tuta fides*, 1558; weight four drams.

JAMES VI.

1. The largest and most valuable of king James VIth's golden coins is

is the rose noble of Scotland, of the same weight with that of England. On one side are the arms of Scotland crowned, in a ship with two flags, between the letter *J* and the figure 6, with a thistle-head below the ship, and *Jacobus VI. Dei gracia rex Scotorum*; reverse, two scepters in form of a St. Andrew's cross, crown'd at each end; in the quarters of which are four lions rampant crowned, all in a large rose, betwixt every leaf whereof is a thistle, and one in the middle of the cross; the legend, *florent sceptris piis, regna his Jova dat immorari*; weight four drams. This is, by the archdeacon, called the largest of king James VIth's golden coins, because the four following of the same metal he reckons to be medals.

2. The king at half length in armour crowned, with a sword in one hand and an olive-branch in the other; and beneath, *in utrumque paratus*, 1575, circumscribed, *Jacobus VI. Dei gra. rex Scotor.* reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned, *parcere subjectis & debellare superbos*; weight one ounce.

3. Another piece of the same stamp, size and weight, struck anno 1576.

4. The king in bust laureat, *Jacobus VI. D. G. R. Scotorum*; reverse, a branched thistle with six heads, (the uppermost crowned) between the letters *J* and *R*, both crowned; under the thistle the figure 6; legend, *nemo me impune laceffet*, 1590; weight one ounce.

5. The king and queen with a crown above their heads, *Jacobus VI. & Anna D. G. Scotorum rex & regina*; reverse, the arms and atchievement of Scotland; motto, *in defence*; weight two ounces twelve drams.

6. The king's head, not crowned, *Jacobus VI. Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned between 15 and 80; legend, *exurgat Deus & dissip. inimici ejus*.

7. Four *J R*'s crowned, in form of a St. Andrew's cross, with the letter *S* in the middle, *Deus judicium tuum regi da*, 1584; reverse, the Scottish crest, being a lion crowned, with a sword in one paw and a sceptre in the other, with *post 5 & 100 proa. invicta manent hæc*; weight one dram twenty-seven grains.

The more ordinary and current coins of this reign are as follow:

8. This piece, being about the double of that at No. 7 above, was coined in the year 1586; weight two drams eighteen grains.

9. This, of the same stamp, other than the date, was coined in the year 1588.

10. Half of that at No. 2, was coined in the same year 1584; weight twenty-seven grains.

11. Another piece, like that at the said No. 7, was coined in the year 1587.

12. The king in bust with a cap on, behind a thistle-head, *Jacobus D. G. R. Scotorum*; reverse, a lion crowned, holding up a sceptre to the clouds, in which are the Hebrew letters of *Jehovah, te solum vereor*, 1591; weight two drams nine grains.

13. Another of the same weight, size and stamp, coined anno 1593.

14. The king in armour on horseback; under his horse 1594, *Jacobus VI. D. G. R. Scotorum*; reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned, *spero meliora*; weight two drams eighteen grains.

This piece, in the books of ordinances for Dutch money, is called the Scottish rider, or trooper. It was long the most common golden coin in Scotland. Pieces of the same weight, impression,

Decem. 19.
1597, c. 249.

pression, &c. with this, and half thereof, were coined in the years 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, and 1601. To these the statute of the fifteenth parliament refers, which ordains that gold of twenty-two carats fine pass at thirty pounds the ounce; and that out of every ounce thereof there be coined six five-pound pieces, or twelve fifty-shillings pieces.

15. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, *Jacobus VI. D. G. R. Scottorum*; reverse, a sword and sceptre cross-wise, in the upper quarter a crown, a thistle-head on each side, and below 1601; motto, *salus populi suprema lex*; weight one dram nine grains.

16. This piece, which is a double of the next above, weighing two drams and eighteen grains, was commonly called the Scotch angel; and though it was of the same value of that of N^o. 13, yet it was to pass at six pounds; the value of silver being risen from fifty to sixty shillings the ounce, and the price of gold raised in proportion. This was the last gold coined in Scotland, before the union of the crowns by James VI.

Golden coins by JAMES VI.

1. The king in bust crowned, with a sword in his right hand, and a globe in his left; *Jacobus D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the incorporated arms of Scotland and England on a crowned shield, supported by *J R*, *faciam eos in gentem unam*.

2. The king's head crowned, *Jacobus D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the king's arms in a crowned shield, supported by *J R*; motto, *Henricus, rosas regna Jacobus*. This is half of the above.

3. The quarter part of the above N^o. 1. The king in bust crowned, *Ja. D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the king's arms in a crowned shield; legend, *Henricus, rosas regna Jacobus*.

4. A crowned thistle, supported by *J R*; motto, *tueatur unita Deus*; reverse, the rose and crown, *Ja. D. G. Br. F. & H. rex*.

5. The king's head crowned, *J. D. G. R. S A. sine spina*; reverse, the king's arms on a crowned shield, with *tueatur unita Deus*.

CHARLES I.

1. The king in bust crowned, with a sword in his right hand, and a globe in his left, *Carolus D. G. Mag. Britan. Fran. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the king's arms on a crowned shield, supported by *C R* crowned; motto, *his præssum ut prosim*.

2. The king's head crowned, of a small size, *Carolus D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the royal arms on a crowned shield, supported by *C. R.* legend, *Henricus, rosas regna Jacobus*.

3. Of a smaller size. The king's head crowned, *Car. D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the king's arms on a crowned shield, supported by *C. R.* crowned; legend, *unita tuemur*.

4. This piece, which is still smaller, bears the king's head crowned, with *Car. D. G. Mag. Brit. Fr. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the royal arms crowned, *unita tuemur*.

5. This is still smaller. The king's head crowned, *Car. D. G. Mag. Brit. Fr. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the king's arms on a crowned shield; *unita tuemur*.

Gold coined in Scotland after the union of the kingdoms by JAMES VI.

CHARLES I.

1. The king's head crowned; legend, *Carolus D. G. Scotia, Anglia,*

glia, *Fr. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the thistle; motto, *hinc nostræ crevere rosæ*; and below the thistle, *coron. 18 Junii 1633.*

WILLIAM II.

1. The king's head laureat, and underneath the rising-sun; legend, *Gulielmus Dei gracia*; reverse, the king's arms in a crowned shield, supported by *W. R.* crowned; motto, *Mag. Brit. Fra. & Hib. rex*, 1701.

2. Half of the above piece, with the king's head laureat, and below the rising-sun; legend, *Gulielmus Dei gracia*; reverse, the king's arms in a crowned shield, supported by *W. R.* crowned, *Mag. Brit. Fra. & Hib. rex*, 1701.

Scotish silver coins.

Though the time when silver money was at first coined in Scotland be unknown, yet it seems to have been pretty early, by three pieces in Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ* of Alexander I. who came to the crown in the year 1107; and although it cannot be ascertained whether money was coined in Scotland before that time, yet it may reasonably be supposed, by the said Alexander's and his brother's money being called pennies, which being an English appellation, 'tis probable that some of them were brought in amongst us by Malcolm III. at his return from England, where he had for many years been a refugee; and having observed that money was of great use in commerce, and other occasions, might, in imitation of his neighbours, coin pennies for those purposes. Be that as it will, money, without doubt, has continued to be coined in Scotland from the time of the said Alexander to the union of the kingdoms in the reign of queen Anne; notwithstanding of there having been hitherto, for aught I can learn, no coins discovered either of Malcolm IV. or queen Margaret.

Anderf. Diplom. Scot. p. 157.

Could Boece be depended on, money must have been very plentiful in Scotland in the reign of William the Lion, about the middle of the twelfth century; since the people agreed to pay to Henry II. of England the sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, as a ransom for their king, half whereof was to be paid in ready money.

Boet. Scot. Hist. lib. 13. fol. 272.

REMARK. This I take to be another of Boece's fables; for, I think, 'tis not in the least probable that there could be so large a sum of money at that time in Scotland, when in James I.'s reign, anno 1424, two hundred and fifty-eight years after, a boll of wheat was sold at two shillings Scotch money, which, in the specie of the same name, at present amounts to one pound eighteen shillings, which is but about a fifth part of the value at present. Now as it appears at the time of the union of the crowns, in the year 1706, that all the current money in Scotland only amounted to the sum of four hundred eleven thousand one hundred and seventeen pounds ten shillings and nine pence sterling; by this calculation, all the money in our country, in the said William's days, could only amount to the sum of eighty-two thousand two hundred and twenty-three pounds sterling. Surely, out of this sum, that of one hundred thousand pounds could not be raised!

ALEXANDER I.

1. This piece, which, according to Anderson, belongs to Alexander I. has on it the king's head crowned, with a sceptre erect before it, and two circles of beads or globules, between which the remaining part of the legend (the rest being defaced by time) is *Alex rex*; reverse, a cross with four hexagonal mullets or stars in its quarters,

M m m

two

two circles of globules, and betwixt them the remaining part of the motto, O H. B.

2. The king's head without a crown, with a queer face in profile, and a clumsy sceptre, and between two circles *Alexander rex*; reverse, a St. Andrew's cross, in the quarters whereof are four hexagonal mullets, with a defaced legend, which I know not what to make of.

3. The king's head with a bonnet on, a sceptre, and the remaining part of the legend *Alexande*; reverse, a St. Andrew's cross, with four hexagonal mullets, as above; the legend unintelligible, by its being defaced.

DAVID I.

1. The king's head without a crown, with a sceptre within a circle of globules, and *David R...M.* reverse, a cross with four mullets, *DVE. WATA...R.*

2. The king's head crowned, with a sceptre; legend, *David Dei gracia*; reverse, a cross, and four hexagonal stars, and *rex Scotorum.*

WILLIAM I.

1. The king's head without a crown, with a sceptre, and *Wilelmus R.* reverse, a cross with four hexagonal mullets, and *HVE...EDN.*

2. The king's head crowned, and a sceptre, with *Wilelmus rex*; reverse, a cross and four hexagonal stars, and *HTER...WATE*

3. The king's head crowned, with a sceptre, and *Wilelmus R. T.* reverse, a cross with four hexagonal mullets, and *TOCE...AVLO.*

ALEXANDER II.

1. The king's head crowned, and a sceptre, within a circle of globules, with *Alexande...rex*; reverse, a cross fouchet, with four hexagonal stars; legend, *IOHAS...ONAH.*

2. A smaller piece, or half of the next above, with the king's head crowned, and *Alexander rex*; reverse, a cross with four hexagonal mullets, and *AH. IOAS. OH.*

3. Of the same size with the next above. The king's head crowned, with a sceptre, and *Alexander rex*; reverse, a cross with four hexagonal stars, and *ON. BE. IOI. AH.*

ALEXANDER III.

1. The king's head crowned, with a sceptre, and *Alexander Dei gra.* reverse, a cross and four hexagonal mullets; legend, *rex Scotorum*; weight twenty-one grains.

2. A piece something smaller than the above, with the king's head crowned, and a sceptre, with *Alexander Dei gra.* reverse, a cross with four hexagonal stars, and *rex Scotorum.*

3. On this piece, which I take to be half of the first, is the king's head crowned, with a sceptre, and *Alexander Dei gra.* reverse, a cross with four hexagonal mullets, and *rex Scotorum.*

4. I take this to be a quarter of the first piece. The king's head crowned, with a sceptre, *Alexander Dei gra.* reverse, a cross with two hexagonal stars, and *rex Scotorum.*

JOHN.

1. The king's head crowned, with a sceptre, and *Johannes Dei gra.* reverse, a cross with four stars, and *rex Scotorum*; weight twenty-one grains.

2. A piece of the same size, with the king's head crowned, and a sceptre, *Johannes Dei gra.* reverse, a cross and four hexagonal mullets, with *civitas S. Andrea.*

3. A half of the said piece, with the king's head crowned, and a sceptre, *Johannes Dei gra.* reverse, a cross and two hexagonal stars, with *rex Scotorum*; weight nine grains.

ROBERT I.

1. This penny piece has the king's head crowned, with a sceptre, and *Robertus Dei gra.* reverse, a cross and four stars, with *Scotorum rex.*

2. This is a half penny, with the king's head crowned, and a sceptre, with *Robertus rex Scotorum*; reverse, a cross and four stars, with *villa de Perth.*

3. A quarter part of the first, with the king's head crowned, and a sceptre, *Robertus Dei gra.* reverse, a cross with two stars, and *Scotorum rex.*

4. A smaller piece than the above, with the king's head crowned, and a sceptre, with *Robertus rex S.* reverse, a cross with four stars, and *villa Edinburg.*

5. This piece is still smaller, with the king's head crowned, and a sceptre, with *Robertus Dei gra.* reverse, a cross and four pentagonal stars, with *Scotorum rex.*

DAVID II.

1. This piece is a groat. Inclosed within a rose the king's head crowned, with a sceptre, and *David Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, *Dus. protector M S. & liberator M S.* with a large cross and four mullets, and *villa Edinburg.*

2. The king's head crowned, with a sceptre, and *David Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a large cross and four mullets, with *Dus. protector M S. & liberator M S.* and in an inner circle *villa Aberdon.*

3. Half of the above piece, with the king's head crowned, and a sceptre, with *David Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, *Dus. protector meus,* and in an inner circle *villa Edinburg.*

4. A quarter part of the first or second, with the king's head crowned, and a sceptre erect, with *David rex Scotorum*; reverse, a cross with four stars, and *villa Edinburg.*

5. A very small piece, with the king's head crowned, and a sceptre, with *David Dei gracia*; reverse, a cross with four hexagonal mullets, and *rex Scotorum.*

ROBERT II.

1. Robert II's groat is much of the same size, shape, and weight with that of his predecessor. It shews the king's head in profile, with a crown and sceptre erect, and *Robertus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a large cross and four stars, with *Dus. protector M S. & liberator M S.* on the outer circle, and in the inner *villa Edinburg*; weight a dram and a half.

2. This is of the same size with the above, and only differs from it in *villa de Perth*, the place where it was coined.

3. This is likewise of the same size, differing only from the others in *villa Dundee*, where it was coined.

4. This is half of the preceding one, only varying from the others in *villa Edinburgi.*

ROBERT III.

1. The first full-faced groat is of this king's, with his head crowned within a rose; the motto, *Robertus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a large cross, with three globules in each quarter; in the inner circle *villa*

villa Edinburgh, and in the outer *Dus. protector MS. & liberator MS.* weight a dram and a half.

2. The king's head crowned; legend, *Robertus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a large cross, with three globules in each quarter, *Dus. protector MS. & liberator MS. villa de Perth.*

3. The king's head crowned, *Robertus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a cross with three globules, *Dus. protector MS. & liberator MS. villa de Aberd.*

4. The king's head crowned, *Robertus Dei gracia rex Sc.* reverse, as above, with his difference *villa Dunbertan.*

5. This is a half groat. *Robertus Dei gra. rex Scotor.* reverse, as above, only differing in *villa Edinburgh.*

6. This is likewise a half groat, with *Robertus rex Scotor.* reverse, a cross, with three globules in each quarter; inscription, *villa Edinburgh.*

JAMES I.

1. The king's head crowned, with a sceptre erect, and three flowers-de-luce, in a rose pointed with flowers-de-luce; legend, *Jacobus Dei gracia rex Scotor.* reverse, a large St. Andrew's cross, with a flower-de-luce in the upper and lower quarters, and three globules in each of the others; *Dus. protector MS. & liberator MS.* and in an inner circle *villa Edinburgh.*

2. This piece, exclusive of a small St. Andrew's cross on the king's breast, and *villa Aberdeen* on the reverse, is in all respects like the above.

3. This only differs from the above in the flower-de-luce on the king's breast, and *villa Strevevlin* on the reverse.

4. This piece differs from the above in the king's breast being bare, and the words *villa de Linlithd.*

5. This only varies from the former in the three flowers-de-luce on the king's breast, and the inscription of *villa de Perth.*

6. And the only difference betwixt this and the next above is in the word *Edinburgh.*

JAMES II.

1. James II. is the first of our kings that appears on his coin with a close crown on his head; legend, *Jacobus Dei gracia rex Scotorum*; reverse, a large St. Andrew's cross, with a small open crown in the upper and lower quarters, and three globules in each of the side quarters; inscription, *Dus. protector & liberator, villa Edinburgh.*

2. The king's head crowned, *Jacobus Dei gracia rex Scotorum*; reverse, only differing from the former in *Dus. protector suorum*, and in *villa de Abbdan.* This must be a mistake for *Aberdeen.*

3. The king's head crowned, with *Jacobus Dei gracia rex Cot.* This is likewise a mistake for *Scot.* The reverse only differs in *villa Edinburgh.*

4. The king's head crowned, and *Jacobus Dei gracia rex*; reverse, differing in *Dus. protector m.*

REMARK. Although James II. be the first of our kings who bears a close crown on his coin, yet, by there being on the upper or new part of our crown (as I have elsewhere shewn) the characters *J. R.* 5. it is justly thought that it was inclosed or arched over by king James V. many years after; which in some measure appears by his having a close crown on his coin, which has ever since been continued by his successors: whereas the close crown put on James II'd's money was only used

used by himself, and not by his successors till James Vth's time; wherefore it may be presumed, that as the crown used by James II. was of the imperial kind, it might have been assumed by him as an additional decoration both to his bust and coin.

And as to what is said by William Wilson, (on his delivering the Scottish regalia, after the union of the kingdoms, to be deposited and kept in the castle of Edinburgh) that the money and medals coined by the kings James III. and IV. had on them a close crown, this is a very great mistake; for all the coins that I have seen of those princes have not the least appearance of a close crown upon them, nor is any such mentioned either by the learned and accurate archdeacon Nicolson, in the account of Scottish coins in his Scottish historical Library, or in Anderson's account of the said coins in his *Diplomata Scotiæ*.

JAMES III.

1. This is a groat, with the king's head crowned in a rose, pointed on the inside with flowers-de-luce, and *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a large St. Andrew's cross, with a small crown on each side, and three globules above and below, with *Dus. protector MS. & liberator MS.* and in an inner circle *villa Edinburg.* weight two drams eight grains.

2. The king's head crowned, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotor.* reverse, a large St. Andrew's cross, with a small crown in the upper and lower quarters, and three globules in each of the said quarters, and *Dus. protector meus & lib.* with *villa Edinburg.*

3. The king's head crowned in a rose, pointed on the inside with flowers-de-luce, *Jacobus Dei gracia rex Scotorum*; reverse, only varying from the next above in the position of the crowns and globules, which have displaced each other.

4. The king's head crowned, with *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, only differing from that of N^o. 2, in *villa Aberden.*

5. This piece only differs from the 3d in *villa Sterling.*

6. This piece differs from the 4th only in *villa Roxburgh.*

7. This is a half groat. The king's head crowned, with *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotor.* reverse, only differing in *villa Edinburg.*

8. This is somewhat smaller than the next above, with the king's head crowned, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a St. Andrew's cross, with two small crowns and six globules in the quarters, and *Dus. protector meus*, on the inner circle *villa Edinburg.*

9. This is the quarter part of the groat, with the king's head crowned, and *Jacobus Dei gracia rex S.* reverse, St. Andrew's cross, with a crown on each side, and a flower-de-luce above and below, with *villa Edinburg.*

10. This is a groat, with the king's head crowned, *Jacobus Dei gracia rex Scot.* reverse, a St. Andrew's cross, with a flower-de-luce in the upper quarter, a crown in the lower, and on each side two globules and an annulet, *Dus. protector meus & liba. M.* with *villa Edinburg.*

11. The king's head crowned, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scot.* reverse, a St. Andrew's cross, with an hexagonal star on each side, with three globules and an annulet in each quarter above and below, *Dus. protector MS. & liberat.* and *villa Edinburg.*

12. The king's head crowned, *Jacobus rex Scotorum*; reverse, a St. Andrew's cross, with two hexagonal stars on each side, and three globules above and below, with *villa Edinburg.*

13. This is a half groat, with the king's head crowned, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a St. Andrew's cross, with an hexagonal mullet on each side, and three globules above and below, with *Dus. protector MS. & liberat. MS. and villa Edinburgh*.

14. The king's head crowned, *Jacobus D. gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, with two hexagonal mullets above and below, with three globules and an annulet on each side, with *Dus. protector MS. & liberator, and villa Berwicki*.

15. The king's head crowned, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a St. Andrew's cross, with an hexagonal star on each side, and three globules in the upper and lower quarters, with *Dus. protector MS & liberat. with villa Berwicki on an inner circle*.

16. A quarter piece, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scot.* reverse, the same as the next above, other than the size.

JAMES IV.

Parl. 1 Ja.
IV. an. 1488.
c. 2.

In this reign were groats of different stamps, being minted by several coiners: the act of parliament particularly mentions those struck by Gilbert Fish, commonly called Berwick groats, from their being coined in that town; others by Alexander Levingstone; and a third sort by John Currou: these, being all of an equal fineness, were made equally current. In the abovementioned Spanish ordinance are two pieces, supposed to be of this king's coining, called the Schotsche Stooter, which passed in the Spanish Netherlands for two stivers and a half Flemish.

1. The first piece coined by this king has his head crowned, full faced, in a rose, inwardly pointed with balls or small globules; legend, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotor. OT.* reverse, a cross fouchet, with two pentagonal mullets and six globules; motto, *salvum fac populum tu.* and in an inner circle *villa Edinburgh*; weight, one dram and a half.

2. The king's head crowned, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotor. ORA.* reverse, a cross fouchet, with two stars and six little balls in the quarters, with *villa Edinburgh*; inscription, *Dne. salvum fac populum tu.*

3. This piece is the same with the next above, except the counter-changing of the stars and globules.

4. This is also the same in all respects.

5. The king's head crowned, *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotorum III.* reverse, the same as the former.

6. This piece, which is half a groat, is of the same stamp with the next above, exclusive of the counter-changing the stars and globules. I take this to be the Schotsche stooter abovementioned.

7. This being likewise a half groat, 'tis in all respects the same with the above, other than the transposing the globules and mullets.

JAMES V.

This king, as far as it appears by the statutes of his time, made no alteration in the standard of the coin; yet towards the end of his reign, or the beginning of his daughter's, a great change happened, both in the names of our money and in the computation of our sums, as will shortly appear.

1. The first piece of money coined by this prince bears the king's head crowned in a rose flory, with *Jacobus Dei gra. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a cross avellane, with two hexagonal mullets and two thistle-heads in the quarters, and round the ring *villa Edinburgh*.

2. A half groat, with the king's head crowned, in a rose flory, and
Jacobus

Jacobus Dei gra. R. reverse, the same with the above, other than two spur-rowels in lieu of two mullets.

3. The king's head crowned, *Jacobus Dei gra. V. rex Scotor. reverse*, a cross milrine, with the Scottish shield and lion, and *oppidum Edinburgi*; weight, one dram eighteen grains.

4. This is the same in all respects as the next above.

5. This is likewise the same, other than *villa Edinburgb.*

6. This is a half groat of the same stamp, other than *oppidum Edinburgi.*

MARY.

1. This piece bears the queen's head in profile crowned, with *Maria Dei gra. R. Scotorum*; reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned between two mullets, *da pacem Domine*, 1553.

2. The letter *M.* crowned, and supported with two crowned thistles, *Maria Dei G. Scotorum regina*, 1553; reverse, a cross fitch, charged with the Scottish shield and lion; legend, *Cor humile deliciae DNI.* weight, five drams three grains.

3. The queen's head, *Maria Dei G. Scotor. regina*; reverse, a crowned shield, and *justus fide vivit*, 1555; weight, three drams and thirteen grains.

4. This, which is half of the above, is in all respects the same, other than the size, weight, and value.

5. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, and supported by the letters *M.* and *R.* and two annulets, with *Maria Dei G. Scotor. regina*, 1557; reverse, a large cross fitch, with four lesser of the same kind in its quarters; motto, *in virtute tua libera me*; weight, four drams and four grains.

6. This is in all respects the same with the next above, other than the annulets.

7. This likewise only varies from the former in the date of the year 1558.

8. This, which is half of the next above, is in all respects the same, except in size, weight, and value.

FRANCIS and MARY.

9. The king and queen in bust, with a crown over their heads; legend, *Fran. & Ma. D. G. R. R. Scotor. Delphin. Vien.* reverse, the dauphin's and queen's arms, supported by *F* and *M* crowned, *fecit utraque unum*, 1558.

10. The dauphin and queen's arms on a cross fitch, with *Fran. & Ma. R. R. Dei G. D. D. VIEN.* reverse, *F* and *M* in a cypher crowned, supported by double crosslets, *fecit utraque unum*, 1558; weight, two drams two grains.

11. This, being the half of the next above, is the same in all respects, other than size, weight, and value.

12. Of the same size, with *F* and *M* in a cypher crowned, and supported by a dolphin and a thistle-head crowned; legend, *Fran. & Ma. D. G. R. R. Scotor. D. D. Vien.* reverse, a quadrangle supported by double crosslets, with a small cross above, and 1558 below, with this inscription, *Jam non sunt duo, sed una caro.*

13. The dauphin and queen's arms in a crowned shield, *Franciscus & Maria rex & regi.* reverse, a sword erect pointed with a crown, across which, on a label, is *unus non sufficit orbis*; legend, *Scotorum Delphinus Vienis*, 1559.

14. A noble medal, with the king and queen in bust, with a large crown above them, and the following inscriptions within three circles, viz. in the outmost, *Franciscus & Maria Dei gracia rex & regina Francorum & Scotorum*; in the middlemost, *hora nona Dominus IHS. expiravit belli clamans*; and in the innermost, *civitas Parisiis regionum*; reverse, the French and Scottish arms in a crowned shield, supported by a spur-rowel and thistle crowned, with the following inscriptions within three circles, viz. in the outermost, *Benedictum sit nomen Domini Dei gra. nostri Dei Jesus, XPI*; middlemost, *ob res in Italia, Germania & Gallia fortiter ac feli.* and in the innermost, *Franciscus Galliar. rex, parcendo & debellan.*

15. The queen dressed in her hair, *Maria Dei gra. Scotorum regina*, 1562; reverse, the arms of France, half effaced by those of Scotland, on a crowned shield, supported by *M. M.* crowned; motto, *salvum fac populum tuum Domine.*

16. The arms of France and Scotland on a crowned shield, supported by two crosses, *Fran. & Ma. D. G. R. R. Franco. Scotoro.* reverse, *F* and *M* in a cypher crowned, supported by a flower-de-luce and thistle-head crowned, *Vicit leo de tribu Judæ*, 1560; weight, four drams and two grains.

17. The arms of France, Scotland, and England quartered, *Maria D. G. Francor. Scotor. reg. ETC.* reverse, three crowns, one above the other, two on the ground, and a celestial one in the clouds; motto, *aliamque moratur*, 1560.

18. This is half of the above, being the same in all respects, other than size, weight, and value.

HENRY and MARY.

19. The king and queen's head in dress, *Henricus & Maria D. gra. R. & R. Scotorum*, 1565; reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned, and supported by two thistles; legend, *quos Deos conjunxit, homo non separet*; weight, one ounce.

20. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, supported by two thistles; legend, *Maria & Henric. Dei gra. R. & R. Scotor.* reverse, a palm-tree crowned, and on a label across it *dat gloria vires*, and below it 1565; motto, *exurgat Deus, & dissipent. inimici ejus*; weight, one ounce.

21. This, being a third part less than the next above, is in all other respects the same, 1565.

22. This piece is in all respects like that of N^o. 20, other than the date 1557.

23. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, supported by two thistle-heads; legend, *Maria Dei gra. Scotorum regina*; reverse, a palm-tree crowned, and on a label across it *dat gloria vires*, and below 1567; motto, *exurgat Deus & dissipent. inimici ejus.*

24. The queen's effigies at half length in a disconsolate posture, with *O God grant patience, in that I suffer wrang*; reverse, *Who can compare with me in grief, I die and dar nocht seik releif*; legend, after one hand with a heart in it ready to join with another hand, *Hurt not the heart, whose joy thou art.*

Queen Mary, after the demise of Henry her second husband, caused other pieces of an ounce weight to be coined, which in all respects agreed with the former, other than the word *Henricus*, and the date

1567 were omitted; and Mary, in commemoration of other passages of her troublesome life, struck divers others.

MARY.

25. One bears the Scottish shield and lion crowned, with *Maria Dei G. Scotor. regina*; reverse, a hand in the clouds pruning a withered branch, and *virescit vulnere virtus*.

26. The French and Scottish arms on a crowned shield, with *Maria D. G. Scotor. regina, Fran. Dot.* reverse, a hand in the clouds cutting off a dried branch, with *virescit vulnere virtus*.

27. The arms of France and Scotland on a crowned shield, *Maria D. G. Scotor. regina, Fran. Dot.* reverse, a jug of water poured from the clouds upon the flourishing part of a vine, *mea sic mihi profunt*, 1579.

28. The arms of France and Scotland on a crowned shield, *Maria D. G. Scotor. regina, Fran. Dot.* reverse, a ship in a storm, with sails rent and masts broken, but upright; with *nunquam nisi rectam*, 1579.

JAMES VI.

In the beginning of this reign a complaint was made in parliament of the great scarcity of good money in Scotland, and of good silver being melted down and utterly destroyed, insomuch that an ounce of silver is said to be double the price it used to be sold at: wherefore it was declared that the king, with advice of the regent, may coin both gold and silver of such fineness as other countries do.

1. Pursuant to the above declaration, the first piece that was coined bears the Scottish shield and lion crowned, supported by the letters *J* and *R*; legend, *Jacobus VI. Dei gratia rex Scotorum*; reverse, a sword erect, pointed with a crown, and a hand pointing to three *XXX*'s, the number of shillings it passed at, and the date 1567 below it, with the saying of the brave Trajan on the delivery of the pretor's sword, *Pro me; si mereor, in me*.

2. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, supported by the letters *J. R.* *Jacobus VI. Dei gratia rex Scotorum*; reverse, a sword erect, with a crown on its point, and a hand directing to two *XX*'s, its value, and underneath 1571; motto, *Pro me; si mereor, in me*.

3. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, supported by the letters *J. R.* legend, *Jacobus VI. Dei gratia rex Scotorum*; reverse, a sword erect, topped with a crown, and a hand pointing to the letter *X*, the value, and date 1568; legend, *Pro me; si mereor, in me*.

4. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, supported with the figures 6 and 8, *Jacobus VI. Dei gratia rex Scotorum*; reverse, four *IIII*'s, in form of a cross avellane crowned, counter-charged with two crowns and two thistle-heads, and a pentagonal mullet in the centre; *salvum fac populum tuum, Dne.* 1572; weight, two drams two grains. This piece, by the figures 6 and 8 thereon, is shewn to have been coined for a noble.

5. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, supported with the figures 3 and 4, *Jacobus VI. Dei gratia rex Scotorum*; reverse, four *IIII*'s, in form of a cross avellane crowned, and counter-charged with two crowns and two thistle-heads, with a star in the centre, with *salvum fac populum tuum, Dne.* 1572; weight, two drams two grains. This being half of the former, its value, as appears by the figures thereon, was three shillings and four pence, or half a noble.

6. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, *Jacobus VI. Dei G. rex Scotorum*;

torum; reverse, a crowned thistle, supported by J and R; motto, *nemo me impune laceffet*, 1578; weight, six drams nineteen grains.

7. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, *Jacobus VI. Dei G. rex Scotorum*; reverse, a crowned thistle, supported by J and R; motto, *nemo me impune laceffet*, 1579.

8. The Scottish lion and shield crowned, *Jacobus VI. Dei gratia rex Scotorum*; reverse, a crowned thistle, supported by J and R; legend, *nemo me impune laceffet*, 1581.

9. The king at half length crowned, in armour, with a sword in his hand erect, *Jacobus VI. Dei gratia rex Scotorum*; reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned, supported with the letters J and R, and below them XL. S. which shews the value; motto, *honor regis judicium diligit*, 1582.

10. The king in half length crowned, in armour, with a sword in his hand; legend, *Jacobus VI. Dei gratia rex Scotorum*; reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned, supported by J and R, and below three XXX's and S. *honor regis judicium diligit*, 1582.

11. The king at half length, in armour, with a sword in his hand, *Jacobus VI. Dei gratia rex Scotorum*; reverse, the Scottish lion and shield crowned, supported by J and R, and underneath two XX's and S, denoting the value; *honor regis judicium diligit*, 1582.

12. The king at half length in armour crowned, with a sword in his hand erect, *Jacobus VI. Dei gratia rex Scotorum*; reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned, supported by J and R, and below the letter X, S, setting forth the value; *honor regis judicium diligit*, 1582.

13. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, supported by two thistle-heads, *Jacobus VI. D. G. R. Scotorum*, 1592; reverse, a sword and balance; motto, *his differt rege tyrannus*; weight, two drams fourteen grains.

14. The Scottish shield and lion crowned, *Jacobus VI. D. G. R. Scotorum*, 1591; reverse, a sword and balance; *his differt rege tyrannus*. This is half of the next above.

15. The king's head in bust, *Jacobus VI. D. G. R. Scotorum*; reverse, three thistle-heads from one root, the middlemost crowned; *nemo me impune laceffet*, 1594.

16. This is half of the next above, with the king's head in bust, *Jacobus VI. D. G. R. Scotorum*; reverse, three thistle-heads from one root, the middlemost crowned; *nemo me impune laceffet*, 1598.

17. This, which is a quarter part, was coined at the same time, with the king's head in bust, *Jacobus VI. D. G. R. Scotorum*; reverse, three thistle-heads from one root, the middlemost crowned; motto, *nemo me impune laceffet*, 1594.

18. This, which is an eighth part, was struck the year after, and is of the same stamp, other than the date.

19. This, which was half a mark, bears the Scottish shield and lion crowned, *Jacobus VI. D. G. R. Scotorum*; reverse, a crowned thistle within a circle of globules; legend, *regem Jova protegit*, 1601.

20. The year after there was a quarter and the eight part of a mark struck, with the Scottish shield and lion crowned, *Jacobus VI. D. G. R. Scotorum*; reverse, a crowned thistle, and *regem Jova protegit*, 1602.

21. This, which is a mark-piece, and passed for thirteen shillings and four pence Scottish, was the last silver money coined by James VI. before he left Scotland and removed to England. It, like the above, bears

bears the Scottish shield and lion crowned in a circle of globules, with *Jacobus VI. D. G. R. Scotorum*; reverse, a crowned thistle; motto, *regem Jova protegit*, 1603; weight, four drams nine grains.

1. The king on horseback crowned, with a sword in his right hand, and a thistle and crown on the trappings, and *Jacobus D. G. Mag. Brit. Fra. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the king's arms on a shield; legend, *quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*. This is a crown, or five shillings sterling.

2. This is half of the above, with the king on horseback, and *Jacobus D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the king's arms on a shield; *quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*.

3. The king's head crowned, with the letters *XII* behind it; legend, *Jacobus D. G. Mag. Bri. Fra. & Hi. rex*; reverse, *quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*.

4. The king's head crowned, and behind it the letters *VI*; motto, *Jacobus D. G. Mag. Bri. Fra. & Hi. rex*; reverse, the royal arms crowned; *quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*, 1622.

CHARLES I.

1. The king in bust crowned, with the letters *XL*, being the number of Scottish shillings it passed for; legend, *Car. D. G. Scot. Ang. Fr. & Hib. R.* reverse, a crowned thistle, with *salus reipub. suprema lex*.

2. The king's head crowned, with two *XX*'s, denoting its value to be twenty Scottish shillings; motto, *Car. D. G. Scot. Ang. Fr. & Hib. R.* reverse, the crowned thistle; legend, *justitia thronum firmat*.

3. The king in bust crowned, with two *II*'s behind it, *Car. D. G. Scot. An. Fr. & Hib. R.* reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned, with *jus. thronum firmat*.

4. The king on horseback crowned; legend, *Carolus D. G. Magn. Britann. Franc. & Hibern. rex*; reverse, the royal arms crowned; motto, *quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*.

5. Half of the next above. The king on horseback crowned, *Carolus D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the king's arms crowned; *quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*.

6. The king's head crowned, with *XII* behind it; legend, *Carolus D. G. Mag. Britan. Fr. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the royal arms in a crowned shield, supported by *C* and *R* crowned; *quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*.

7. The king's head crowned, *Car. D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the king's arms on a crowned shield, supported by two crowns and two diamonds; *quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*.

8. The king's head crowned, in a circle of globules, with the letters *VI* and figure 8 behind it; legend, *Car. D. G. Scot. Ang. Fr. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the royal arms on a crowned shield, with *Christo auspice regno*.

9. The king's head crowned, with *XL* behind it, *Car. D. G. Scot. Ang. Fr. & Hib. rex*; reverse, a crowned thistle; motto, *salus reipub. suprema lex*.

10. The king's head crowned, with two *XX*'s behind it, *Car. D. G. Scot. Ang. Fr. & Hib. rex*; reverse, a crowned thistle, with *justitia thronum firmat*.

11. The king's head crowned, with *II* behind it, *Car. D. G. Scot. An. Fr. & Hib. rex*; reverse, the Scottish shield and lion crowned; motto, *justitia thronum firmat*.

CHARLES II.

1. The king's head crowned, *Carolus II. D. G. Sco. Ang. Fra. & Hi. rex, FI. DE. COR. 1. IG. SCOR. 1651*; reverse, a rampant lion, holding a triple-headed thistle, with *nemo me impune laceffet*.

2. The king in bust laureat, *Carolus II. Dei gra.* reverse, the king's arms quartered, crowned, and counter-charged, with four double X's crowned, and in the middle *LIII*, with the figure 4 below it; motto, *Mag. Bri. Fra. & Hib. rex, 1674*.

3. The king's head laureat, *Carolus II. Dei gra. R.* reverse, the royal arms quartered, crowned, and counter-charged, with four double X's crowned, and in the middle *XXVI*, with the figure 8 below it, *Mag. Bri. Fra. & Hib. rex, 1675*.

4. The king in bust laureat, *Carolus II. Dei gra.* reverse, the king's arms quartered, crowned, and counter-charged, with four double X's crowned, and in the middle *XII*, with the figure 4 below it; legend, *Mag. Bri. Fra. & Hib. rex, 1669*.

5. The king's head laureat, *Carolus II. Dei gra.* reverse, the royal arms quartered, crowned, and counter-charged, with four X's crowned, and in the middle *VI*, with the figure 8 below it; motto, *Mag. Bri. Fra. & Hib. rex, 1664*.

6. The king in bust laureat, *Carolus II. Dei gra.* reverse, the king's arms quartered, crowned, and counter-charged with four thistles, and in the middle *X*; legend, *Sco. Ang. Fr. & Hib. rex, 1676*; value, a Scottish mark.

7. This, which is double of the next above, is in all respects the same, other than size, weight, value, and date of 1681.

8. This is a quarter part of the former, and of the same stamp, other than above excepted.

9. This is an eighth of the same, with the like exception.

10. The king's head laureat, *Carolus II. Dei gra.* reverse, St. Andrew's cross, with a crown, counter-charged with a thistle, rose, flower-de-luce and harp, *Sco. Ang. Fra. & Hib. rex, 1681*.

JAMES VII.

1. The king's head laureat, *Jacobus II. Dei gratia*, with 40 underneath, which shews its value to be forty shillings Scottish, or forty pence English; reverse, the royal arms in a crowned shield, *Mag. Brit. Fra. & Hib. rex, 1687*.

2. The king's head laureat, with 10 below it, shewing it to be of ten shillings value, or ten pence sterling, *Jacobus II. Dei gratia*; reverse, the king's arms quartered and crowned, counter-charged with St. Andrew's cross, pointed with the thistle, rose, flower-de-luce, and harp; legend, *Mag. Br. Fr. & Hib. rex, 1687*.

WILLIAM and MARY.

1. The king and queen's heads laureat, and below 60, which shews it to be a crown, or three pounds Scottish, *Gulielmus & Maria Dei gra.* reverse, the king's arms on a crowned shield, *Mag. Bri. Fr. & Hib. rex & regina, 1692*.

2. This, which is of a smaller size, bears the king and queen's heads, with the figures 40, which denotes its being two pounds Scottish, *Gulielmus & Maria Dei gra.* reverse, the royal arms in a crowned shield, *Mag. Br. Fr. & Hib. rex & regina, 1693*.

3. The king and queen's heads laureat, *Gulielmus & Maria Dei gratia*, with the sum 20 below, whereby it is shewn to be one pound Scottish; reverse, the king's arms crowned, *Mag. Br. Fr. & Hib. rex & regina, 1693*.

4. A smaller piece, with the king and queen's heads, and 10 underneath, which shews it to be of the value of ten shillings Scotch; legend, *Gulielmus & Maria Dei gratia*; reverse, the royal arms on a crowned shield, *Mag. Br. Fr. & Hib. rex & regina*, 1690.

5. This is, in all respects, of the dimensions of the next above, only varying from it in the date 1692.

6. The king and queen's heads crowned, with *V* below, and *Gulielmus & Maria Dei gratia*; reverse, *WM* in a cypher crowned, *Mag. Br. Fr. & Hib. rex & regina*, 1694. This is the smallest silver piece coined in this reign. The queen being dead, the following pieces were coined by the king, of the same value with the above.

WILLIAM II.

1. The king's head laureat, and below it 60, denoting the number of Scotch shillings it consisted of, with *Gulielmus Dei gratia*; reverse, the king's arms on a crowned shield, *Mag. Br. Fr. & Hib. rex*, 1699.

2. The king's head laureat, and the number 40, or two pounds Scotch, *Gulielmus Dei gratia*; reverse, the royal arms on a shield crowned, *Mag. Br. Fr. & Hib. rex*, 1695.

3. The king's head laureat, with the number 20 underneath, being the number of Scotch shillings contained therein, *Gulielmus Dei gratia*; reverse, the royal arms on a crowned shield, *Mag. Br. Fr. & Hib. rex*, 1699.

4. The king's head laureat, with the number 10 below it, shewing its value to be ten shillings Scotch, *Gulielmus Dei gratia*; reverse, the king's arms on a crowned shield, *Mag. Br. Fr. & Hib. rex*, 1699.

5. The king's head laureat, and figure of 5, the value of the piece in shillings, *Gulielmus Dei gratia*; reverse, three thistle-heads on one stalk crowned; motto, *nemo me impune laceffet*.

Queen ANNE.

1. The queen's head in her hair, with 10 below; legend, *Anna Dei gratia*; reverse, the royal arms on a crowned shield, *Mag. Brit. Fra. & Hib. reg.* 1705.

2. The queen's head as above, with 5 underneath, *An. D. G. Mag. Br. Fr. & Hib. R.* reverse, three thistle-heads on one stalk crowned; motto, *nemo me impune laceffet*, 1705.

Soon after the commencement of the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England, in the year 1707, all the money coined in Scotland before that period was called in, to be recoinced, and made one with that of England, which was all minted at Edinburgh in a few years after, with the letter *E* under the queen's head, to shew the place of coinage.

1. This, which is a British crown, or five shillings sterling, bears the queen's head in her hair, with the letter *E* underneath; legend, *Anna Dei gratia*; reverse, the royal arms quartered and crowned, with a star in the middle; motto, *Mag. Bri. Fr. & Hib. reg.* 1708.

2. This piece, which is a half crown, or two shillings and six pence sterling, has the queen's head in her hair, with *E* below it, *Anna Dei gratia*; reverse, the queen's arms quartered and crowned, with a star, as aforesaid, *Mag. Bri. Fr. & Hib. reg.* 1707.

3. A shilling, with the queen's head, and *E* as above, *Anna Dei gratia*; reverse, the royal arms quartered and crowned, as before, 1707.

4. A fix-penny piece, likewise with the queen's head and letter E, *Anna Dei gratia*; reverse, *Mag. Br. Fr. & Hib. reg.* 1707.

By the articles of union, for uniting the kingdoms of Scotland and England, it is provided, that a mint for the coinage of money shall be kept in the northern part of the united kingdom; for which purpose the ancient Scottish mint in Edinburgh was appointed, and the several apartments therein, and salaries belonging to the respective officers, were in all times coming reserved to them and their successors. But, after the recoinage abovementioned, the implements for coining being carried to the tower of London, there's little or no probability of money being coined in this place hereafter.

Ja. III. parl.
1. c. 9.

Nicol. Scot.
Hist. Libr.
p. 326.

Ibid. p. 327.

Ibid. 293.

By whom or at what time copper money was at first coined in Scotland, is uncertain. Some think it was either by Robert II. or III. Others, with more reason, imagine it was by James III. whose first parliament, to accommodate the people, and encourage charity for support of the poor, ordained copper money to be coined, four to a penny, or a farthing each, to the amount of three hundred pounds, bearing on one side St. Andrew's cross, with a crown; on the reverse, *Ja. R.* with the inscription *Edinburgh*. Those pieces were continued by his successors; and in the reign of James VI. got the name of atchesons, from one Atkinson, an Englishman, assay-master of the mint at Edinburgh at that time; some of which passed for four bothwells, or eight pennies Scottish, and continued current so late as the reign of James VII.

Besides the atchesons, we had other small copper coins before the year 1617, viz. 1. Babees, of six pennies Scottish, or one half penny English: these pieces at first were of silver, coined by James V. of three pennies fine, by the name of babeos. 2. Placks, which at first were likewise of silver, at two pennies first, but at last three went to a penny sterling. 3. Hardheads, at three half pennies Scottish, or about five to an English penny. 4. By James VI. a penny Scottish, or the twelfth part of a penny sterling. And, 5. by Charles II. soon after his restoration, were coined a two penny Scottish piece, or sixth part of a penny sterling, commonly called bodles or turners, the former from Bothwell, and the latter from the French turnois.

Stat. D. II.
c. 38. 46.

Jac. I. parl. 1.
c. 23.

Jac. II. parl.
8. c. 33.

On what has been said, I think, it will not be amiss to observe, that our reckoning as the English do, by farthings, half pence, pence, shillings, marks and pounds, which are all English names, were no doubt introduced amongst us at first with their language: as was also (as I imagine) the art of coinage by Malcolm III. at his return from England, as already hinted. And that our money anciently was of the same standard and value with that of the English, will presently appear by the transactions of our parliament, which, towards the latter end of David II's reign, anno 1366, ordained, that our money should be equal in goodness to that of England. David is thought to be the first king of Scotland that coined groats, so denominated from the Saxon groat, or great, from its large dimensions; for, before this time, our coins were only farthings, half pence, and the biggest a penny. In the first parliament of James I. it was enacted, that money be coined of the same weight and fineness with that of the English; and the eighth parliament of James II. anno 1451, ordained, that money be minted conform in weight to that of England.

Although

Although James V. by the statutes of his times, seems to have made no alteration in the standard of his coin, yet towards the end of his reign, or beginning of his daughter's, a great change happened, both in the naming our money and computation of our sums, as will presently appear: for by the statutes after his death, not mentioning groats, half groats, pennies, or half pennies, it may be supposed, that we, like the French, had raised our specie to such an exorbitant height, that the ancient small silver coins, denominated pennies, &c. were disused, and the pieces thenceforth coined were named shillings and marks; and in France the deniers were likewise obliged to make way for the larger pieces of sols and livres.

In the year 1455, the new groat being raised to triple the value it was coined at, money in Scotland was reckoned at thrice the price it bore in England: and, by heightening the said specie at divers times since, the sterling or English money is become of twelve times the value of ours, their penny being our shilling, and our pound their one shilling and eight pence. Thus, by the excessive and unjustifiable rise of our coin, the present great difference of computation betwixt the English and Scottish money was occasioned.

To what has been said, I think, it will not be amiss to subjoin certain tables concerning our golden and silver coins, and prices of sundry sorts of merchandize anciently sold amongst us.

TABLE I.

Shews the year of Christ, names and years of the reign of several of our kings wherein our golden coins were struck; quantities of metal, and alloy contained in each pound weight thereof; the number of Scottish pounds, shillings, and pence in the several pounds weight of the said golden coin, as valued at the mint; and the disproportion of weight between our gold and silver.

Years of Christ.	Kings names and years of reign.	Fine gold in the lb weight.			Alloy in the lb weight.			Value of lb wt. of coined gold.			A lb of pure gold weighs in silver,			
		Oz.	Drop.	Gr.	Oz.	Drop.	Gr.	l.	s.	d.	lb	Oz.	Drop.	Gr.
1371	Robert II.	11	18	18	00	01	06	17	12	00	11	01	17	22
1390	Robert III.	11	18	18	00	01	06	19	04	00	11	01	17	22
1424	James I. 19th	11	18	18	00	01	06	22	10	00	11	01	17	22
1451	James II. 15th	11	18	18	00	01	06	33	06	08	09	08	04	14
1456	James II. 20th	11	18	18	00	01	06	50	00	00	09	08	04	14
1475	James III. 16th	11	18	18	00	01	06	78	15	00	10	02	00	20
1484	James III. 24th	11	18	18	00	01	06	78	15	00	10	05	07	09
1488	James IV. 1st	11	18	18	00	01	06	78	15	00	10	05	07	09
1529	James V. 16th	11	18	18	00	01	06	108	00	00	10	05	07	09
1556	Mary 14th	11	00	00	01	00	00	144	00	00	10	05	08	06
1577	James VI. 10th	11	00	00	01	00	00	240	00	00	10	05	08	06
1579	James VI. 13th	10	10	00	01	10	00	240	00	00	11	05	02	20
1597	James VI. 31st	11	00	00	01	00	00	360	00	00	12	00	00	00
1601	James VI. 35th	11	00	00	01	00	00	432	00	00	12	00	00	00
1633	Charles I. 9th	11	00	00	01	00	00	492	00	00	13	02	07	11
1738	George II. 12th	11	00	00	01	00	00	560	14	00	15	02	10	07

Ruddim. Præf.
Anderf. Di-
plom. Scot.
p. 80.

TABLE

TABLE II.

Exhibits the year of Christ; names and years of the reign of divers of our kings, wherein our silver coins were minted; metal, and alloy contained in each pound weight thereof; and the number of the Scottish pounds, shillings, and pence in the several pounds weight of the said silver coins, as valued at the mint.

Years of Christ.	Kings names and years of reign.	Fine silver in the lb weight.			Alloy in the lb weight.			Value of a lb wt. of coined silver.		
		Oz.	Drops.	Gr.	Oz.	Drop.	Gr.	l.	s.	d.
Ruddim. Præf. Anderf. Diplom. Scot. p. 81.	From 1107 to 1296	Alexander I.								
		David I.								
		William I.								
		Alexander II.								
		Alexander III.								
		John								
1306--1329		Robert I.			11	02	00	00	18	00
1366 —		David II. 38th			11	02	00	00	18	00
1367 —		David II. 39th			11	02	00	00	18	00
1371--1390		Robert II.			11	02	00	00	18	00
1393 —		Robert III. 4th			11	02	00	00	18	00
1424 —		James I. 19th			11	02	00	00	18	00
1451 —		James II. 15th			11	02	00	00	18	00
1456 —		James II. 20th			11	02	00	00	18	00
1475 —		James III. 16th			11	02	00	00	18	00
1484 —		James III. 24th			11	02	00	00	18	00
1488 —		James IV. 1st			11	02	00	00	18	00
1489 —		James IV. 2d			11	02	00	00	18	00
1529 —		James V. 16th			11	00	00	01	00	00
1544 —		Mary, 3d			11	00	00	01	00	00
1556 —		Mary, 14th			11	00	00	01	00	00
1565 —		Mary, 23d			11	00	00	01	00	00
1567 —		James VI. 1st			11	00	00	01	00	00
1571 —		James VI. 5th			09	00	00	03	00	00
1576 —		James VI. 10th			08	00	00	04	00	00
1579 —		James VI. 13th			11	00	00	01	00	00
1581 —		James VI. 15th			11	00	00	01	00	00
1597 —		James VI. 31st			11	00	00	01	00	00
1601 —		James VI. 35th			11	00	00	01	00	00
1738 —		George II. 12th			11	02	00	00	18	00

TABLE III.

Contains the names and prices that certain commodities were anciently sold at, both in the money of those times, and in that in present use amongst us.

Merchandize.	Kings reigns.	Old Scottish money.			New Scottish money.		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Ibid. p. 82. A boll of wheat - -	David I. an. 1124, &c.	00	00	10	01	10	00
A boll of wheat - -	David I. —	00	01	00	01	16	00
A boll of wheat - -	David I. —	00	02	00	03	12	00
A flaggon of wine - -	David I. —	00	00	02	00	00	06
Two flaggons of ale - -	David I. —	00	00	01	00	00	03
Two sheep - - - -	David I. —	00	01	04	00	02	08

Merchandize.

Merchandize.	Kings reigns.	Old Scottish money.			New Scottish money.		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
An heifer or young cow	David I. ———	00	03	00	00	05	08
A cow ———	David I. ———	00	06	00	10	16	00
An hen ———	John, anno 1292,	00	00	00 $\frac{1}{2}$	00	01	06
A flaggon and a half of ale	John ———	00	00	01	00	03	00
A boll of wheat ———	James I. anno 1424,	00	02	00	01	18	00
A boll of rye, barley or peas	James I. ———	00	01	04	01	05	04
A boll of oats ———	James I. ———	00	00	06	00	09	06
An ox or cow ———	James I. ———	00	06	08	06	06	08
A horse ———	James I. ———	00	13	04	12	13	04
A wether-sheep ———	James IV. an. 1489,	00	03	00	00	15	10
A fat ox ———	James IV. ———	00	15	00	03	19	03
Salted cod, the hundred	James IV. ———	03	00	00	15	17	01
Haddocks, the hundred	James IV. ———	00	01	04	00	07	00
A pint of vinegar ———	James IV. ———	00	00	08	00	03	06
A pint of honey ———	James IV. ———	00	01	06	00	07	11
24 fwine or hogs ———	James IV. ———	10	00	00	52	17	01
A boll of meal and barley	James V. 1523, —	00	13	04	02	11	04
An hen ———	James V. ———	00	00	04	00	01	03
* Sallaries of the lords of } feffion ——— }	James V. ———	1400	00	00	5395	16	06
A pint of Bourdeaux wine	Mary, anno 1551,	00	00	10	00	02	06
Ditto by the west sea ———	Mary, ———	00	00	08	00	02	00
Ditto Rupellensis, by } the east sea ——— }	Mary, ———	00	00	08	00	02	00
Ditto by the west sea —	Mary, ———	00	00	06	00	01	06
A tame goose ———	Mary, ———	00	01	04	00	04	00
A wild goose ———	Mary, ———	00	02	00	00	06	00
A crane or swan ———	Mary, ———	00	05	00	00	15	00
A black cock ———	Mary, ———	00	00	06	00	01	06
A wood-cock ———	Mary, ———	00	00	04	00	01	00
A quail ———	Mary, ———	00	00	02	00	00	06
A capon ———	Mary, ———	00	01	00	00	03	00
A cock or hen ———	Mary, ———	00	00	08	00	02	00
A hen chicken ———	Mary, ———	00	00	04	00	01	00
A pig ———	Mary, ———	00	01	06	00	04	06

By virtue of the treaty of union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England, in the year 1706, the current coin of the united kingdom was to be according to the English; wherefore the privy council of Scotland ordered the several sorts of specie to be brought into the bank of Scotland, in order to its being recoined. Now, as I have already acquainted the reader that all the coin of our country, at the time of the aforesaid union, amounted to the sum of 411,117 *l.* 10 *s.* 9 *d.* sterling, I shall, for the satisfaction of the curious, subjoin an account of the several kinds of money contained in the said sum.

Bank account, 1737.		l.	s.	d.
By foreign silver coin	— — —	132080	17	0
By Scottish milled money	— — —	96856	13	9
By Scottish hammered money	— — —	142180	00	0
By English milled money	— — —	40000	00	9
Total		411117	10	9

* This shews that the stipends granted to the senators or members of the college of justice, at their institution by James V. in the year 1532, did not amount to 100 *l.* Scottish each. However, by our money being of a greater value then than at present, it appears, without the fractional part, that the said senators had a yearly salary of 359 *l.* each.

CHAP. XVII.

*Of the universities of Scotland.**St. Andrew's.*

THIS university, after the plan of that of the city of Paris, was founded by Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's, in the year 1411, and in the year following was confirmed by a bull of pope Benedict III. and since by divers of our kings. It consists of three colleges, *viz.* St. Salvator's, St. Leonard's, and St. Mary's; the first whereof was erected by James Kennedy, bishop of the city, in the year 1458. This university has a rector, whose business it is to take care of its privileges, discipline, and statutes: and to the college of St. Salvator's belongs a principal, three professors of philosophy, one of Greek, and one of humanity: to St. Leonard's, a principal, three professors of philosophy, one of Greek, and one of humanity; and to St. Mary's, or the New College, a principal, a professor of divinity, one of church history, one of Hebrew, one of mathematicks, and of late a professor of physick, by the bounty of that incomparably generous prince, James duke of Chandos, and in commemoration of this noble benefaction, he is called Chandos professor.

Glasgow.

This university was erected in the year 1451, by a bull of pope Nicholas, at the request of William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow, in the reign of James II. who, by his letters patent of the 20th of April, anno 1453, confirmed the same. This noble foundation is under the care of a rector, a principal, and thirteen professors, *viz.* of divinity, law, physick, botany, and anatomy, one of each; of philosophy, three; of Greek, the oriental languages, church history, and mathematicks, one of each.

Old Aberdeen.

William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, for the encouragement of learning, long intended to erect an university in his diocese, but being deeply concerned in publick affairs, both at home and abroad, had not leisure to put his design in execution till the year 1493, when he humbly entreated James IV. to procure for him a power of the pope to enable him to prosecute the same. James, willing to encourage this noble undertaking for the good of his people, wrote to the pope, Alexander VI. being then pontiff, who imagined himself as nearly concerned to promote this laudable enterprize as the king; wherefore, in the year 1494, he sent his bull to empower Elphinston to erect his intended university, with all the rights and privileges of that of the city of Paris; which James, by his letters patent, not only confirmed with additional immunities, but granted it should be called the King's College. To which, by the charter of foundation, was granted a principal, and six professors, *viz.* of divinity, canon law, civil law, physick, philosophy, and humanity; together with a chanter, sacrist, six students of divinity, thirteen of philosophy, three of law, an organist, and five choiristers.

New Aberdeen.

This foundation, denominated the Marishal College, was erected by George earl of Marishal, in the year 1593, for the support of which

which are appropriated the several lands and tenements which belonged to the late monasteries of Grey and Black-friars in Aberdeen, which was confirmed by his son William, anno 1623. This college is under the care of a principal, and eight professors, *viz.* of divinity, philosophy, physick, Greek, Hebrew, humanity, and mathematicks.

Edinburgh.

King James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England, by his charter of the 4th of April, in the year 1584, granted to the citizens of Edinburgh the collegiate church of Templum beatæ Mariæ in prato, commonly called the Kirk of Field, with the lands and tenements thereunto belonging, with a power to erect a college on the site thereof; and constituted the magistrates and common council patrons of the same, who, as curators, have the management of all its revenues.

The number of professors in this college, since the revolution, has been so greatly increased, that nothing is wanting to form a complete academical education; all the liberal sciences being taught here in the same manner as in the most celebrated universities abroad. The professors are twenty-one in number, *viz.* of divinity two, the first whereof is principal of the college; of church history, civil law, law of nature and nations, Scottish law, anatomy, the theory of medicine, the practice of medicine, chemistry, and botany, one of each; of mathematicks, two; universal history, natural philosophy, logick and metaphysics, and ethicks, one of each; of Greek, two; and of Hebrew, and humanity, one of each.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of bishopricks.

BEING about to give an account of the Scottish bishopricks, I shall, for the information of the reader, give the yearly amount of their several revenues, which the respective bishops were obliged to deliver into the government on the following occasion.

At the reformation of religion in Scotland, in the year 1561, the government having occasion for great sums of money to defray the expence of the state, and support of the superintendants, and other protestant ministers throughout the kingdom, it was judged the best and readiest way, to attain so salutary an end, would be to raise the sums needful out of the religious foundations. Pursuant to this resolution, an order was made by queen Mary and her council, for all archbishops, bishops, abbots, commendators, priors, deans, archdeacons, subdeans, chanters, subchanters, provosts, parsons, vicars, and other beneficed persons throughout the nation, to bring before her majesty in council the rentals of their several benefices. But little regard being had to this order, another was issued, appointing officers to collect for the queen's use all the rents and profits arising from the lands, tithes, &c. of all persons who had not brought in their rentals: and if it should appear that any of the rentals already brought, or to be brought in, were fraudulently devised, the collectors were not only empowered to raise money from the benefices of such deceivers to the amount of their respective thirds, but the fraudulent rentals were made the standards of their future demands on their tenants for rents, tithes, &c. without the least claim or relief by law, against any person refusing payment in such cases.

In

Keith, Ap-
pend. Hist.
Church and
State of Scot.

In obedience to the above order the several rentals were at last brought in, but generally defective; in many of which the small tithes were not only omitted, but in divers only the annual sums received in money were inserted. But all things being at last adjusted, the sum total of all the ecclesiastical revenues throughout Scotland, at that time, amounted to two hundred and seventeen thousand four hundred and seventy-three pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence half-penny, Scottish money; one third whereof, amounting to the sum of seventy-two thousand four hundred and ninety-one pounds, six shillings, and seven pence half-penny, was appropriated to the use of the state and church as abovementioned.

Before the conquest of the Picts by Keneth Macalpine, about the year 838, our prelates having had no fixed place of residence, they were without distinction called Scottish bishops; and, being itinerants, administered their functions indifferently in all places they went to. But places being since appointed for them to reside in, and districts appropriated for the exercise of their respective authorities, they were called dioceses, and the superiors, bishops thereof.

Archbishoprick of St. Andrew's.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 4.
Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 10.
fol. 208.

Spotf. Church
History, b. 2.
p. 29.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Keneth Macalpine having, about the year 839, subdued the Pictish nation, removed the episcopal see, by them settled at the city of Abernethy in Strathern, to the church of St. Reul, which he converted to that of St. Andrew, (from which the city was since denominated) and ordered the bishop thereof to be called the chief of the Scottish bishops. But having no dioceses assigned them, they continued itinerants till the reign of Malcolm Canmore, who allotted them certain districts to exercise their respective authorities in. This of St. Andrew's consisted of the counties of Fife, Lothian, Mearns, Stirling, Angus, and Mearns: and the same being, in the year 1471 or 1472, erected into an archbishoprick by pope Sixtus IV. its archbishop was declared primate of Scotland; and his suffragan bishops were those of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Murray, Brechin, Dunblain, Ross, Cathness, and Orkney. The revenues or profits of this archiepiscopal see at the reformation, in the year 1562, amounted in money to the sum of 2904 *l.* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* with thirty chaldron, eight bolls, three firlots, and one peck of wheat; forty-one chaldron, ten bolls, two firlots, and one peck of bear or bigg; twelve bolls of meal; sixty-seven chaldron, thirteen bolls, and three firlots of oats; and four bolls of peas.

Bishoprick of Dunkeld.

Spotf. Church
Hist. Scot.
b. 2. p. 98.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

About the year 729, Constantine III. king of the Picts, having founded an abbey in this city in honour of St. Columbe, it was converted into a bishoprick by king David I. anno 1130, which was soon after confirmed by a bull of pope Alexander III. the revenues whereof, at the reformation, were, in money, the sum of 1505 *l.* 10 *s.* 4 *d.* four chaldron of wheat; thirty-seven chaldron, six bolls, three firlots, and three pecks and a half of bear; sixty-four chaldron, twelve bolls, two firlots, and three pecks of meal; and twenty-eight chaldron and two bolls of oats.

Bishoprick of Aberdeen.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 40.

Malcolm II. in commemoration of the great victory obtained by him over the Danes, at a town called Murthlack in the county of Banff, founded an episcopal see in that place, anno 1010; and having appointed Beanus bishop thereof, he was the first Scottish prelate that had

had a diocese assigned him: and for the support of this new foundation, David conferred on it the lands of Murthlack, Cloveth and Dunmeth. The see having continued 127 years in this place, it was in the year 1137 translated to Aberdeen by king David I. The profits of this bishoprick, in the year 1562, were, in money, the sum of 1653*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* three chaldron and eight bolls of wheat; thirty-five chaldron, eight bolls, three firlots, and three pecks and a half of bear; twenty-four chaldron, four bolls, and two firlots of meal; eight chaldron, two bolls, three firlots, and two pecks of oats; forty-six mairts; one hundred and forty-one muttons; one hundred and twenty-one wethers; sixty-five dozen and a half of capons; one hundred and nineteen dozen of poultry; fifty-five geese; nineteen dozen of moor-fowls; seventeen swine; twelve lasts and ten barrels of salmon.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 253.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Bishoprick of Murray.

At the accession of Malcolm Canmore to the crown, there were only four bishopricks in Scotland; namely, St. Andrew's, Murthlack, Candida Casa, and Glasgow. He increased their number to six, by erecting this of Murray, and that of Caithness. The revenues of this bishoprick, at the reformation, amounted to, in money, 1649*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* ten bolls of wheat; seventy-seven chaldron, six bolls, three firlots, and two pecks of bear; two chaldron and eight bolls of oats; eight lasts of salmon; and two hundred and twenty-three fowls.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 268.

Bishoprick of Brechin.

This see was founded by king David I. about the year 1140, by which, together with his other episcopal erections of Ross, Dunkeld, and Dunblain, the Scottish bishopricks were increased to ten in number. The profits of this see, in the year 1562, were, in money, the sum of 410*l.* 5*s.* eleven dozen and a half of capons; sixteen dozen and ten fowls; eighteen geese; one chaldron and two bolls of corn for horses; three barrels of salmon; money by teinds, 241*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* teind wheat, eleven bolls; fourteen chaldron and six bolls of bear; and twenty-five chaldron and five bolls of meal.

Ibid. fol. 273.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Bishoprick of Dunblain.

This see was likewise founded by the said king David, about the year 1142. Its revenues, at the reformation, amounted to, in money, the sum of 313*l.* one chaldron of wheat; eleven chaldron, eleven bolls, three firlots, and half a peck of bear; fifty chaldron, one boll, one firlot, and three pecks and a half of meal; and nine chaldron and twelve bolls of oats.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 273.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Bishoprick of Ross.

This see, which is also one of David's foundation, was erected about the year 1138. Its income, anno 1562, amounted to, in money, the sum of 504*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* seventy-eight chaldron, four bolls, one firlot, and one peck of bear; seven chaldron and four bolls of oats; forty mairts; one hundred and sixty-nine sheep; one hundred and thirty-two kids; ten dozen of capons, and fifty-seven dozen of poultry.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 273.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Bishoprick of Caithness.

This see was erected by Malcolm Canmore, about the year 1066. Its profits, at the reformation, were, in money, the sum of 1283*l.* 19*s.* This is all mentioned by my author, though it seems there were other payments.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 268.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Bishoprick of Orkney.

This see, which consists of the islands of Orkney, is thought to be co-eval with the conversion of the inhabitants to Christianity, which is supposed to have happened towards the close of the sixth century: but these islands having been possessed by the Picts, and since by the Norwegians, we know but little of their affairs. However, at the reformation, the revenues of the bishop appear to have amounted to, in money, the sum of 251 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* seventy-eight lasts, twenty-one meils, three settings, and twenty-one marks of malt; twelve lasts, twelve meils, fourteen settings, and twenty marks of flesh; four mairts; two swine; two hundred and seventeen fowls; twenty-four mais of scrafish; eight lasts, eight barrels, and six leispound of butter; four lasts and two barrels of oil; twenty pounds weight of wax; and fifty-five fadom of peat.

Archbishoprick of Glasgow.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 53.
c. 29.
Spotf. Hist.
Church Scot.
b. 2. p. 112.

This see is said to have been founded by Kentigern, alias St. Mungo, who being cotemporary with Columba, it must have been erected about the year 570; but, after his death, it was for many ages almost desolate, till restored by Malcolm Canmore. But the same being converted into an archbishoprick, by a bull of pope Alexander VI. about the year 1494, warm disputes arose between Blacater, the new archbishop, and Shever, archbishop of St. Andrew's, which occasioned great heats among the nobility and clergy; but the same being happily accommodated, the bishopricks of Galloway, Argyle, and the Isles, were appointed suffragans to Glasgow. The annual profits of this archbishoprick, in the year 1562, were, in money, the sum of 987 *l.* 8 *s.* 7 *d.* half-penny; seven bolls, three firlots, and three pecks of bear; thirty-two chaldron and two bolls of meal; twenty-eight chaldron, five bolls, and one firlot of malt; twelve chaldron, thirteen bolls, and three firlots of horse-corn; and one hundred and sixty-eight salmon.

Bishoprick of Galloway.

Bed. Hist. Ec-
cles. lib. 3.
c. 4.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

This, which appears to be the most ancient bishoprick in Scotland, was founded by Ninian, a Briton, before the year 565, who having erected a church of white stones in the country of the South Picts, at a place now called Whitehorn, in the county of Wigton in Galloway, it was, from its appearance, called Candida Casa, that is, the white house, the bishop whereof is suffragan to the archbishop of Glasgow. The revenues of this bishoprick, at the reformation, were, in money, the sum of 1137 *l.* 8 *d.* six chaldron, fifteen bolls, and three firlots of bear or bigg, a sort of barley; seven chaldron and nine bolls of meal; two hundred and sixty-eight salmon; and two hundred and twenty-eight *S.* which I take to mean scrafish.

Bishoprick of Argyle.

Spotf. Hist.
Church Scot.
b. 2. p. 98.

The country of Argyle was part of the diocese of Dunkeld till the close of the twelfth century, when John Scot, a worthy and pious English divine, was bishop thereof; who being unacquainted with the Gaelick language, as the people of this country were with that of the English, he endeavoured to get his diocese divided, and the county of Argyle erected into an episcopal see: to which end he wrote to pope Clement III. by Evaldus, his chaplain, entreating he would be pleased to confer that part of his charge upon the bearer, who, in all respects, was well qualified for such a trust. For, said he, "How can I make
" an account to the judge of the world in the last day, when I can-

"not be understood of them whom I teach? The maintenance is sufficient for two bishops, if we be not prodigal of the patrimony of Christ, and will live with that moderation which becometh his servants: it shall be therefore much better to diminish the charge, and increase the number of able workmen in the Lord's field." The pope having read and considered the contents of his letter, said, "It is the study of others to enlarge their bounds and livings, not caring how it goeth with the people; and here is one that requesteth his benefice may be parted in two! O, how few bishops are now in the Christian world so disposed!" Clement, highly commending the bishop's zeal, granted his request, by consecrating Evaldus, and sending him back a bishop, according to his desire; and appointed the episcopal seat to be at Lismore.

But concerning the revenues of this bishoprick, and that of the Isles, no account can be given, since the accounts thereof were not sent in at the reformation.

Bishoprick of the Isles.

We are told by Spotswood, that the persecution raised in the southern parts of Britain by Dioclesian, occasioned many Christians, both preachers and people, to repair to our country for protection; who being kindly received by king Cratilinth, he expelled the pagans, with their priests the Druids, out of the Isle of Man, and conferred it on those refugees; and, for their greater encouragement, erected for them a magnificent church, which he called Sodorense Fanum, that is, the temple of our Saviour; and appointed Amphibalus, one of the said refugees, bishop thereof. Hence the bishops of our Isles were stiled Sodorense episcopi; and, during the possession of this island by the Scots, this was the cathedral church belonging to the said bishops. But the Scots being dispossessed thereof by the Norwegians and English, the episcopal seat was translated to the island of Iona, or Icolmkill, where it continued during the episcopal hierarchy in Scotland.

Spotf. Hist.
Church Scot.
p. 3. and 116.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
fol. 102.

I cannot be of this opinion, for divers reasons: 1. I have already made it appear, that there was no kingly government in Scotland at that time; therefore, as Cratilinth must be a king of Boethius's own making, he could not erect a church, or appoint a bishop, in the Isle of Man. 2. The bishop, and his author Boethius, have unluckily told us, that Cratilinth came to the crown anno 277, and that he reigned twenty-four years, which makes him to have died in the year 301; whereas 'tis manifest, that the persecution did not begin till the year 303. Thus we see what a hopeful foundation the bishop had to build his Sodorense Fanum on.

By some 'tis said, that the epithet of Sodor was at first given to the bishop of the Isles, from a village of that name in the island of Iona, or Icolmkill, wherein the bishop's house was seated; and the Scots possessing themselves of the Isle of Man some time after, this prelate was intituled bishop of Sodor and Man. But the Norwegians having subdued that island, the ancient title of bishop of the Isles was restored, in lieu of the former.

Camd. Brit.
in cap. insul.

Bishoprick of Edinburgh.

This bishoprick was founded by Charles I. September 29, anno 1633. The diocese comprehended all those places besouth the frith of Forth, belonging to the archbishoprick of St. Andrew's, in the county of Edinburgh, constabulary of Haddington, and shires of Linlithgow, Stirling,

Stirling, and Berwick, and bailiwick of Lauderdale. The bishop had place in parliament, &c. after the archbishop of Glasgow. The chapter consisted of a dean and twelve prebendaries, to whom and their successors the king granted the churches of St. Giles, (which was made the cathedral) Grey-friars, Trinity-college, and that of the south-east parish of Edinburgh, with those of Holyrood-house, Dalkeith, Dunbar, Haddington, and Tranent in East-Lothian, Libberton in Mid-Lothian, Falkirk in Linlithgowshire, and that of the town of Stirling in Stirlingshire, with their appurtenances. It was of short duration, being subverted anno 1649.

There being divers words in the revenues of the above specified bishopricks, and the under written monasteries, which to some may prove unintelligible, I shall therefore subjoin an explication thereof. A chaldron is twenty bolls, a boll is four bushels, a firloot is one bushel, a last is two thousand four hundred pounds in weight, a meil is one hundred eighty-four pounds in weight, a setting is thirty pounds and eleven ounces in weight, a mark is one pound four ounces and a half in weight, a stone is sixteen pounds in weight, a leispound is one hundred and eighty-four pounds in weight, a pound in money is twenty pence sterling, a shilling is one penny sterling, a penny is the twelfth part of a penny sterling, bear is a kind of barley, mairt is a stall-fed ox, a stirk is a young bullock, peat is a fuel called turf, a fadom is a cube of six feet, and a tidder is a load.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the monasteries.

AS the reader will undoubtedly be amazed to find the following accounts of religious foundations so very defective, 'twill be necessary to acquaint him, that it is chiefly owing to the furious zeal of our enthusiastical reformers, who, with more than a Gothick barbarity, destroyed all the valuable books and records preserved in our monasteries, though they were the chief repositories of learning at that time. This is attended with a double disadvantage; for by this means our relation of monastick edifices must not only be imperfect, but our history, which is of more importance, must be considerably defective.

ABBIES.

Icolmkill, or the Isle of Hy.

The first of our religious foundations was an abbey erected by Columba, about the year 580; the monks whereof, in a short time, were so greatly celebrated for their piety and learning, that Oswald, king of the Bernicians, wrote to the Scots to send him a bishop, by whose instructions and ministry his English subjects might be taught the principles of Christianity: which being readily complied with, they sent him Aidan, one of this fraternity; on whose arrival in Northumberland, Oswald appointed him the island of Lindisfarn for his episcopal see. And many other monks being sent thither, by their great piety, and indefatigable application in the ministry, they not only happily accomplished the conversion of the people, but the chief place of their residence was called the Holy Island, which is its name at present.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. Ap-
pend. edit.
Hearne.
Bed. Hist.
lib. 3. c. 3.

Sandel

Sandel in Cantire.

This convent, which was in Cantire, of the Cistercian order, was founded by Mackfurle, son of Somerled lord of the Isles.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. Ap-
pend. edit.
Hearne.

Holyrood-house at Edinburgh.

Domus Sanctæ Crucis, or Holyrood-house, which was situated where the king's palace at present stands, at the east end of the city of Edinburgh, was founded by king David I. in the year 1128, for canons regular of St. Augustin. To this place belonged the cells of St. Mary's Isle, Blantire, Rowadill, Crusa, and Oronsay. At the reformation its revenues amounted, in money, to the sum of 2926 l. 8 s. 6 d. twenty-seven chaldron and ten bolls of wheat; forty chaldron and nine bolls of bear; thirty-four chaldron, fifteen bolls, three fir-lots, and three pecks and a half of oats; five hundred and one capons; twenty-four hens; twenty-four salmon; twelve loads of salt; and three swine.

Ibid.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Glenluce in Galloway.

The abbey of Glenluce, in the province of Galloway, was founded by Roland of Galloway, son of Othred, and father to Allan, for Cistercian monks. The money-part of its profits, at the reformation, being only given in, it amounted to the sum of 666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. Ap-
pend. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Soul's-seat in Galloway.

This monastery, which was seated in the county of Galloway, was erected by Fergus of Galloway, father of Othred, for the reception of friars of the Premonstratine order; whose income, at the reformation, amounted in money to the sum of 253 l. 6 s. 7 d. half-penny; seven chaldron and eight bolls of bear; thirteen chaldron, four bolls, and two fir-lots of meal; six chaldron of oats; thirteen dozen of capons; and one pound of wax.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

New-abbey in Galloway.

This convent, which was in Galloway, was founded by Dornagilla, daughter of Allan lord of Galloway, and grand-child of David earl of Huntingdon, for the entertainment of Cistercian monks. In the year 1562, there was no other account of its profits brought in than that of money, which was the sum of 682 l.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Dundranan in Galloway.

Dundranan abbey, which stood in Galloway, was founded by king David I. for the use of Cistercian friars. The only part of its revenues accounted for, at the reformation, was its annual receipt of money, which amounted to the sum of 500 l.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Tongueland in Galloway.

Of this convent we have no other account than that it was erected in Galloway by Fergus, lord of that country, for the reception of Premonstratine monks.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

Halywood in Galloway.

This college of Halywood was founded in the county of Nidisdale, in Galloway, by Dornagilla, in the year 1544, for the entertainment of Premonstratine friars. Its profits, in the year 1562, were, in money, the sum of 700 l. nineteen chaldron, fourteen bolls, and three fir-lots of meal; nine bolls and three fir-lots of bear; and one chaldron of malt.

Id. ibid.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Corfraguell in Carrick.

The monastery of Corfraguell was erected in the county of Carrick by Duncan, earl of that country, for the conveniency of Cluniack monks; whose revenues amounted in money to the sum of 466 l. 13 s. 4 d.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

4 d. eighteen chaldron, seven bolls, three firlots, and three pecks and a half of bear; thirty-seven chaldron of meal; and four chaldron, fifteen bolls, three firlots, and three pecks and a half of oats.

Kilwinning in Cuningham.

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.

Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

This abbey, which was situated at the town of Kilwinning in the country of Cuningham, was founded by Hugh Morville, constable of Scotland, and son of Hugh the founder of the convent of Dryburgh, for the use of Tironensian friars. The income of this house, at the reformation, amounted yearly in money to the sum of 850 l. 3 s. 4 d. eight bolls of wheat; fourteen chaldron, one boll, three firlots, and three pecks of bear; sixty-seven chaldron of meal; thirteen stirks; one hundred and forty capons; one hundred and six hens; two hundred and sixty-nine cheeses; and nine fadom of peat.

Paisley in Renfrew.

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.

Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

This house of Paisley was at first a priory, founded by Walter, son of Allan high steward of Scotland, in the year 1164, for Cluniack monks; but being since converted into an abbey, it became the burying place of the Stewart family, till it came to the crown. And though Robert II. the first of that house who obtained the kingdom, was interred at Scone, yet his first consort, Elizabeth Muir, (who is by Buchanan falsely called his paramour) and Euphemia his second, were both buried here; and also Marjory Bruce, his mother. The yearly rents of this convent, in the year 1562, were in money the sum of 2468 l. forty chaldron and twelve bolls of bear; seventy-two chaldron, three bolls, three firlots, and one peck and a half of meal; forty-three chaldron, one boll, one firlot, and one peck of oats; and seven hundred and five stone weight of cheese.

The monks of this place are said to have writ a chronicle of our affairs, from its cover called the black book of Paisley. This curious monument of antiquity, so often cited by Buchanan, belonged to president Spotswood; and, after his death, was carried to England by general Lambert, and is now in the king's library at Westminster.

Jedburgh in Teviotdale.

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.
Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

This abbey was founded by David I. for canons regular of St. Augustin; of whose revenues the following defective account was sent in at the reformation, viz. in money, the sum of 1274 l. 10 s. two chaldron and two bolls of wheat; twenty-three chaldron of bear; and thirty-six chaldron, thirteen bolls, one firlot, and one peck of meal.

In this monastery Adam Bell, a learned monk, lived and died. He was first a canon regular of Inchchaffray, and afterwards became a brother of this house. He wrote a history of Scotland, intituled, Rota Temporum, which was printed at Rome by John Lesley, bishop of Ross, in the year 1578, with some alterations and additions.

Kelso in Teviotdale.

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.

David, earl of Cumberland, before his accession to the crown, in honour of the virgin Mary and St. John the evangelist, founded an abbey at Selkirk for Tironensian monks. But the situation, it seems, not proving commodious, it was removed to Roxburgh. This place being likewise found inconvenient, Kelso in Teviotdale was at last thought on, as a proper site for such a fabrick; where the said David, the first king of that name, by the persuasion of John bishop of Glasgow, in the year 1128, founded this abbey. This royal foundation, which was confirmed by pope Innocent II. who died anno 1143, had

had many great and valuable privileges conferred upon it by other popes. Alexander III. granted the abbot a power to wear a mitre and pontifical robes, and to be present at all general councils: Innocent III. exempted him from all episcopal jurisdiction; and the bishop of St. Andrew's, their diocesan, discharged the abbot and monks from all exactions, and that they might receive ordination and other sacraments of the church from any bishop within Scotland, or the province of Cumberland.

This abbey appears to have been richly endowed; for unto it belonged the churches of Selkirk, Roxburgh, Innerlethan, Molle, Sprouffion, Hume, Lambden, Greenlaw, Symprink, Keith, Mackerston, Maxwell, and Gordon, and some others, with their tithes, and the schools of Roxburgh. The church of Innerlethan was given by king Malcolm IV. by our historians firnamed the Maiden; in whose deed of donation he takes notice that his son, the first night after his death, was deposited in the said church, in the following words: "Præcipio
" etiam ut prædicta ecclesia de Innerlethan, in qua prima nocte corpus
" filii mei post obitum suum quievit." This shews how much our historians are mistaken in calling Malcolm a maiden.

That this foundation, as abovementioned, was very rich, appears by the revenues thereof; which, at the reformation, were in money the sum of 2501 *l.* 16 *s.* 5 *d.* nine chaldron of wheat; fifty-two chaldron, six bolls, and two firlots of bear; ninety-two chaldron, twelve bolls, three firlots, and one peck of meal; one chaldron and three bolls of oats; one tidder of hay; and one pound weight of pepper.

Dryburgh in Teviotdale.

This convent was founded by king David I. for the entertainment of Premonstratine friars; whose annual income was, in money, the sum of 1044 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.* one chaldron, fourteen bolls, and three pecks and a half of wheat; twenty-four chaldron, seven bolls, three firlots, three pecks and a half of bear; twenty-two chaldron, fifteen bolls, three firlots, three pecks and a half of meal; three chaldron, fifteen bolls, and one firlot of oats.

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.
Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

Brechin in Angus.

By ancient writings there appears to have been in this city an abbey of Trinitarian or Mathurine monks; but having seen no distinct account thereof, I cannot ascertain the time when or by whom it was founded, though probably, by its antiquity, it owes its erection to king David I. who established the bishop's see in this place. For about the year 1178, Dovenaldus, abbot of Brechin, granted to the abbot of Aberbrothocke, Terram de Ballege le Grand, which king Alexander confirmed by charter; and anno 1219, I find one John to have been abbot of Brechin. The ruins of this abbey, still called the college, are yet to be seen in the college-wynd, adjoining to the north-western end of the grammar-school, which undoubtedly was part of the said college, and probably its school: and that this college was of large dimensions is evident by the vestigia thereof, which appear in the neighbouring gardens.

Monrofs in Angus.

Near this town (by the caprice of writers falsely called Montrose) was an abbey or convent of Dominicans, or black friars, denominated Cellurea, founded by sir Allan Durward in the year 1230. The monks of this house, which is said to have stood in the links opposite Ferryden, were removed to an hospital near the town, founded by Patrick Panter.

Panter. This hospital I suppose to have stood in Inch-breaks, an island in the river opposite to the harbour. That this foundation is of considerable antiquity is manifest by John, one of its abbots, being a subscriber to the Ragman Roll in the year 1296. This abbey, with that of Brechin, being either demolished, or removed elsewhere before the reformation, we have no account of their revenues.

Campus-keneth in Clackmannanshire.

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.

Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

This monastery, which is situated on the northern side of the river Forth in Clackmannanshire, opposite to the town of Stirling, was founded by king David I. for canons regular of St. Augustin; whose yearly profits, in the year 1562, were, in money, the sum of 930 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* half-penny; eleven chaldron, eleven bolls, and two firlots of wheat; twenty-eight chaldron, twelve bolls, three firlots, three pecks and a half of bear; thirty-one chaldron, six bolls, three firlots, three pecks and a half of oats; nineteen chaldron, fifteen bolls, three firlots, three pecks and a half of meal.

Inchchaffrey in Strathern.

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.

Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

The abbey of this place, which was situated in Strathern, was founded by Gilbert, earl of Strathern, for canons regular of St. Augustin. Of its revenues no other account was brought in, at the reformation, than of its receipt in money, which amounted to the sum of 666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Culrofs in Clackmannanshire.

Sibbald, Hist. Fife, p. 96.

Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

This convent, which was situated at Culrofs in Clackmannanshire, on the northern side of the frith of Forth, was erected by Malcolm I. earl of Fife, in the year 1217, for Cistercian monks; the rents whereof in the year 1562, were in money the sum of 768 *l.* 16 *s.* 7 *d.* half-penny; three chaldron and three bolls of wheat; fifteen chaldron, ten bolls, and two firlots of bear; thirteen chaldron, twelve bolls, three firlots, three pecks and a half of oats; one chaldron and two bolls of salt; ten wethers; twenty-two lambs; seven dozen of capons; twenty-six dozen and a half of poultry; seven stone weight and a half of butter; seventy-nine stone weight and a half of cheese; and eight trusses of straw.

Melrofs in Teviotdale.

Boet. Scot. Hist. lib. 12.

Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

The abbey of Melrofs was founded by king David I. for the reception of Cistercian monks; whose yearly income amounted in money to the sum of 1758 *l.* thirteen chaldron and nine bolls of wheat; fifty-six chaldron, five bolls, and one firlot of bear; seventy-eight chaldron, thirteen bolls, and one firlot of meal; forty-three chaldron and ten bolls of oats; one hundred stone weight of butter; eight chaldron of salt; three hundred and seventy-six moor-fowls; one hundred and four capons; ten dozen of poultry; three hundred and forty loads of peat; and five hundred carriages. To eleven monks and three portioners, in money, two marks, four bolls of wheat, one chaldron of bear, and two chaldron of meal, to each person.

Dunfermline in Fife.

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.

At this place was a very magnificent monastery, begun by Malcolm III. surnamed Canmore, and finished by Alexander I. called the Fierce. It was at first a priory, and probably an hospital: for in some records it is called Monasterium de Monte infirmorum. And Malcolm and Alexander having bestowed on it divers lands, David I. converted it into an abbey, and brought hither thirteen Benedictine monks from Canterbury

Canterbury in England, in the year 1124. This appears to have been a rich foundation, by the towns of Kinghorn, Kirkaldy, Burnt-island, Muffelburgh, and Inveresk, with other valuable benefactions in lands, &c. belonging to it: among which were the tithes of gold in the districts of Fife and Fotherif, which shews that these countries yielded gold at that time. And that this was a place of great affluence, is manifest by its revenues, which, at the reformation, amounted in money to the sum of 2513*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* twenty-eight chaldron, eleven bolls, and one firlof of wheat; one hundred and two chaldron, fifteen bolls, one firlof, and three pecks of bear; fifteen chaldron of meal; one hundred and fifty-two chaldron, two firlofs, and two pecks of oats; thirty-four stone weight of butter; nineteen chaldron and fifteen bolls of lime; eleven chaldron and two bolls of falt; three hundred and feventy-four capons; and feven hundred and forty-fix hens.

Sibbald, Hist. Fife, p. 119.

Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

At the diffolution of monasteries, this abbey was at first granted to secretary Pitcairn, then to the master of Gray, and at last to Alexander Seaton, a younger son of George lord Seaton, who was first advanced to the dignity of a peer, by the title of lord Urquhart, on the 3d of August, anno 1591; and on the 3d of March, in the year 1605, was created earl of Dunfermline.

Inch-columb in the frith of Forth.

This convent, which was founded by Alexander I. about the year 1123, for the entertainment of Augustine monks, by its ruins appears to have been a handsome structure; the profits whereof, anno 1562, were in money the sum of 426*l.* two chaldron, eight bolls, and one firlof of wheat; eight chaldron and nine bolls of bear; fourteen chaldron and fourteen bolls of meal; and eleven chaldron and twelve bolls of oats.

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.

Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

Lindores near Newburgh in Fife.

Almost adjoining to Newburgh on the east was beautifully situated the abbey of Lindores, founded by David earl of Huntington, brother to king William, about the year 1178, for Benedictine monks. Part of its income, at the reformation, was in money the sum of 2240*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* eleven chaldron, twelve bolls, three firlofs, and three pecks of wheat; forty chaldron, feven bolls, and one firlof of bear and malt; forty-nine chaldron, five bolls, and three firlofs of meal; and two chaldron and feven bolls of oats; the petty tithes, fines, &c. being omitted, as they likewise are in most of the other foundations.

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.

Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

This abbacy was erected into a temporal lordship, in favour of Patrick Lesley, son of the earl of Rothes, who, on the 25th of December, anno 1600, was created lord Lindores.

Sibbald, Hist. Fife, p. 158.

Balmerinock in Fife.

This house, which was situated near the frith of Tay, was erected by queen Emergard, consort to king William, in the year 1229, for the habitation of Cistercian monks, which she brought from the abbey of Melrofs in Teviotdale. The profits of this foundation, in the year 1562, were in money the sum of 704*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* half-penny; four chaldron of wheat; twenty-one chaldron, twelve bolls, three firlofs, one peck and a half of bear; one chaldron, fourteen bolls, one firlof, three pecks and a half of oats; fifteen chaldron, twelve bolls, and two firlofs of meal; and feven hundred and fixty-three fowls.

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.

Append. to Keith's Hist. Church.

This abbacy was erected into a temporal lordship by James VI. in favour of sir James Elphinston, secretary of state, and son to lord Elphinston,

Sibbald, Hist. Fife, p. 161.

Elphinston, who, on the 25th of April, anno 1604, was created lord Balmerinoch, in whose family both still remain.

Scone in Perthshire.

Append. Scot-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

This abbey, which is situated a mile benorth the town of Perth, on the eastern side of the river Tay, was founded by Alexander I. in the year 1114; in the church whereof, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and St. Michael the archangel, our kings were crowned, and the fatal marble, or coronation-chair, kept. It was for the use of Augustine monks, whose revenues, in the year 1562, amounted in money to the sum of 1140 *l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* sixteen chaldron and two firlots of wheat; seventy-three chaldron, thirteen bolls, two firlots, and two pecks of bear; sixty-two chaldron of meal; eighteen chaldron and three bolls of oats; and one last of salmon.

Cuper in Angus.

Append. Scot-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Within the area of a spacious Roman camp, in the neighbourhood of Cuper, Malcolm IV. surnamed the Virgin, founded this abbey for the reception of Cistercian friars. Its profits, at the reformation, amounted in money to the sum of 1238 *l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* seven chaldron, thirteen bolls, and one firlot of wheat; seventy-five chaldron, ten bolls, three firlots, and half a peck of bear; seventy-three chaldron, four bolls, three firlots, three pecks and a half of meal; and twenty-five chaldron, four bolls, two firlots, and two pecks of oats.

Aberbrothock in Angus.

Append. Scot-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

This abbey, which, by its remains, appears to have been a very spacious and magnificent edifice, was erected for the entertainment of Tironensian monks by king William, in honour of Thomas of Becket, falsely intituled saint and martyr. However, this dedication, it seems, obtained for the inhabitants of Aberbrothock a grant from John king of England, whereby they were to enjoy the several privileges of his own subjects in all parts of England, exclusive of those peculiar to the citizens of London. Many were the immunities and benefactions granted to this foundation; among which was that of pope Benedict, who granted the abbot and his successors a right to wear the mitre, ring, robes, and other pontifical ornaments. This monastery, by its revenues, appears to have been one of the most considerable in Scotland; for its receipts, in the year 1562, were in money the sum of 2553 *l.* 14*s.* thirty chaldron, three bolls, three firlots, and two pecks of wheat; one hundred and forty-three chaldron, nine bolls, and two pecks of bear; one hundred and ninety-six chaldron, nine bolls, and two firlots of meal; twenty-seven chaldron and eleven bolls of oats; and three lasts and one barrel of salmon; the small receipts by fines, beasts, poultry, &c. being omitted.

Crawford's
Peerage, p.
200, 201, 202.

The last abbot of this place, being John Hamilton, second son to the duke of Chateauherault, becoming a protestant, he was, on the 19th of April, anno 1599, created marquis of Hamilton; and the abbacy being erected into a temporal lordship, James VI. by his letters patent of the 5th of May, in the year 1608, granted the same to James his son: but it afterwards coming to the earl of Dysart, Patrick Maule of Panmure purchased the same, with the right of patronage of thirty-four parishes.

Deer in Buchan.

Append. Scot-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

This convent was founded by William Cummin, earl of Buchan, for Cistercian monks; whose income, at the reformation, amounted in

in money to the sum of 805*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* fourteen bolls of wheat; fourteen chaldron and ten bolls of bear; sixty-five chaldron, seven bolls, one firloft, and three pecks of meal.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Kinlofs in Murray.

The abbey of Kinlofs was erected by king David I. for the habitation of Cistercian monks. It appears to have been a very considerable foundation by its revenues, which, in the year 1562, were in money the sum of 1152*l.* 1*s.* in bear and meal, forty-seven chaldron, eleven bolls, one firloft, and three pecks; (here, I think, bear is mistaken for wheat) forty-seven chaldron, fourteen bolls, one firloft, and two pecks of bear; ten bolls and three firlofts of oats; thirty-four wethers; forty-one geese; sixty capons; one hundred and twenty-five hens.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Disbursements on account of the house: "To fourteen monkis for habit filver, ilk monk haiffand acht pennies in the day for their flesche, and twa pennies in the day for their fische, 93*l.* Item, for tyir buttir, candill, spice, and lantron meat, 12*l.* Item, for breid and drink, ilk ane of thame haiffand in the zier, nineteen bolls, one firloft, and twa peks, extending the haill to sixteen chaldron, fifteen bolls, and on pek; and 40*l.* to John Ferrarius for his pension, quhilk he hes under the commoun-seill of the place, for his lyf-tyme zeirlye."

Ferne in Ross.

This monastery was founded by Fergus earl of Ross, for Premonstratine monks; for whose maintenance they yearly received in money the sum of 165*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* half-penny; thirty chaldron, two bolls, and two pecks of bear; and one chaldron and six bolls of oats.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

C H A P. XX.

Of priories.

Isle of St. Colmos in Monteith.

THIS priory was founded by Murdach, earl of Monteith, for Augustine monks. Its profits, in the year 1562, were in money the sum of 234*l.* seven chaldron of bear; forty-nine chaldron, thirteen bolls, one firloft, three pecks and a half of meal.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Candida Casa, or Whitehorn, in Galloway.

In this place, which was anciently the episcopal seat of the South Picts, Fergus earl of Galloway founded a monastery, for the reception of Premonstratine monks; of whose revenues the following defective account was sent in at the reformation, viz. in money, the sum of 1159*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* sixteen chaldron, six bolls, and three firlofts of bear; and fifty-three chaldron, nine bolls, and two firlofts of meal.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Coldingham in the Merse.

This, which was an hermaphrodite monastery, is of great antiquity; for it appears to have been founded by the English, when they were in possession of the southern parts of Scotland, at a place called Coludeshburgh, now Coldingham. According to Bede, and the Saxon annals, it was a very magnificent edifice, which was burnt down in the year 679, by the just judgment of God, for the wicked and profligate lives of the monks and nuns who cohabited therein. But becoming a cell to the abbey of Dunfermling, it was inhabited by Benedictine friars. The yearly rents whereof, at the reformation, were in money the sum of

Bed. Hist.
lib. 4. c. 25.
Chron. Sax.
ad. ann. 679.

Ford Scoti-
chron. Ap-
pend. edit.
of Hearne.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

of 818 *l.* 10 *s.* 9 *d.* fix chaldron, seven bolls, three firlots, and two pecks of wheat; nineteen chaldron, twelve bolls, one firlot, and two pecks of bear; fifty-five chaldron, four bolls, and one firlot of oats; one chaldron, four bolls, and one firlot of rye; and three chaldron, thirteen bolls, three firlots, and two pecks of peas.

Lesmehago in Clydsdale.

The convent at this place was a cell of Tironensian monks, belonging to the abbey of Kelso in Teviotdale, founded by Fergus lord of Galloway; of whose revenues we have the following account: in money, the sum of 1214 *l.* 4 *s.* 6 *d.* fifteen chaldron, eight bolls, one firlot, and two pecks of bear; forty-one chaldron, eight bolls, and three firlots of meal; and four chaldron and three bolls of oats.

St. Andrew's in Fife.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

This, which was the chief monastick foundation in Scotland, was erected by Alexander I. for canons regular of St. Augustin, who were brought hither from Scone by Robert bishop of St. Andrew's, in the year 1140. Though this was only a priory, yet the prior, by act of parliament, had the precedence granted him of all abbots and priors; and on publick occasions, and solemn services, appeared in his pontificalia, namely, a mitre, gloves, ring, cross, crozier, and sandals, or slippers, the same as a bishop. The receipts belonging to this establishment, in the year 1562, amounted in money to the sum of 2237 *l.* 2 *s.* 10 *d.* half-penny; thirty-eight chaldron, one boll, three firlots, and one peck of wheat; one hundred and thirty-two chaldron, and seven bolls of bear; one hundred and fourteen chaldron, three bolls, and one peck of meal; one hundred and fifty-one chaldron, ten bolls, one firlot, one peck and a half of oats; and three chaldron and seven bolls of peas and beans.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Crawford's
Peerage,
p. 262.

This priory, at the reformation, being by James VI. erected into a temporal lordship, he granted the same to Robert Stewart, whom he had just created earl of March, in consideration of his having resigned the title of earl of Lenox in favour of Esme, lord Aubigny, his great nephew.

Dominicans of St. Andrew's in Fife.

In this city was likewise a convent of Dominicans, or black friars, erected by William Wishart, bishop of St. Andrew's, in the year 1274. It was situated at the west port of Northgate-street. At the desire of friar Adamson, professor of divinity, and provincial of the order of Dominicans in Scotland, James V. annexed to this house the priories of Cupar and St. Monans. The grant is dated at Edinburgh the 23^d of January, in the eighth year of his reign.

Franciscans of St. Andrew's in Fife.

Here was also a house of Franciscans, or grey friars, founded by James Kennedy, bishop of this city, and finished by Patrick Graham, his nephew and successor, about the year 1478, who dedicated it to St. Francis. John Tullidaff, warden of this place, was one who condemned the thirteen articles of Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferne, as contrary to the catholick faith, in the year 1527: and John Wadlock of Dundee, provincial of this order, who chiefly resided in this town, was a celebrated mathematician in the reign of James V. I cannot learn that there were accounts sent in of the revenues of this, and the Dominicans next above, at the reformation.

Lockblevin

Loch-levin in Kinross.

This monastery, which was inhabited by canons regular of St. Augustin, was a cell to the mitred priory of St. Andrew's, situated in St. Sewanus's island in Loch-levin. It is commonly called Port-moak, supposed to have been so denominated from St. Moak, its first abbot. Its income, in the year 1562, amounted in money to the sum of 111 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* one chaldron and twelve bolls of bear; and four chaldron and eight bolls of oats; nothing else being mentioned.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. Ap-
pend. edit.
Hearne.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Pittinweem in Fife.

This was a house of canons regular of St. Augustin, and a cell to the mitred priory of St. Andrew's. It was situated in the town of Pittinweem, near the south-eastern corner of the county of Fife. The account of its yearly profits, given in at the reformation, amounted in money to the sum of 412 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* four chaldron and five bolls of wheat; seven chaldron and two bolls of bear; four chaldron, twelve bolls, two firlots, one peck and a half of meal; seven chaldron, two bolls, one firlot, three pecks and a half of oats; one chaldron and eleven bolls of peas; and twenty chaldron of salt.

Sibbald, Hist.
Fife, p. 130.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Restenot in Angus.

This priory, which was situated in a peninsula in the neighbourhood of the town of Forfar, was of canons regular of St. Augustin, and a cell to the abbey of Jedburgh in Teviotdale, which, standing near England, was subject to many depredations; wherefore it was judged necessary, for the security of their writings, and other things of value, to deposite them in this house, as a place of great strength. Robert, prior of this convent, according to Prinne, swore fealty to Edward I. king of England, in the year 1296. There was no account of the rents of this foundation sent in at the reformation, for aught I can learn.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. Ap-
pend. edit.
Hearne.

Blantire in Clydsdale.

This was a convent of canons regular of St. Augustin, and a cell to the abbey of Jedburgh in Teviotdale; but when or by whom founded, I know not, nor whether there was an account of its revenues sent to the government in the years 1562 and 1563.

Ibid.

Dunbar in East-Lothian.

The convent of Trinity friars, or Mathurins, in this place, was founded by Patrick earl of Dunbar and March, in the year 1218. At the reformation, the lands belonging to this house were given to George Hume of Friar-land, ancestor to Hume of Furde.

Dunbar in East-Lothian.

In this town was likewise a monastery of Carmelites, or white friars, founded by Patrick earl of March, in the year 1263; but having seen no account of the rents of these two foundations, I cannot ascertain their revenues.

Stirling.

In this place was a house of Dominicans, or black friars, situated near the wall of the town, founded by Alexander II. in the year 1233; in the church of which, near the altar, according to Boethius, was interred the impostor who stiled himself Richard II. king of England.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 16.
fol. 352.

Stirling.

In this town was likewise a convent of Franciscans, or grey friars, founded by James IV. in the year 1494, wherein he frequently dined with the monks in the refectory, assisted publicly at mass, and, re-

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tiring

tiring from temporal affairs in the time of Lent, employed his whole time in religious duties; and, on Good-friday, dined with the community on bread and water on his bare knees. Having not been able to come at the rents of these two foundations, I suppose they were not sent in.

Canonby in the county of Roxburgh.

Here was a priory of canons regular of St. Augustin, which was a cell to the abbey of Jedburgh: but when and by whom the same was founded, is unknown; but that it must have been erected before the year 1296 is evident, by William, its then prior, swearing fealty to Edward I. king of England. I cannot learn that an account of its rents were sent in at the reformation.

Queen's-ferry in West-Lothian.

In this place was a monastery of Carmelites, or grey friars, founded in honour of the Virgin Mary, by a laird of Dundas, in the year 1330; but I can give no account of its revenues.

Bewley, or Beaulieu, in Ross.

Append. Scot-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Here was a priory of Cistercian monks, founded by John Bisset; whose income, at the reformation, was in money the sum of 136*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* fourteen chaldron, two bolls, three firlots, three pecks and a half of bear; seven bolls, three firlots, three pecks and a half of oats; ten mairts; twenty sheep; twenty-one dozen of fowls; twenty-four dozen of S; what is meant by S, I know not, unless it be scrafish; and two lafts and fix barrels of salmon.

Pluscardin in Murray.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

This, which was a convent of Cistercian monks, was erected by Alexander II. By the account of its profits, they were, in money, the sum of 525*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* half-penny; one chaldron, one boll, and two firlots of wheat; fifty-one chaldron, four bolls, and three firlots of bear; five chaldron and thirteen bolls of oats; and nine chaldron and eleven bolls of dry multures. Disbursements, "To the sustentation of fyve monkis, ilk ane of thame, in keithing and habit silver, 16*l.* and ilk ane of thame in victual, one chaldron and five bolls; and the salaries of the master-cook, porter, baker, gardiner, and maltster, fourteen bolls of victual each."

Monymusk in Mar.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

In this town was a monastery of canons regular of St. Augustin, founded by a bishop of St. Andrew's. In the account of its income, nothing is mentioned but the sum of 400*l.* in money, and three hundred and eighty-four S, which probably is scrafish.

Strathfillen in Perthshire.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

At this place was a priory of canons regular of St. Augustin, which was a cell to Inchchaffray in Strathern. The only thing mentioned of their revenues is the receipt of money, which is the sum of 40*l.*

Perth.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Here was a convent of Carthusian monks, founded by James I. the income whereof, in the year 1562, amounted in money to the sum of 509*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* twenty-four chaldron and fifteen bolls of wheat; twenty chaldron of bear; two bolls of meal; twelve chaldron and six bolls of white oats; and twelve chaldron, nine bolls, and three firlots of black oats.

Perth.

In this town was likewise a monastery of Franciscans, or grey friars, founded by lord Oliphant, in the year 1460. But neither of this, nor the

the black friars in Perth, were any accounts of the revenues sent in to the government, which was occasioned by the dispersion of the monks before the year 1562.

Perth.

In this place was also a priory of Dominicans, or black friars, founded by Alexander II. in the year 1231. In this house that great and good prince, king James I. was murdered by Walter earl of Athol, Robert his grand-son, Robert Graham, their kinsman, and other execrable villains, to make way for Walter's accession to the crown, to fulfill a prophecy, which foretold his being crowned in a mighty concourse of people; which was in some measure either accomplished or eluded by the following punishments, which were inflicted three days successively: in the first of which he was put in a cart, wherein an engine with a pulley was erected, by which he was hoisted up on high, and the rope let go at once, he dropt almost to the ground, and by the sudden stop suffered exquisite pain, by the relaxation of his joints: then being placed on a scaffold, in view of the people, a red-hot crown of iron was put on his head, with an inscription, that he should be called "the king of traitors." The day after, he was bound on a hurdle, and drawn by horses through the chief street of the city of Edinburgh; and the third day he was exposed on a scaffold, cut open alive, his heart and intestines pulled out, and thrown into a fire before his face, his head cut off, and exposed on a high pole in the most publick part of the city, and his body quartered, and sent to be erected in the principal towns of the kingdom. Then his grand-son was executed; but, by reason of his age, and being only an accomplice, he was only hanged and quartered. But Graham, the murderer, was carried in a cart through the city, with his right hand, which perpetrated the villany, nailed to a gallows erected therein; whilst the executioners incessantly ran red-hot irons into his shoulders, thighs, and other parts of his body most remote from the vitals; and then they quartered him alive, as they had done Walter.

Buchan. Hist.
lib. 10.

The three monasteries above specified, one of which, the Carthusian, was a most magnificent structure, were on the 11th day of May, in the year 1559, entirely destroyed by our zealous reformers, at the instigation of their furious preachers; whereby we are unhappily deprived of many curious writings relating to the history and antiquities of our country, which were preserved in those convents, as the chief repositories of learning in Scotland.

Knox's Hist.
Reformat.
b. 2.

Inchmahomoe in Perthshire.

Here was a priory of canons regular of St. Augustin; but when or by whom founded, I cannot learn. However, the following imperfect account of its income was sent in to the government, viz in money, the sum of 234*l.* seven chaldron of bear; and fifty-nine chaldron, thirteen bolls, one firiot, three pecks and a half of meal.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

St. Mary's Isle in Galloway.

In this isle was a monastery of canons regular of St. Augustin, a cell to the abbey of Holyrood-house at Edinburgh; of whose profits the receipt of money was only sent in, which was the sum of 307*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*

Ibid.

Glasgow in Clydsdale.

In the Highkirk-street of this city was situated a convent of Dominicans, or black friars, founded by the bishop, and the dean and chapter,

ter,

ter, in the year 1270, which being granted by the crown to the college, they disposed of the same to the citizens of Glasgow; who, in lieu of the church thereof, which was destroyed by thunder and lightning in the year 1668, have erected a very handsome edifice, called the New-church.

Glasgow in Clydsdale.

In this place was likewise a house of Franciscans, or grey friars, situated at the foot of the Grey-friar-wynd, which is said to have been founded by John bishop of Glasgow, and Thomas Forsyth rector thereof; but at what time is not mentioned by my author. Jerom Ruffel, a monk of this convent, being, in the year 1559, condemned and burnt as an heretick, his suffering hastened the ruin of this house, which was destroyed the year after by the duke of Chateau-herault and the earl of Argyle. By the expulsion of the monks, and destruction of these monasteries, in the year 1560, the accounts of their revenues could not be sent in to the government in the years 1562 and 1563.

Edinburgh.

In this city and neighbourhood were many religious foundations. That of Holyrood-house being already treated of, I shall now proceed to give some account of the rest.

The convent of Franciscans, or grey friars, was situated on the southern side of the Grass-market, and northern side of the cemetery called the Grey-friars church-yard. This edifice, which was erected by the citizens of Edinburgh, was so very magnificent, that friar Cornelius could not for a long time be prevailed on to accept of the prior's place: but accepting it at last, by persuasion of the bishop of St. Andrew's, he settled a community therein, in the year 1446, or 1447, whereby divinity and philosophy were taught, till the dissolution of the monastery in the year 1559.

Edinburgh.

Leff. de Orig.
Scot. lib. 8.
P. 341.

On the ground whereon the high-school, its steeple, and the eastern wing of the infirmary stands in this city, was situated the monastery of Dominicans, or black friars, founded by Alexander II. in the year 1230. This house is remarkable for cardinal Bagimont's having, by order of the pope, caused all beneficed persons to appear before him in the church thereof, to give in the yearly amount of their respective benefices upon oath; of which he made a standing rental, called Bagimont's roll, which became a standard for taxing Scottish ecclesiasticks at the court of Rome, when they applied to the pope for benefices. This convent, which was burnt down in the year 1528, was scarce rebuilt at the general dissolution of monastick foundations at the reformation in Scotland.

Edinburgh.

At the Green-side, on the north side of the Calton-craigs, stood a house of Carmelite monks, founded by the provost and common council of Edinburgh, in the year 1526, the church whereof was dedicated to the Holy Cross. But this, with the three next above, being dissolved before the year 1562, no accounts of their revenues could be sent in.

Cuper of Fife.

At the foot of the Castle-hill, in this place, was situated a convent of Dominicans, or black friars, founded by the Macduffs, earls of Fife, some

some time before the reformation. It was united to that of St. Monan's, which stood where Melville of Balgarvy's house is at present situated.

Aberdeen.

Where the Trinity-church and Trades-hospital are situated in this town, stood a convent of Trinity or Mathurine monks. That it was of ancient foundation appears by friar Huwe, one of its monks, being mentioned in the Ragman-roll, anno 1296; but when or by whom it was founded, is unknown. However, 'tis said that one of our kings granted to the prior and monks the lands of Banchory, Coway, Mercloff, fisheries in the rivers Dee and Don, with the mills of Skerthak, Rothenny, Tullifully, and Manismuch.

Aberdeen.

In this place was a priory of Dominicans, or black friars, founded by Alexander II. about the year 1247; and granted to the monks 100 s. sterling, out of his lands of Banny-deny, to pray for the soul of Margaret Loggy his consort.

Aberdeen.

Here was likewise a convent of Franciscans, or grey friars, founded by the town, and Richard Vans of Manny, in the year 1450; whose benefactions, together with that of James Bisset, were confirmed by James III. in the year 1479.

Aberdeen.

In this town was also a monastery of Carmelites, or white friars, founded by Philip de Arbuthnot, ancestor to the present viscount of that name, in honour of the Virgin Mary, in the year 1350; and the said Philip, anno 1355, gave to the monks 13 s. 4 d. sterling yearly, to keep their house in repair.

Elgin in Murray.

On the northern side of this city was situated a convent of Dominicans, or black friars, said to have been founded about the year 1233, but by whom is not mentioned.

Elgin in Murray.

On the southern side of this city was likewise a monastery of Franciscans, or grey friars, founded by John Innes bishop of Murray, in the year 1419.

Inverness.

Here was a house of Dominicans, or black friars, founded by Alexander II. in the year 1233; and Robert I. on the 21st of October, anno 1314, endowed their church with a perpetual annuity of 10 l. sterling, which was confirmed by David II. his son and successor, on the 20th of April, in the year 1359.

Drumfries in Galloway.

In this town was a convent of Franciscans, or grey friars, founded by Dornagilla, daughter of Allan lord of Galloway, and consort to John Baliol, the mock king of Scotland; in the church whereof Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, (since king of Scotland) killed John Cumin the Red, before the high altar, in the year 1305; and James Lindsay, with Roger Kilpatrick, killed sir Robert Cumin in the sacristy; for which they were all anathematized and excommunicated by the pope soon after. And in this church 'tis said that Johannes Duns Scotus, surnamed the Subtile Doctor, was invested with the habit of St. Francis,

cis, and died at Cologn the 8th of November, 1308, in the 34th year of his age.

Lanerk in Clydsdale.

Robert I. in the year 1314, erected a monastery of Franciscans, or grey friars, in this place; in which a general chapter was held on the 11th of July, anno 1490, when all the warden's capitulary being assembled, they confirmed certain articles of agreement between the lady Beatrix, countess of Errol, and their brethren the grey friars of Dundee.

Haddington in East-Lothian.

In this town was a house of Franciscans, or grey friars; but when or by whom founded, I cannot learn: but that it is of considerable antiquity is evident, by its being almost destroyed by Edward I. king of England, in the year 1296. The church of this house was so very magnificent, that it was called *Lucerna Laudoniæ*. In the year 1421 the river Tine, by a land-flood, rose to such a height, that the sacristy, fine library, and rich ornaments for divine service, were spoiled.

Inverkeithing in Fife.

In this place was a convent of Franciscans, or grey friars; but when or by whom founded, I cannot learn.

Inverkeithing in Fife.

Here was also a monastery of Dominicans, or black friars; but by whom or when erected, I know not.

Dundee in Angus.

Dornagilla, daughter of Allan lord of Galloway, erected in this town a house for the use of Franciscan or grey friars; but it not being endowed, Beatrix Douglas, relict of William earl of Errol, granted the monks a perpetual annuity of 100 *l.* Scottish money, towards their support; in consideration of which they covenanted with the said Beatrix to say mass daily in their church, for the benefit of her soul, and those of her late husband, and William the earl, her son; and if she should, according to her design, erect an altar in the said church, in honour of the Three Kings, then the said mass should be daily said at this altar.

Dundee in Angus.

In this town was also a convent of Dominicans, or black friars, founded by Andrew Abercromby, a burgher of the place. John Grier-son, who was provincial of this order for thirty years, and a professed monk of this house, was in great esteem for his uncommon erudition: he wrote two books, *viz.* *De causa ordinis*, and *de paupertate ejusdem*, and died in the year 1564.

Dundee in Angus.

In Dundee was likewise a house of Trinity, or Mathurine friars, erected by James Lindsay, whose deed of foundation was confirmed at Perth by Robert III. on the 24th of August, anno 1392.

Inchkeith, and Isle of Lewis.

In Inchkeith, opposite to the town of Leith, in the frith of Forth, was a convent for men, a cell to St. Andrew's in Fife.

In the Isle of Lewis was a priory for men, founded by Roodil Mackloyd.

Linlithgow in West-Lothian.

Here was a monastery of Carmelites, or white friars, founded by the magistrates and common-council in the year 1290, in honour of the Virgin Mary.

Terpbichen in West-Lothian.

At this place was a convent, or preceptory of knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who were settled here by Malcolm IV. by whose and other benefactions, it became a very considerable foundation. The preceptor or prior of this house, in parliament and all other publick conventions, took place of all the inferior barons: and James IV. having nobilitated Sir William Kolles, the then preceptor, with the title of Lord of St. John's, his successors were ever ranked among the nobility. But, at the reformation, Sir James Sandilands being lord of St. John's, he surrendered the preceptory into the hands of queen Mary, who re-convey'd the same to him in fee-farm, in consideration of his having paid to her the sum of ten thousand crowns of the sum; and covenanted for himself and his heirs, annually to pay a quit-rent of five hundred marks for the same.

Sib. Hist. Linlith. p. 23, 24.

Island in Loch-Tay, and the island of Moles.

In an island at the eastern end of this lake was a priory of canons regular of St. Augustin, a cell to the abbey of Scone.

In the island of Moles, near to the isle of Arran, was a convent of monks, founded by John lord of the isles; but at what time I cannot learn, nor how endowed. (*Monro's account of the isles.*)

Peebles in Tweed-dale.

Here was a priory, but of what order, or when or by whom founded, I know not. However, the account of it sent to the government at the reformation, only mentions its receipt of money, which amounted to the sum of 323 marks 13s. 4d.

Scotland Well in Fife.

This was a small monastery, situated at the foot of Bishop's-hill, on the northern side of the river Levin, founded by William Malvin, bishop of St. Andrew's, (who died in the year 1237) for Trinity, or Mathurine friars, for redeeming captives from Turkish slavery.

Besides the monasteries above specified, for the habitation of monks, there were those of Ornsay, in the western isles, of canons regular of St. Augustin; Ardchattan in Lorn, of Cistercians; Urquhart in Murray, of Benedictines; Fibi in Buchan, of Tironensians; Scarinch in Lewis; Rowadill in the isle of Harries; Censay, in the western isles; Machlin in Coningham, of Cistercians; Wigton in Galloway; Air, Roxburgh, Lufno, Tulium, Irvine, Inverbervy in the Mearns, Banff, Fall, Houstone, Cathness, Crenrath, St. Germain in East Lothian, of Bethlehemites; Leith in Mid Lothian, of Antonines; and Soltry in Mid Lothian. But as many of these foundations were only known by name, and not by whom, or at what time they were erected, or the orders they belonged to, nor any thing else to illustrate them, I can say nothing more concerning them; and shall now proceed to give an account of the seven nunneries which were in Scotland.

In the barony of Almond, on the water of Almond, in the county of Stirling, was a convent of nuns; but at what time, or by whom founded, I know not.

In

In the isle of Tyrie, in the county of Argyle, was a small monastery, denominated Tempul Phattrick ; but when, or by whom founded, is unknown.

C H A P. XXI.

*Of the nunneries.**Iona, or Icolmkil.*

Append. Scot-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

IN this island, a nunnery was founded by Columba, and endowed by the kings of Scotland, for Augustine nuns.

Edinburgh.

A little besouth the south-east corner of the city wall, on the western side of the street called the Pleasants, was situated a monastery of nuns, of Sancta Maria de Placentia ; so called from a city and convent of that appellation in Italy, and from which the street wherein it stood is corruptly called the Pleasants. But when, or by whom the said monastery was founded, I cannot learn, no more than I can the amount of its revenues.

Edinburgh.

On the western side of St. Mary's wynd, between the Netherbow and the Cowgate ports, was situated a convent of Bernardine or Cistercian nuns ; which being dedicated to the virgin Mary, the street was thence denominated.

Edinburgh.

On the western side of Newington, the southern suburb of this city, near the south east corner of Hope's park, or the meadow, stood a monastery of nuns, of Sancta Catherina de Sienfis, from a convent and city of that name in Italy : but at what time, by whom founded, or what order they were of, I cannot ascertain. However, by the account sent in of their revenues in the year 1562, these amounted to, in money, the sum of 219*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* eight bolls of wheat ; six bolls of bear ; and one barrel of salmon.

North Berwick in East-Lothian.

Sib. Hist.
Fife, p. 96.

This town was noted for a convent of Cistercian nuns, founded by Duncan II. earl of Fife, and justiciary of Scotland, who died in the year 1203 ; its rents in the year 1562 were, in money, the sum of 556*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* nine chaldron and twelve bolls of wheat ; nineteen chaldron and four bolls of bear ; fourteen chaldron and four bolls of oats ; three chaldron and nine bolls of pease and beans ; one boll, three firlots, and three pecks of malt ; eighteen oxen ; thirteen cows ; and one last and nine barrels of salmon.

Dundee in Angus.

In this place was a monastery of Franciscan nuns or clareffes ; but our writers having taken so little notice of them, I can only mention their having been here.

Eccles in the Merfs.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

Here was founded a convent by the countess of March, for Cistercian nuns ; who in the year 1562 only sent in an account of their receipt in money, which was 647*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*

Elcho in Strathern.

At this place was a house of Cistercian nuns, erected by David Lindsay. This seems to have been a poor foundation, by the yearly receipt

receipt of money, which, *anno* 1562, only amounted to the sum of 64*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Coldstream in the Merfs.

This monastery was founded by Gospatrick, earl of March, for Cistercian nuns, whose revenues at the reformation were, in money, the sum of 201*l.* three chaldron, eleven bolls, two firlots, three pecks and a half of wheat; three chaldron, eleven bolls, two firlots, three pecks and a half of bear; and three chaldron, eleven bolls, two firlots, and two pecks of meal.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Newbottle in East Lothian.

Here was an abbey of Cistercian nuns, founded by David I. By the account given in of their revenues, they appear to have been, in money, the sum of 1334*l.* six chaldron and three bolls of wheat; three chaldron, five bolls, and two pecks of bear; and fifteen chaldron, ten bolls, and two firlots of oats.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Haddington in East Lothian.

In this town was a priory of Cistercian nuns, founded by Adda, countess of Northumberland, mother to the kings, Malcolm IV. and William, in the year 1178, and dedicated to the virgin Mary. She conferred on this convent the lands of Clerkington and Nunlands, with the churches of Athelstanford, and Crail in Fife. Eve, the prioress, was a subscriber to the Ragman roll, *anno* 1296. There is a charter of Sir Richard Maitland's, of Ledington, knt. stiled *Oeconomus monasterii moralium de Haddington*, who confirms, as superior, a grant made by James Cockburn, of Skirling, to William Maitland of Ledington, heir apparent to the principal secretary of state, and to his heirs male, and in failure of which, to John and Thomas Maitland his brethren, of the lands of Bagby, within the constabulary of Haddington, dated 15 December, 1564. There is likewise a precept of dame Isabel Hepburn, prioress of this monastery, directed to Richard Cranston, her bailiff, ordering him to infeoff William Maitland, the younger of Ledington, in their lands of Haddington, denominated Mertoun West-Hopes, East-Hopes, Wadende, Newlands, Windislaw, Snowdown, Carfrae, and Little Newton, with their tenths, which she had granted him in feu, with the consent of her chapter, dated at the monastery of Haddington, 20th of October, in the year 1567.

The following account of the revenues of this foundation, was sent in at the reformation, *viz.* in money, the sum of 308*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* seven chaldron and eleven bolls of wheat; forty chaldron, one boll, two firlots, and three pecks of bear; and eleven chaldron of meal. In this convent were eighteen nuns, each of whom had a yearly allowance of four bolls of wheat; and four bolls of (the kind not being mentioned, I take it to have been) meal; for fish and flesh eight pennies a day; and for apparel four pounds yearly.

Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

St. Botham's in the Merfs.

Here was a house of Cistercian nuns, founded by Euphemia, countess of March, whose profits in the year 1562 were, in money, the sum of 47*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* two chaldron and one firlot of wheat; three chaldron, eight bolls, two firlots, three pecks and a half of bear; twelve bolls of pease and beans; and seven chaldron and nine bolls of oats.

Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.
Append. to
Keith's Hist.
Church.

Emanuel on the Avon.

Sib. Hist.

Sterling, p. 39.

At this place, which is situated on the river Avon, was a monastery of Cistercian monks, founded by Malcolm IV.

Gulyne in Lothian.

Append. Scot-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

The nunnery at this place, was a cell to the Benedictines at South Berwick, founded by king David the first.

Lincluden.

Ibid.

Here was a convent of black nuns of the order of St. Benedict, founded by Uthred, father of Rowland, founder of the abbey of Glenluce in Galloway.

Ellbottle.

Ibid.

The house of nuns at this place, was a cell to the Benedictines at Berwick; but when, or by whom founded, I know not.

C H A P. XXII.

Of provostries, or collegiate churches, before the reformation.

HAVING given accounts of the monasteries, both of men and women, which were in Scotland; I shall next proceed to give some account of the provostries, or collegiate churches, which were in our country before the reformation.

Abernethy in Strathern.

Ibid.

The collegiate church in this town, was founded by Garnath king of the Picts, before their conquest by the Scots.

Edinburgh.

St. Giles's, which was anciently the parish church of this city, in the patronage of the abbot of Scone, was erected into a collegiate church by James III. in the year 1466, out of the nine chaplainries formerly founded therein; and for its better support, were granted to the dean and chapter, the parishes of Dunbarny, Potty, and Moncrieff in Perthshire, with the tithes thereof. The dean was presented by the king.

Edinburgh.

The Trinity College, situated at the north-west corner of Leith wynd, was founded by Mary of Gueldres, consort to James II. who died at Edinburgh in the year 1463, and was buried in the church of this her foundation. To this college were annexed the parish churches of Fala, Poltry, Lampeth-Law, Easter Weems, Kirkurd, Ormiston, and Gogar; together with the lands of Blance, granted in the year 1529. It was denominated the king's college, and the church thereof still called the college kirk.

Edinburgh.

On the spot whereon the college of Edinburgh is situated, stood the collegiate church called Sanctæ in Mariæ in campum; that is, Mary's in the fields: but at what time, or by whom founded, I cannot learn. However, it must have been before the year 1530, when James V. on the 19th of June in that year, confirm'd a grant to James Laing, a chaplain of the said church.

Stirling.

Here was a collegiate church, or royal chapel, erected in the year 1501, by pope Alexander VI. at the desire of James IV. for a dean, sub-dean, sacristan, chanter, treasurer, chancellor, archdeacon, and sixteen

sixteen chaplains, at the king's collation; as were also six choiristers, or singing boys, with a master of musick to instruct them. The dean of this new foundation, who was the queen's confessor, had episcopal jurisdiction. This dignity was at first annexed to the provostry of Kirkheugh, at St. Andrew's; then to the bishoprick of Galloway; and upon the demission of the bishop, it was by James VI. annexed to the bishoprick of Dunblane. It was endowed with the abbey of Dundranen, and the priories of Inchmahome and Restenot; the lands of Sefnock, and parsonage of Dunbar; the churches of Damelington, Alloa, Dalrymple, Kelly, Kirkmore, and those of both the Cultons; the arch-presbytery and prebends of Spot, Waltarne, Duns, and Pincarton; with other churches, chapels, and lands, valued in James the sixth's time at a very great revenue.

St. Andrew's in Fife.

Near this town was erected the collegiate church of Kirkheugh, so denominated from its situation on an eminence without the wall of the priory, and north side of the harbour of St. Andrew's. It was founded by Constantine III. about the year 914, for a provost and ten prebendaries; into which he retired after the defeat of his army by Athelstan, king of England, and there he spent the remainder of his days in peace. On the erection of the royal college or chapel at Stirling, by king James IV. in the year 1501, he appointed the provost of this church to be always dean thereof: but in the year 1504, this ordinance was altered in favour of the bishop of Galloway as aforesaid.

Sibbald, Hist. Fife, p. 136.

St. Andrew's in Fife.

In this place was also a collegiate church, erected by James Kennedy, bishop of this see, in the year 1458, for a provost and prebendaries; he was second son of Sir James Kennedy of Dunure, by the princess Mary, daughter of king Robert III. To this church the founder annexed those of Cults, Kimbeck, Dinmino, and Kilmany, towards its support; and dying on the 10th of May, in the year 1466, was here interred in a magnificent tomb, but without an inscription.

Dunbar in East-Lothian.

In this town was a collegiate church, founded by George earl of March, in the year 1392, for a dean, an arch-priest, and eight prebendaries, who, from their prebends, were stiled of Dunbar, Pincarton, Spot, Belton, Pitcore, Linton, Duns, and Chirnside. The patronage of this church fell to the king, by the forfeiture of George earl of March.

Rosline in Mid-Lothian.

At this place, a collegiate church was founded, by William, earl of Orkney and Caithness, in the year 1446, for a provost, six prebendaries, and two singing boys; and for the support of this his foundation, endowed with the church-lands of Pentland, four acres of land near that town, with the kips and eight sowms of grass in the said Pentland.

Bothwell in Clydsdale.

Here was a collegiate church, founded by Archibald I. earl of Douglas; as there were also at divers places by others, viz. at Dalkeith, by lord James Douglas; at St. Botham's, by lord William Hay, of Yester; at Monybole, by Sir Gilbert Kennedy; at Corstorphine, by lord John Forster; at Carnwath, by Thomas Somerville; at Methuen,

Append. Scotichron. edit. Hearne.

Methuen, by Walter Stewart, earl of Athol; at Kilwinning, by Duncan Campbell of Lochow; at Fowl, by Andrew Gray; at Dirleton, by Sir Walter Haliburton, knt. and at Dunglass, by Alexander Home.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the hospitals.

THE last and best of the religious founders being those of the hospitals, they were, by the great use of the French tongue formerly in Scotland, severally called *maison dieu*.

Aberdeen.

Spotf. Church
Hist. p. 106.

Here was a *maison dieu*, or hospital, founded by Gavin Dunbar, bishop of this city, in the year 1531, for twelve poor men, and a preceptor, or master, for their good accommodation.

Stirling.

Sib. Hist.
Sterl. p. 42.

In St. Mary's, in this town, Robert Spittle, taylor to James IV. founded an hospital for the relief of decay'd merchants and tradesmen.

Stirling.

Ibid, p. 41.

In this place John Cowan founded an hospital near the church, and handsomely endow'd the same, for the support and maintenance of decay'd merchants.

Edinburgh.

In Bell's wynd, in this city, was a *maison dieu*; but by whom, or at what time founded, I know not.

Edinburgh.

Council Re-
gift. Edinb.
vol. 5. fol.
200, 201.

In Leith wynd, in this place, was a *maison dieu*, called the hospital of our lady; but at present St. Paul's workhouse. It was founded by Thomas Spence, bishop of Aberdeen, who died in the year 1480, who endowed the same with divers lands and rents, to the amount of 119*l.* 15*s.* Scottish money; which, together with the benefactions of others, before the year 1573, amounted to the sum of 137*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* sterling, of yearly revenue.

Edinburgh.

On the western side of Leith wynd is situated St. Thomas's hospital, vulgarly called the Trinity hospital. It was founded in the year 1461, by Mary of Gueldres, consort to James II. wherein at present are fifty-four old men and women, who are plentifully supply'd with all the necessaries of life.

Glasgow.

Chart. Pall.
p. 297.

In this city, as appears by the register of the abbey of Paisley, was an hospital dedicated to St. Nicholas, wherein 'tis said, that a bed was founded, by the venerable Michael Fleming.

Brechin in Angus.

Here was an hospital, called *maison dieu*, founded by William of Brechin, son of Henry of Brechin, and grandson to earl David, for the benefit of the souls of William and Alexander, kings of Scotland; John, earl of Chester and Huntingdon, his brother; Henry, his father, and Juliana, his mother. To his charter of foundation, the subscribing witnesses are, Albinus, bishop of Brechin, and Robert de Monte-alto. The original is inserted in a confirmation of James III. anno 1477. The walls of the chapel of this hospital, which stood near the timber-market, are still standing, and is vulgarly called Messin-dew,

dew ; as is also a small village which is situated about a mile from the town, so denominated from the lands there which belonged to the hospital, which are now converted to support the grammar-school.

Lanerke in Clydsdale.

In this place was an hospital dedicated to St. Leonard, the lands of which Sir John Dalziel obtained a grant of from Robert III. for himself and Walter his son, predecessor of the earl of Carnwath, on condition that he and his heirs should weekly cause to be said three masses for the salvation of the king's soul, and that of Annabella his consort.

Linlithgow.

In the neighbourhood of this town stood the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen ; which was granted by King James I. to Robert de Linton, in the year 1426, pursuant to the nomination of Jean his queen. This house, which was anciently governed by Lazarites, so denominated from St. Lazare, was shortly after either secularized or demolished.

Monrofs in Angus.

Near this town, improperly called Montrose, was an hospital, founded by Patrick Panter, to which the black monks of the monastery of Celurea were removed, but by order of parliament were soon after obliged to return to their own house. This hospital I take to have stood in Inch-brakes, an island in the river of South Esk, opposite the harbour where the ships lie.

Besides the above-specified foundations, there were other preceptories, or hospitals, at the towns of Peebles, Dalkeith, Haddington, and Elgin ; but by whom, or at what time founded, I cannot learn.

The above ancient foundations, amounting to one hundred and fifty-seven in number, is a demonstration of the hospitality of our ancestors ; which, all things considered, cannot, perhaps, be equalled in any other country.

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.
BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of the first period of the Scottish history.

THE reader may please to observe, that the preceding part of this work consisting of such a variety of independent subjects, the author was obliged to illustrate them in such a manner as he thought might be most agreeable to the people, which he flatters himself he has in some sort accomplished; and being now disengaged from that method of proceeding, shall go on in a regular progression in the history of Scotland, and give faithful accounts of the transactions of our ancestors as they occurred, allowing for the defects of chronology, till we come to a period when that science, which is the life of history, will appear in its full lustre.

Lamprid. in
Vit. Severi.

We are told by Lampridius, that Alexander Severus, to secure the frontiers of the Roman province in Britain, gave to his officers and soldiers, in the year 232, the lands near the marshes in the neighbourhood of Severus's wall, lately recovered from the enemy, to be held by them and their heirs by military service to be done for the said lands, which were never to revert to private men, to prevent their falling again into the hands of the enemy; for, being possessed by the military, they would better defend their own property. These being the first military tenures we read of in Britain, shews that feudal rights were not at first brought into this island by the Normans, as has been generally believed.

Euseb. in Vit.
Const. lib. 1.
c. 25.

Constantine the Great, after his arrival in Britain, seems to have had some skirmishes with the Caledonians: and after his second coming, in the year 310, the Caledonians seem to have been again in arms; for Constantine, according to Eusebius, having defeated them, set out to relieve the other parts of the empire, then in the like circumstances;

stances; having first added to Britannica prima, and Britannica secunda, the other Roman provinces in Britain, those of Flavia and Maxima Brev. Sex. Ruf. *Cæsariensis*.

Constantine, at his demise, having divided the empire amongst his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, to the first he gave Britain, France, and Spain, with part of Germany, who, not satisfied with his share, though much the most considerable, invaded the lands of his brother Constans, when a battle ensuing, near the town of Aquileia in Italy, Constantine was killed, and his army routed; whereupon Constans seized on his dominions, and, accompanied by his brother Constantius, began his march to Britain, to quell the commotions in the northern part of the island, which, according to Libanius and Julius Firmicus, happened in the year 340. But Constans, some time after, being slain in the neighbourhood of Hellena in Gaul, in a conspiracy formed against him by Maxentius, the son of a Briton, the conspirator seized on his dominions, and by the assistance of his countrymen, anno 349, maintained himself against Constantius for the space of three years, with various success at first; but at last, being reduced to low circumstances, he killed himself at Lyons. Am. Marcel. lib. 20. Id. ibid. Liban. in Basil.

Soon after Gratianus, who was commander in chief of the Roman forces in Britain, and surnamed Firmarius, for his great strength in pulling a rope from divers men at once, was chosen emperor. About the same time a notary was sent into Britain, to discover the persons concerned in the late troubles; many of whom he not only prosecuted by false accusations, but imprisoned them, and possessed himself of their estates. Am. Marcel. lib. 14.

Marcellinus informs us, that the fierce nations of Scots and Picts, having renewed the war against the Romans in the year 360, entered the province, and committed great ravages; and, by laying the country waste far and near, struck a great terror amongst the provincials: which Julian, newly appointed Cæsar, then at Paris, receiving intelligence of, sent Lupicinus, an expert commander, with a powerful army against them, which landing at Ritupia, (now Sandwich in the county of Kent) anno 361, marched to London; whence, pursuant to a resolution of a council of war, he set out to meet the enemy in their march southwards; but with what success, 'tis pity, is not mentioned: but by the dangerous war that broke out some time after, it may be presumed that his designs were frustrated. Ibid. lib. 20.

This is the time which Fordun, through his ignorance in the Roman history, has unluckily pitched upon to form his fable of the expulsion of the Scots from the island of Britain. It is therefore necessary, in this place, to give the reader some farther account of that famous invention.

According to Fordun, a confederacy being entered into by the Romans, Britons, and Picts, against the Scots, the confederates invaded their country, discomfited their army, killed Eugene their king, and most of his nobility; and, on the pain of death, commanded all the Scots to depart Britain by a day prefixed. Pursuant to this injunction, they all retired to the western part of the Isles, Ireland, France, Italy, Norway, and Denmark. Amongst those who repaired to Denmark was Ethodius, brother to Eugene the late king, with his consort, who bore him a son called Erth; and being generously entertained by the Danish king, he conferred on Erth the princess Rocha, daughter to Rorick, Ford. Scoti-chron. edit. Hearne, vol. 1. lib. 2. p. 145. Boet. Hist. Scot. lib. 6. fol. 113.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
fol. 118.

Ibid. lib. 7.
fol. 119.

Ibid. lib. 7.
fol. 120.

Rorick, the chief prince of the country, on whom he begot Fergus, who was afterwards, by the said king, sent at the head of a considerable army to join Alarick the Goth in his march to Italy; which he having subdued, and taken the city of Rome, Alarick, in dividing the spoil, gave Fergus for his share, besides a number of rich jewels and other precious things, a chest of books, which he sent to Scotland, by way of Germany, to be deposited amongst the Scottish records at Icolmkill.

Fergus, by his great experience in war, was soon after sent by Alarick on an expedition to Sicily; but being repelled by a violent storm, he narrowly escaped shipwreck: however, he luckily arrived in Italy, where ingratiating himself with Atulphus, successor to Alarick, he continued in his service during the war, and at the conclusion of it returned to Denmark, full of honour and riches.

The Picts, since the expulsion of the Scots, having by the Romans been held in the most grievous servitude, bewailed their unhappy state; and reflecting on their having been the chief instruments that occasioned their expulsion, began to think of redress; and not only to restore them to their country, but, by their assistance, to recover their own liberty. Pursuant to this resolution, messengers were sent to Denmark to invite Fergus to come over, with the Scots in those parts. They wrote also to the Scots in Norway, Ireland, and the Isles, to invite them home again. As did likewise Fergus, to know their sentiments in that respect; and when, by their several answers, he found they were ready to embark in his restoration, he set out with his people from Denmark in a number of ships for Britain, where being landed, forty-three years after the Scottish expulsion, he was joined by the Picts and Scots from all parts, by whose assistance he recovered his country, and was soon after crowned king in the province of Argyle.

Am. Marcel.
lib. 26. c. 4.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
fol. 118.

Am. Marcel.
lib. 26. c. 4.

Fordun says that this expulsion happened anno 360. That this is false, is manifest by the celebrated Roman historian Marcellinus, who tells us, that in that year the Scots and Picts ravaged the Roman province in Britain in a dreadful manner; and though a powerful army was sent against them, yet it does not appear that they either quelled them, or obtained any advantage over them. Nay, 'tis probable that our people had the better, seeing, in so short a time after as the year 364, they, in conjunction with the Picts, Attacots, and Saxons, extended their depredations into the province as far as the neighbourhood of the city of London. Thus, instead of the Scots being expelled, according to Fordun, it appears that the Romans themselves were in danger of being drove out of the island by the Scots and their allies. And farther, to shew how unfit the devisers of this absurd romance were to impose on the world, Boece tells us, that the books brought from Rome by Fergus were deposited amongst the Scottish records at Icolmkill, in the isle of Iona: whereas the abbey of that place, which was the repository of the said records, was not founded till the year 580, which is one hundred and seventy-seven years after the books are said to have been deposited there.

About the year 364, as aforesaid, a dangerous war happened in Britain; for the Scots, Picts, Attacots, and Saxons, entering into a confederacy, invaded the Roman province, and for a long time committed great depredations, as far as the city of London, without opposition. Valentinian the emperor, on receiving advice that, by this dangerous invasion, the province in Britain was reduced to the last extremity, and

Nectoridus,

Nectoridus, his general, and Tullafandes, one of his best commanders, slain, he forthwith dispatched Severus, high steward of his household, at the head of a potent army, to stop the enemy's progress; but Severus being soon after recalled, without doing any thing remarkable, Jovianus was sent to succeed him, who, for aught that appears, had no better success.

But Theodosius, one of the most celebrated generals of his time, being appointed lieutenant in Britain, with a powerful army, to repress the bold invaders, he landed at Ritupia abovementioned, in the year 367; and, marching to London, divided his forces into four bodies, fell on the dispersed enemy laden with spoils, soon defeated them, and recovered both the captives and plunder: the former he gave their freedom; and the latter, excepting a small portion which he bestowed on his brave soldiers, he returned to the respective owners: and returning to London in triumph, restored it to its former splendor.

Flushed with this success, Theodosius resolved to prosecute his victory; but having learnt from the captives that the enemy, consisting of divers nations, were too fierce and numerous, when joined, to be overcome at one blow, he resolved to divide his army, and to destroy them by separate attacks. Pursuant to this, he first, by promises of pardon, prevailed upon most of his deserters and stragglers to rejoin his army; and to provide for the good government of the province, during his march, sent for Civiles to Prule, as vice-præfect, with Dulcitius, a commander much celebrated for his military skill. Am. Marcel.
lib. 26. c. 4.

Of this expedition our author gives the following short account, Ibid.
viz. That Theodosius, by his great industry, assembled an army of well disciplined troops, marched from London, relieved the province, and seized on all places from which he might distress the enemy. He performed the duties both of a brave soldier and wise commander, and having expelled the enemy the province, recovered and fortified many towns and castles, which had greatly suffered; and extending his conquests to the boundary or wall built by Lollius Urbicus, now called Graham's dike, erected the same into a province; and, in honour of Valentinian the emperor, denominated it Valentia.

The great exploits of Theodosius, on this and other occasions, are highly celebrated by Claudian, in a panegyrick to Theodosius the emperor, his son, as follows:

*Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,
Qui medio Lybiæ sub casside pertulit æstus,
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni
Littoris, ac pariter Boreæ vastator & Austri.*

Englised thus:

“ Brave he that quell'd the Caledonian foe,
“ And pitch'd his frozen tent in constant snow;
“ That on his faithful crest undaunted bore
“ The furious beams of Lybia's parched shore:
“ The Moors and Britons felt his mighty arms;
“ And the wide North and South submitted to his terms.”

The Scots and Picts, taking all opportunities to distress the Romans and their provincials in the southern parts of Britain, renewed their incursions Ibid. lib. 29.

curfions in the year 370; for the repressing of which, Valentinian sent Framanius, king of the Germans, against them; but his success not being mentioned, it may be presumed his expedition did not answer.

Prosper. Chron.

We are told by Prosper, that in the year 382 the Scots, renewing their depredations in the province, were repulsed by Maximus, who was either a Spaniard or Briton; and, having served long in this island, assumed the purple in it. But that he expelled the Scots the country, according to our own fabulous writers, or killed their king Eugenius, is false; for Prosper only says, they were expelled the Roman province, that is, without the boundary called Graham's dike.

Nen. Hist.
Brit.

Being now come to that period when monarchy was at first established in our country; and tho' Fergus our first king, falsely called the second Fergus, was not preferred to the regal dignity till the year 403; yet as his principal transactions were with the Romans, which commenced some years before his accession to the throne, I shall, for the sake of connexion, begin with these.

Though I cannot ascertain the quality, rank, or title enjoyed by Fergus before his ascending the throne, yet that he must have been of the prime nobility, and distinguished by his natural endowments, I think, will not be controverted. But that, according to both Fordun and his followers, he was royally descended, or that he came to the crown from Denmark, appears to be utterly false, by what I have in divers parts of this work demonstrated, that we never had, nor indeed, by the nature of the ancient Gaelick or Scottish constitution, could we have had a king before Fergus, son of Erch, or Erth: for, had monarchy prevailed in Albion in those days, we should undoubtedly have had the names of some of our kings transmitted to us, either by Roman writers, or by Gildas, the most ancient British historian, who must be regarded as our historians in those early times; but as we have not, (though we have had all the most ancient and faithful accounts of our national transactions from them) their silence is of much greater weight with me than all the paltry stuff asserted by Fordun and his followers.

Besides, we are honestly told by Gildas, who wrote about the beginning of the sixth century, that what he narrated was from foreign authorities; for, if ever there had been any records in his country, (the southern part of Britain) they were either destroyed by enemies, or carried abroad by exiles. It cannot then be reasonably presumed, that in those early days we had either writers or records of our own; for our ancestors chief delight being in war, they had neither time nor inclination to turn their thoughts to any thing else: therefore, as the ancient British writers did, we must, from Roman and other historians, collect materials to supply that defect, till we come to receive genuine accounts of the transactions of our predecessors from our own writers.

Gild. Hist.
c. 13.

Now although Fergus, the son of Erth or Erch, came not to the throne till the year 403, yet the Scots and Picts thrice, some time before, renewed their incursions against the provincial Britons; and tho' the times wherein they occurred are controverted by historians, yet the first of them seems to have happened about the year 395. For the Britons at this time, by their ambassadors, sent to Rome, and represented the dismal condition they were reduced to by the dreadful devastations committed by their irreconcilable enemies the Scots and Picts, and humbly supplicated for aid; this being granted, Stilico,

in

in the first consulate of Honorius, sent an army into Britain to repress the bold invaders; which falling on them unexpectedly, cut off a great number, and expelled the rest the province.

The Britons thus happily relieved, were, by their friends the Romans, advised to erect a wall across the island from sea to sea; but being unacquainted with the art of masonry, they only raised an earthen rampart, which proved of little or no service. But this account not being so explicit as it ought to have been, we must add from Bede, that the Britons, instead of raising a new rampart on this occasion, only repaired that erected by Lollius Urbicus, at present denominated Graham's dike; as is manifest by its beginning at Alclud on the river Clyde, near the town of Old Kirkpatrick in the west, and ending at Kinneil on the river Forth on the east. Gild. Hist. c. 13.

The work of the wall being finished, the Romans began their march for their own country; which the Scots and Picts were no sooner advised of, than they renewed their incursions, and, breaking through the wall, committed horrible ravages in the province: which occasioned the Britons to renew their application to the Romans for assistance, which they readily granted, by sending an army, in the reign of Honorius; which, like the former, arriving unexpectedly, in the year 418, fell upon, defeated, and drove the enemy out of the province. Fergus did not long survive this loss; for he died the year after, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Eugene, in the year 419. But the Romans, becoming weary of a burdensome and expensive war, acquainted the Britons, that it neither suited with their security nor interest to make such long and tedious expeditions by sea and land for their defence; they therefore advised them to take arms, and withstand their enemies, in defence of their country, wives, children, lives, and liberties: assuring them, that it was owing to their indolence and cowardice that they became so easy a prey to their foes, who, by nature, were not better men than themselves. And in order to enable them to act offensively, they not only instructed them in military discipline, and in the art of making arms, but, by publick and private assistance, erected for them an exceeding strong stone wall, (the abovementioned of earth being by the enemy demolished in divers places, and rendered useless) across the island for their defence: and, as an additional security, built several forts at the western end thereof, along the southern side of Solway frith, (and not on the frith of Dunbarton, as is erroneously asserted by bishop Lloyd, without the least foundation) to prevent the enemy's passing at the western extremity of the said wall. Those works were no sooner accomplished, than the Romans, in the year 446, marched off for their own country, and being never to return, bid their unhappy and disconsolate provincials eternally farewell. Ibid. c. 14. Lloyd's Hist. Church. Gild. Hist. c. 14.

The Romans arriving in Britain in the second vastation, anno 418, and having left it in the year 446, this space of twenty-eight years I take to have been employed by them and the Britons in erecting the stupendous work of the aforesaid wall, which is corroborated by the following lines:

*Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exangues Picti moriente figuras.*

Claud. de
Bello Getico:

That

That is,

“ Hither the legion too from Britain came,
 “ Which the fierce Scot did curb, and nations tame;
 “ Who whilst the painted Picts expiring lie,
 “ Behold those bloodless figures as they die.”

This legion, which was called home about this time, I take to have been part of the troops sent over in the second vastation, which, after having overcome the Scots and Picts, were not only employed with the Britons in the work of the wall, but served as a guard against the enemy during the time of its erection.

The Romans were no sooner gone, than the Scots and Picts, according to Gildas's most moving and melancholy relation, attacked it, and pulling many of the defendants with hooked instruments from off the battlements, the rest deserted it; and the enemy forcing a passage through the same, a dreadful scene began: the fields were covered with dead bodies, and the houses in flames, attended with all the miseries an enraged enemy could inflict. In this dreadful and deplorable condition the distressed Britons sent a letter to Rome for aid, in the year 446; when the Romans, by foreign invasions, being almost in as bad a condition as the Britons, could give them no assistance.

The Britons, thus abandoned by their protectors, were soon reduced to the greatest degree of distress, insomuch that they were necessitated to apply to the Gael or Scots and Picts for an accommodation; who, touched with pity, and in consideration of the vicissitudes of fortune, granted them peace on better terms than they expected; which the Scots soon becoming sensible of, found it very inconsistent with their interest: wherefore, by their ambassadors, they demanded of the Britons certain lands within the wall of Adrian to be restored to them, threatening, in case of refusal, to declare war against them.

Boet. lib. 7.
 Buchan. Hist.
 lib. 5.

A council being summoned to deliberate on this demand, debates arose. Some declared, that by this demand the Scots not only insulted them on account of their misfortunes, but tried their patience; for if it was not complied with, a war would certainly follow; and if the lands were restored, a cruel enemy would be received into their bowels, and then there was but little hopes of peace, unless it was imagined that their avarice would be satisfied with the concession of a few lands, who were not contented with the large provinces yielded to them by the late treaty: it was therefore judged better to check their immoderate desires in the beginning by arms, lest, by granting small things, their demands might be enlarged.

Ibid.

Conan, a nobleman of the first rank, greatly distinguished for his prudence and patriotism, talked gravely on the circumstances of their country, viz. their being deserted by their friends the Romans, their young men drawn off for foreign service, war abroad, sedition at home, and famine raging in the country, could not fail to consume, at least weaken, the miserable remains of his countrymen; wherefore he judged it necessary to make the best peace they could with their formidable and dangerous enemies: adding, that this advice was not given with a view to private interest, but for the necessities of the publick; for, as long as there was a probability of defending his country against

against our implacable enemies, he never mentioned peace: and tho' he believed the peace would be of no long duration, yet it would be of great service to the nation, by obtaining a respite from war, till their power, weakened and almost ruined by so many losses, might be restored.

Whilst Conan spoke, a great clamour was raised in the assembly; the seditious crying out that he had no regard for the publick weal, but endeavoured, by the assistance of a foreign power, to obtain the kingdom for himself. And though, at his leaving the convention, he endeavoured to shew the innocence of his intentions by an appeal to the Almighty, a tumult arising, he was instantly murdered. Buchan. lib. 5.

The ambassadors returning without success, the Scots and Picts began to prepare for war; which the Britons being apprised of, they began to condemn themselves for not listening to the terms proposed by the unfortunate Conan. To prevent the bad consequences of a war, the Britons sent ambassadors to the Scots, who, under pretence of continuing the peace, were, by an offer of money, to put a stop to their warlike preparations; and to convince them that, as the vicissitudes of fortune were many, and the chances of war doubtful, it was not the part of wise men to neglect a benefit while in view, and, on uncertain hopes, run themselves into certain dangers. Ibid.

Nothing was obtained by this embassy; for Eugene was informed that the Britons, instead of being sincerely inclined to peace, were making great preparations for war. This double dealing enraged the Scots and Picts to such a degree, that they doubled their diligence, and would listen to no other terms than the giving up their all; so that both armies prepared for battle. The confederates depended on their former success; and the Britons had in view all the miseries that a fierce, cruel, and conquering enemy could inflict. This being the situation, when the armies met, a terrible battle ensued, the fiercest that ever happened betwixt the three nations. The Scottish right wing was forced to give way; but, being reinforced by the baggage-guard, they rallied, and re-attacked with such fury, that they broke the Britons left wing, and routed their army. Now were to be seen dismal spectacles on all sides; both conquerors and conquered, with dismal groans, crouding into eternity. The loss was very great; for 'tis said that no less than fourteen thousand Britons were slain, and four thousand Scots and Picts. Ibid.

Upon this defeat, the Britons sent ambassadors to treat of peace with the Scots, on the best conditions they could obtain, which were of the following tenor: 1. The Britons shall not call to their assistance any Roman or other foreign power; and if any such come of their own accord, not to receive them, nor permit them to march through their country. 2. The friends and enemies of the Scots and Picts shall be the same to the Britons; and, without their permission, shall neither make peace nor war, nor send assistance to any who desire it. 3. The northern boundary of their country shall be the estuary or frith of the Humber. 4. To pay a certain sum of money, according to Boece 40,000 *l.* Scottish, by way of donative to the Scottish army, and 20,000 *l.* yearly; and, for performance of articles, to deliver one hundred hostages. Ibid.

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef.

Hen. Hunt.
Rer. Angl.
p. 309.

Nen. Hist.
Brit. c. 37.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. lib. 1.
p. 9.
Mat. West.
Flor. Hist.
ad an. 454.
p. 157.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 17. edit.
Hearne.

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. lib. 4.
c. 26.

Shocked at these imperious conditions, the Britons resolved to call to their assistance the Saxons from the country of Holstein, in the north-western parts of Germany; who arriving in three long ships, or chiules, landed at Epine's-fleet in the isle of Thanet, on the northern side of the county of Kent, in the year 449, under the command of the brethren Hengist and Horsa; who, joining the British army, marched against the Scots and Picts, who were advanced into the country as far as Stamford, on the southern confines of Lincolnshire, where a battle ensuing, anno 450, the Britons and Saxons defeated their enemies, and recovered the spoils they were loaded with, and which contributed not a little to their overthrow; as did also the difference of weapons: for those of the Saxons, being battle-axes and long swords, did great execution; while those of the Scots and Picts, which were darts and lances, were not near so offensive.

Hengist, who was highly pleased and greatly encouraged by the victory, having learnt that there were divers stronger walls or fences in the northern parts of Britain, erected by the Romans to restrain the Scottish and Pictish incursions, he advised Vortigern, king of the Britons, to send for Ohta his son, and Abisa his nephew, from Saxony, who, being well skilled in the art of war, would fight against his enemies in the northern parts of Britain, provided he would bestow on them the countries adjacent to the Gaelick wall. The proposal being readily agreed to by Vortigern, Hengist, by his order, sent for Ohta and Abisa; who arriving in the northern parts aforesaid, with forty ships, or chiules, and twenty thousand men, in the year 452, subdued divers countries, and settled themselves and followers therein: which is confirmed by William of Malmesbury, and Matthew of Westminster, two celebrated English historians. The latter says, that they arrived in Britain with a numerous fleet of ships, full of armed men.

That the country wherein Ohta and Abisa landed was that of Lothian, on the southern side of the frith of Forth, in the neighbourhood of the Gaelick wall, to which they were invited by Vortigern, seems to me beyond dispute, as has already been shewn; and is in some measure confirmed by Fordun, who tells us, that the northern parts of Britain were possessed by Ohta and Abisa, in order to resist the Scots. And that the said country was fully occupied by English in the seventh century, is evident; for we are told by Bede, that Ecgfried, king of Northumberland, in the year 685, invaded Pictland; and a battle ensuing, he with the greatest part of his army were cut off: and by virtue of the victory, the Picts repossessed themselves of that part of their ancient dominions, which composed the northern part of the said kingdom of Northumberland. And that we may not mistake the country here mentioned, our author tells us, that amongst the great number of English that left the country on this melancholy occasion, was the reverend Trumwin, with his people, from the monastery of Abercuring, situated in the country of the English, on the arm of the sea which separates the lands of the English from those of the Picts. N. B. This place, at present denominated Abercorn, stands on the southern bank of the frith of Forth, about eight miles bewest Edinburgh, in the county of West-Lothian.

And to put it beyond dispute that the above named countries, or part of them, between the walls aforesaid, belonged to the English in the eighth century, anno 731, the said Bede, in his state of the Northum-

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brian church, tells us, that there were then in the kingdom of Northumberland four bishopricks, *viz.* Eboracum, or York; Lindisfarn, or Holy Island; Hagulstad, or Hexham; and Candida Casa, or Whitehorn, in Galloway. Whereby is shewn, that the countries besouth the friths of Forth and Clyde, at present belonging to Scotland, at that time belonged to England: which is confirmed by Malmesbury, who says that Candida Casa was situated in the English border, near the confines of Scotland.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. lib. 3.
p. 272.

And as a farther proof, to shew that the country adjoining to the southern side of the frith of Forth must have been early possessed by the English, the names of the numerous districts, towns, and places are chiefly English. But for the information of such of my readers as are not well versed in the etymology of the names of places, it is necessary to acquaint them, that the names of all places and towns which end in Burgh, Kirk, House, Mill, Side, Mund or Mond, Burn, Dam, Ham, Home, Rig, Foord, Field, Yard, Land, Cot, Nefs, Bank, Stat, Stead, Stream, Brig, Bottle, Dike, Dale, &c. are all of a Saxon or English origin; and the vast number of places in that country of the above terminations, could not be denominated from casual or adventitious settlements in an enemy's country; but must have been by conquest and colonies, like those in the American plantations, where the names of places are imposed at once from those in the mother-countries the people came from. This is also manifest from the great number of places of the aforesaid terminations in ancient Saxony, or lower Germany, at this time; a collection of which I made, when in that country, many years since.

Though the security of the British boundaries was the pretext used by Hengist for this northern settlement, the Saxon had more extensive views. He saw how indolent the Britons were, and what a beautifully rich country they possessed: he therefore projected a total conquest of their kingdom, to which the Scots and Picts, now penned in and secured by garrisons and forts on the Gaelick wall and elsewhere, would be no impediment. Accordingly Hengist, becoming daily more powerful by constant supplies and numerous troops arriving from Saxony, soon compelled Vortigern to deliver up to him, in sovereignty, the fine country of Kent, and other lands in that neighbourhood.

The Saxons, now very formidable, began to despise the Britons, and set up for themselves. Preparatory to which they concluded a treaty with the Scots and Picts, and then turned their arms against the Britons, who not being able to stop their progress, they over-ran most part of the country, laying it waste from sea to sea. Now a moving and melancholy scene appeared; the buildings, both publick and private, were destroyed; bishops and priests killed at the altar; and the people cut off by the sword and pestilence in such numbers, that the living were scarcely sufficient to bury the dead; whilst those who retired to woods and mountains for refuge, were by famine compelled to surrender, and undergo perpetual servitude.

The Saxons, under the command of Ohta and Abisa, having possessed themselves of the Gaelick wall aforesaid, the Scots and Picts were prevented from making incursions into the southern parts of Britain: which in some measure appears by the great interval between the first and second battles fought by the Scots, Picts, Britons, and Saxons; for

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we are told by Bede, that the second battle happened about one hundred and fifty-three years after that at Stamford, anno 450.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 6.
c. 5. edit.
Hearne.

Eugene, after a variety of good and bad fortune, died in the thirty-third year, anno 452.

DONGARDUS.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 8.
fol. 135.

To Eugene succeeded his brother Dongard, anno 452. This prince, according to Boece, must have been of a martial disposition; for he fought and defeated the Britons, under their king Constantine, on the banks of the Humber, in which battle he was killed, with the loss of fourteen thousand of his men, and that of sixteen thousand Britons. But by Buchanan we are told, that Dongard being a quiet and peaceable prince, nothing remarkable happened in his time; and that, after a reign of five years, he died in peace anno 457.

Buchan. Hist.
lib. 5. p. 78.

CONSTANTINUS I.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 16. edit.
Hearne.

After the demise of Dongard, Constantine his youngest brother came to the crown, in the year 457, who, if Boece may be believed, was a very wicked man, his chief pleasure being to deflower virgins, ravish matrons, and encourage detraction; and, instead of frequenting the company of his nobles, assorted himself with common fiddlers, songsters, and other such vagrants. Buchanan follows Boece in this infamous character; but as Fordun had as good an opportunity of knowing him as either of them, his silence, to me, is a greater proof of his innocence than their bare assertions. Constantine must, at the discretion of the reader, either stand condemned, or be acquitted of the heavy charge brought against him. Be that as it will, we are told by the said writers, that Constantine, persevering in his wicked course of life, was slain by a nobleman of the Isles, for deflowering his daughter, in the twenty-second year of his reign, anno 479.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 8.
fol. 139.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 5.

CONGALLUS I.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 18. edit.
Hearne.

After the death of Constantine, Congal his nephew, son of Dongard, acceded to the throne, anno 479; and, being of a pacifick disposition, employed himself in reforming his people to a greater degree of politeness; and, to prevent a war with the Britons, renewed the treaty concluded between them and Constantine. But, according to Boece, the Scots and Picts having invaded Britain, Vortigern sent an army against them, under the command of Gwytell, prince of Cambria; and a battle ensuing, the Britons were defeated, with the loss of their general and twenty thousand men; whereas that of the Scots scarcely amount to four thousand. And by Buchanan we are told, that Congal carried on a skirmishing war against the Saxons during the whole course of his reign, which he finished after a course of twenty-two years, anno 501.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.
fol. 140.

Buchan. Scot.
Hist. lib. 5.
fol. 80. edit.
Freebairn.

GORANUS.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 21.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.
fol. 157.

To Congal succeeded his brother Goran, anno 501, who governed his people with great piety and justice. He prevailed on the Picts to break their alliance with the Saxons, and to enter into a confederacy with the Scots and Britons against the Saxons, and, by making it a common cause, to endeavour to expel them the island: by whose assistance Arthur, king of the Britons, is said to have obtained divers victories. But Goran, having deviated from his first principles, encouraged Toncet, his justiciary, to fleece his subjects; which enraged his people to such a degree, that a conspiracy was formed against him, which ended in the destruction both of him and his iniquitous chief justice, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, anno 535.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 5.
p. 84.

EUGENIUS II.

Eugene II. son of Congal, succeeded Goran in the year 535. He assisted Modred king of the Picts, and Arthur king of the Britons, against the Saxons; and sent out many parties to make incursions, but never fought a field battle; and, after a reign of twenty-three years, died anno 558. Ford. Scoti-chron. lib. 3. c. 26.

CONVALLUS, or CONAL.

After the death of Eugene, Conval his brother came to the crown, anno 558, who, being a religious and pacifick prince, governed his people in great tranquillity. He assisted the Britons against the Saxons, without being a principal in the war; and, after a short but happy reign of ten years, died in the year 568. Id. ibid.

KINNATELLUS.

Kinnatel succeeded his brother Conal, anno 568; but being of a valetudinary constitution, only reigned fourteen or fifteen months, without any thing memorable happening in his short reign, and died in the year 570. Id. ibid.

AIDANUS.

Kinnatel having resigned the crown in favour of Aidan, son of the late king Goran, he no sooner ascended the throne, in the year 570, than he suppressed divers bands of robbers in the province of Galloway; and held three conventions of the states in that country, Lochaber, and Caithness. But a tumult happening at a hunting match soon after, much blood was spilt, and the king's officers cruelly beaten, for endeavouring to apprehend the aggressors; who, for their security, fled to Brudeus, king of the Picts, in the country of Lothian; to whom ambassadors were sent by Aidan, to demand their being delivered up to justice, according to treaty; which being refused by Brudeus, a war ensued between the two nations, which proved not of long duration; for matters were happily accommodated by the interposition and good offices of Columba. Boet. Hist. Scot. lib. 9. fol. 153. Buchan. Scot. Hist. lib. 5. p. 85.

Some time after, Ethelfrid and Brude, kings of the Northumbrians and Picts, being in an alliance against the Scots and Britons, invaded the British or Welsh dominions with a powerful army; to whose assistance Ceulin, king of the West-Saxons, being on his march with a considerable army to reinforce Ethelfrid and Brude, the Scots and Britons attacked and broke the front of his army; but having soon after joined Ethelfrid, the united armies attacked and put to flight the joint power of the Scots and Britons. In this engagement Ethelfrid lost an eye, Brude was carried off the field sorely wounded, and Grifin and Brendin, two Scottish noblemen, were slain. Boet. Hist. Scot. lib. 9. fol. 175.

The occasion of this war is related by Bede in a different manner; for he tells us that Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, having subdued and taken divers large territories from the Britons, he either made them tributary, or planted them with his own people. Aidan, king of the Scots, jealous of his increasing power, invaded Northumberland; and a battle ensuing at Degfastan, or Degstan, Theobald, brother to Ethelfrid, was killed, and that part of the army commanded by him routed: but Aidan's army being defeated and put to flight, his loss, according to my author, was so great, that the Scots, from that period to the time he wrote his history, which was above one hundred years after, did not presume to invade England. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 34.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 5.
p. 85.

We are told by Buchanan, that Ethelfrid, assisted by Ceulin, (whom by mistake he calls king of the East instead of the West Saxons) had before this fought a battle with Aidan, wherein Cutha, Ceulin's son, was killed: but as this is not mentioned in the Saxon chronicle, or any other English historian, it cannot be depended on; more especially as in the said chronicle it appears, that Cutha was killed eighteen years before, in a battle against the Britons.

Id. *ibid.*

The summer following Ethelfrid, in conjunction with the Picts, entered Galloway, whither Aidan hastening to its relief, drove them back; and being joined by his allies the Britons, marched into the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, and committed great ravages; but being attacked by the Saxons and Picts, were put to flight, and a number of his troops, both officers and private men, slain. This defeat occasioned a long recess from war; for it was followed with a peace of eleven years continuance.

Id. *ibid.*

The Saxons and Picts having renewed the war, Aidan wrote to his confederates the Britons to join him without loss of time, to enable him to repel his enemies: but the British succours not arriving in time, Aidan was attacked and defeated with great slaughter of his troops; and, narrowly escaping himself, laid the loss of his army so much to heart, that, being oppressed by grief and age, he did not long survive; but, after a reign of thirty-four years, died anno 604.

Before I leave this head it will not be amiss to observe, that to king Aidan both the origin and name of the city of Edinburgh is said to be owing. But that this is a very great mistake is manifest, by the Scots not having been in possession of any part of the said lands on the southern side of the frith of Forth, before the conquest of the Picts in the year 839. Now, as Aidan died two hundred and thirty-five years before that period, and never was in possession of any part of the country wherein Edinburgh is situated, its foundation cannot be owing to him: besides, it is not to be imagined that a foreign prince would presume to erect a castle or town in the dominions of a neighbouring king. Therefore its origin must be either owing to the Picts or English, as set forth in my history of Edinburgh; in which, I hope, is demonstrated to the satisfaction of my readers, that its foundation is owing to the English.

KENNETHUS I.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 21, 22.

To Aidan succeeded Kenneth Kere, son of Conal or Conval, in the year 604. By some he is said to have reigned three months, and by others one year. The latter I take to be the most probable, since we are told by Fordun, that his successor, Eugene, came to the crown in the year 606. Be that as it will, nothing remarkable appears to have happened during his short reign, which must have ended anno 606, as aforesaid.

EUGENIUS III.

Ibid. c. 32.

Eugene, son of Aidan, succeeded Kenneth Kere, anno 606. But by the different accounts given of him, as to peace or war, we know not what temper he was of; for no actions of note appear to have been performed by him. He died in the sixteenth year of his reign, in the year 622.

FERQUARDUS I.

Ibid. c. 34.
Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 9.
fol. 179.

On the demise of Eugene, Ferquard his eldest son came to the crown, in the year 622; who, according to Boece and Buchanan, being a wicked, tyrannical, and irreligious prince, became obnoxious to

to the people, who committed him to prison, wherein he destroyed himself in the twelfth or fourteenth year of his reign. But as neither the wickedness of Ferquard, his being committed to prison, nor that he murdered himself, are mentioned by Fordun, (who had at least as good an opportunity of knowing as either Boece or Buchanan) I shall suspend my belief of this relation till better proof appear: for Fordun only says, that nothing remarkable happened in his time, and that he died in the tenth year of his reign; which is more agreeable to chronology than the different accounts given us by the aforesaid writers.

DONALDUS III.

To Ferquard succeeded Donald Breck his brother, anno 632; but nothing memorable happened in his time. He died in the fourteenth year of his reign, anno 646.

FERQUARDUS II.

Ferquard, son of the late Ferquard, succeeded his uncle Donald Breck, in the year 646; and, after a quiet reign of eighteen years, died anno 664. Now as we may reasonably suppose that Ferquard's reign of great tranquillity was owing to good government, and that to temperance, benevolence, justice, and beneficence, instead of a bad, I think, Ferquard must have been a good man; which quadrates with the above account of his reign given us by Fordun.

However, Ferquard is by Boece and Buchanan, two posterior writers, represented as one of the vilest of men. The following character of him, testifies that he was a man of great capacity, before his accession to the crown: a humane and generous prince, nay, liberal beyond his revenues, by relieving many who were reduced from high to a low state. He also gave great sums to promote poor maids marriages, whereby he became the darling of the people. But he no sooner ascended the throne than he deviated from his former principles, and, becoming a common oppressor, obliged the common people to restore that which he had formerly given them; and reassumed the several grants from the crown, given to the nobility and gentry; put to death or confiscated the estates of those who opposed his measures, despised religion, murdered his consort, and deflowered his daughters; and was so great an epicure, that sea, land, and air were ransacked to gorge his insatiable appetite; and persevering in his wicked courses, was denounced accursed by two holy men, Finnan and Colman; which, together with his vicious practices, occasioned the people to assemble to dispatch him, from which they were prevented by St. Colme, who assured them, that, if he did not reform his life and conversation, he would soon be punished by the hand of God, which was verified in less than a month's time: for, being a hunting, he was attacked and sorely hurt by a wolf. Besides, he was seized by a horrible and grievous distemper, which consumed both the internal and external parts of his body; the latter of which becoming putrid, was devoured by worms.

MALDUINUS.

After the demise of Ferquard, Malduin, the son of Donald, acceded to the crown in the year 664; who, being a wise and religious prince, kept peace with his neighbours, and carefully maintained the rights and privileges of his people. A difference happening between the inhabitants of the countries of Argyle and Lenox, the former were joined by the people of the Isles, and the latter by those of Galloway. For the

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 5.
p. 86.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 34.

Ibid. c. 37.

Ibid. c. 40.
Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 9.
fol. 184.
Buchan. Hist.
lib. 5. p. 87.

the quelling of those dangerous disputes, Malduin marched at the head of a considerable army, and compelled both parties to submit; and, having punished the ringleaders, restored peace, to the great joy of the people.

And although at this time a pestilence, almost universal, reigned in a very destructive degree, yet both the Scots and Picts are said to have escaped it, owing probably to their great temperance. And though Malduin is reported to have been a good and gracious prince, yet by Boece, and Buchanan his constant follower, we are told he was murdered by his consort in a fit of jealousy, in the twentieth year of his reign, anno 684; for which she and her abettors, being apprehended, were punished in an exemplary manner, being all burnt alive. Fordun has nothing of this.

EUGENIUS IV.

Eugene, son of Dongard, and grandson of Donald Breck, succeeded his uncle Malduin anno 684; in the first year of whose reign, Egfrid king of Northumberland invaded Scotland, and carried off a great booty. Eugene applying for redress, Egbert, instead of giving satisfaction, returned for answer, that he would invade Scotland whenever he pleased, without reparation of damages. Eugene, on receiving advice of the preparations by the Saxons and Picts to invade Galloway, raised a great power to oppose them; and a battle ensuing, the Picts deserted the Saxons, which occasioned the defeat of their army, with the loss of their king, and ten thousand men killed, besides a number drowned. The loss of the Scots was six thousand.

The transactions of this reign, between the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, being taken from Bede, Boece has inverted the accounts, to do honour to our country at the expence of the Picts and truth, by ascribing the victory obtained by them over the Saxons to the Scots; adding, that the battle was fought in Galloway, by him said to be then in Scotland: whereas 'tis manifest, that it did not come into the possession of the Scots till after the conquest of the Picts, anno 839, till which time it either belonged to the Picts or the English. However, he is followed in this by divers of our writers, without giving themselves the trouble to inquire into the truth. Wherefore, I think, it is necessary to undeceive my readers in that respect, by giving them the accounts from Bede, to whom our nation is so much indebted, that, were it not for him, we would as it were be strangers in our own country, as to many affairs transacted there during the space of divers centuries.

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. lib. 4.
c. 26.

Egfrid, king of Northumberland, in the year 684, sent his general Bert, or Beohrt, with a potent army into the country of Ireland, which had always been friendly to the English: but the people, unable to withstand their too powerful invaders, invoked the Almighty to avenge them on their enemies, for the great depredations committed by them: which, according to my author, happened the year after; for Egfrid, anno 685, leading his army into the country of the Picts, with an intent to ravage and destroy it, contrary to the advice of St. Cuthbert and others his friends, the Picts, by a feigned flight, drew him and his army into the streights of huge mountains, where God suffered him and the greatest part of his men to be cut off, because the year before he invaded Scotland, without any just pretence.

REMARK. Here 'tis observable, that what our author calls Ireland just before, he now calls Scotland; which puts it beyond dispute that

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the Scotland here mentioned was not the island of Ireland: wherefore there's no longer room to doubt, that the northern part of Britain was by foreigners promiscuously called Scotland and Ireland, and that the Ireland here mentioned was Strathern, or the Scottish Ireland, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to make appear.

By the aforefaid great fuccess of the Picts, the power of the North-umbrian nation declined apace; for the Picts recovered that part of their country which the English had been long in possession of; and the Scots, with some of the Britons or Welsh, regained their liberty, which they had enjoyed for the space of forty-six years, at the time when Bede finished his history, in the year 731. After these vicissitudes of fortune, Eugene finished his short reign of three years, anno 687.

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. lib. 4.
c. 26.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib 3.
c. 43.

EUGENIUS V.

Eugene V. son of Ferquard Fode, who acceded to the crown in the year 687, kept peace with the English during the whole course of his reign. But with the Picts, to whom he seems to have had a strong aversion, he seems to have had neither a certain peace nor war; for frequent incursions were made with various success, till matters at last were compromised by the mediation of Cuthbert and Adamnan, English and Scottish saints. Immediately after this Eugene died, after a reign of ten years, anno 697; and the monkish fables relate, that in his time it rained blood throughout Britain for the space of seven days, and that milk, butter and cheese were converted into blood.

AMBERKELETHUS.

To Eugene V. succeeded Amberkelleth, son of Findan, in the year 697, who, before his accession to the throne, is said to have been well disposed; but degenerating after his coronation, he became, according to Boece and Buchanan, a vicious monster, drowned in lust, avarice, and effeminacy: which Garnard, king of the Picts, taking advantage of, invaded Scotland, to revenge the injuries formerly done him by the Scots; and having committed great ravages in the country, Amberkelleth assembled an army to oppose him; but having marched at its head to the river Tay, and going out after supper, attended by two domesticks, to ease nature, was killed by an arrow; by whom shot, is unknown, though by some 'twas thought to have been done by certain Picts, whom he too eagerly pursued into a wood. Thus Amberkelleth finished his reign with his life, anno 698, when he had not reigned two years.

Ibid. c. 44.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.
fol. 186.
Buchan. Scot.
Hist. lib. 5.
p. 88.

EUGENIUS VI.

Eugene, son of Findan, and brother to Amberkelleth, came to the crown in the year 698; and, being of a peaceful disposition, concluded a peace with Garnard, king of the Picts; which was soon after confirmed by an alliance, and strengthened by a match between Eugene and Spondana daughter of Garnard. But a conspiracy being formed against Eugene by two brothers, inhabitants of Athol, in revenge for the death of their father, the intended regicides by mistake murdered in bed the unfortunate Spondana, in absence of the king. The villains escaping, Eugene was suspected of the barbarous action, and by the nobility was compelled to appear in judgment, to disprove the charge. But the murderers being soon after apprehended, convicted, and executed, the king's innocence was made apparent. He repented the dishonour done him on this occasion so much, that, had it not been

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 45.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.
fol. 186.
Buchan. Scot.
Hist. lib. 5.
p. 88.

prevented by the intercession of Adamnan the bishop, he would have punished the authors of it in a most exemplary manner.

REMARK. Eugene is the first of our kings, that I can remember, who 'tis said was obliged to appear in a court of justice, to answer to a charge brought against him by his subjects. But as this is not mentioned by Fordun, I shall take it for an invention of Boece, till proof appear to the contrary; and that it is of his contrivance is in some measure acknowledged by himself, by his saying, that, had it not been for the intercession of bishop Adamnan, Eugene would have punished the authors of the indignity: which shews, that the dishonour done him was entirely new; for, had it been of an ancient standing, he would have submitted to the custom or law of his country without complaint, or intending to punish his people for that which by practice could be no crime.

We are told by Tyrrel, that, in the year 710, Beorthfrith the alderman fought against the Picts in a place between Hæfe and Cære, supposed to be Carehouse and Hatfield in Northumberland.

Bed. Hist.
Ecclef. lib. 5.
c. 22.

And an ancient writer says, that Naitan, king of the Picts, by his great reading, saw and renounced his error concerning the ancient celebration of Easter; and, that he might with the more authority reclaim his subjects, sent to Ceolfrid, abbot of Wysemouth in Northumberland, desiring of him exhortatory letters, to refute those who kept Easter at an improper time, also concerning the proper method of priestly tonsure; together with some architects to erect a church after the Roman manner, which he promised to consecrate in honour of St. Peter.

Ibid.

Ceolfrid, readily complying with his requests, not only sent him an architect, but likewise a long epistle concerning the two queries he desired to be satisfied in, which are largely set forth in Bede: wherein, besides doughty arguments for keeping Easter on the first Sunday after the first full moon that follows the vernal equinox, there are potent reasons given against the Scottish method of shaving priests' crowns; which, being the tonsure of Simon Magus, every good Christian ought to abhor as real magick.

Eugene, having reigned in great tranquillity at home, and in peace with all his neighbours, for the space of seventeen years, died anno 715.

MURDACUS.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 45.
Bed. Hist.
Ecclef.

After the death of Eugene, Murdac, son of Amberkelleth, ascended the throne anno 715; in the beginning of whose reign, according to Bede, Egbert, a priest from Ireland, converted the monks of Hy, or Iona, to the right faith; and that they ever after religiously observed the keeping of Easter, and the ecclesiastical tonsure, according to the Roman rites. And in the latter part of the same reign, anno 731, following Bede, but conformable to Fordun in the year 730, (now as both may be right, by the long continuance of peace, I shall keep to the latter, seeing the chronology of our subsequent kings depends thereon) the British temple of Janus was shut; for a general peace reigned throughout the four nations then inhabiting Britain, viz. the Scots, Picts, Britons, and Saxons, who lived in great harmony. The Picts were in great amity with the English; the Scots, satisfied with their own dominions, did not molest their neighbours; and the Britons, though they had a natural aversion to the English, yet, by a long continuance in peace and divine contemplations, had laid aside all thoughts

thoughts of chivalry and use of arms: which made our author in great amazement cry out, What the consequences thereof would be, posterity could only know! which they some time after to their woful experience learnt, by the long and bloody wars, both foreign and domestick, which happened.

According to our author, the four nations abovementioned had as many different languages; but, as Bede was a Saxon, it may be presumed he only understood the English: whereas had he been versed in the other tongues, which he took to be three, he would have discovered that the Scottish, Pictish, and British, instead of being independent languages, were only different dialects of the ancient Gaelick or Celtick tongues, which are still spoken in the highlands of Scotland and in Wales: so, instead of there having been in Bede's time four languages in Britain, they were in fact only two.

Murdac, who was a good and religious prince, during the long interval of peace, employed himself in repairing churches and monasteries which had been destroyed in war: but that he either founded or repaired the monastery of Candida Casa in Galloway, according to Boece and Buchanan, is not in the least probable, seeing in his time it appears to have belonged to the English. However, after a reign of fifteen years of great tranquillity, he departed this life anno 730.

ETFINUS.

To Murdac succeeded Etfine, son of Eugene VI. in the year 730; who, being a prince of great honour and justice, was a blessing to the good, and a scourge to the wicked. But by age becoming unfit to govern, he appointed four regents to rule the kingdom, who, deviating into vice, became a curse to the nation; for, disregarding justice, they plundered and robbed the people in a grievous manner, without any other prospect of redress than what they expected from God, whom they incessantly implored to avenge them; for their king, worn out with age and infirmities, could not relieve them: and having reigned thirty-one years, died anno 761.

We are told by Simeon of Durham, that, anno 744, a great battle was fought between the Picts and Britons: but it must have been between the Galweienfes and Cumri, inhabitants of Galloway and Cumberland, the latter being the only Britons who at that time bordered on the Gael, by the English called Picts. And the said author, a little farther, says that, in the year 756, Eadbert king of Northumberland, and Imust king of the Picts, took the city of Alcluith from the Britons. If this be the Alcluith at the western end of Graham's dike, and northern side of the river Clyde, it must have been taken by the Scots from the English some centuries before, when they settled in the country adjacent to the said wall, anno 454: for Alcluith could not belong to the Cumri or Welsh, since the large country of Galloway, then belonging either to the English or southern Picts, lay between Alcluith and the Britons, inhabitants of Cumberland; which shews that it must have been taken from the Scots, or northern Britons, by the said confederates.

EUGENIUS VII.

Eugene, son of Murdac, after the demise of Etfine, acceded to the throne in the year 761. He was no sooner crowned than he called the late regents of the kingdom to an account, for their mal-administration;

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.
fol. 187.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 5.
p. 88.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 46.

Sim. Dur.
Hist. in De-
cem Script.
ad an. 744.

Ibid. an. 756.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 46.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.
fol. 188.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 5.
p. 88.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 63.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.
fol. 189.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 47.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.
fol. 189.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 5.
p. 85.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 48.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.
fol. 90.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 5.
p. 49.

stration; one of whom, Murdac thane of Galloway, was put to death, and the rest purchased their pardons at high rates. And Donald of the Isles, a notorious robber, who committed so much mischief in the late reign, he caused also to be executed. The prosecutions were no sooner over than Eugene gave a loose to his passions; from a good, became one of the worst of men; and, stopping at nothing that was bad, was murdered by a conspiracy of his nobility in the second year of his reign, anno 763. As to the great wickedness charged on Eugene by Boece and Buchanan, Fordun is entirely silent.

FERGUS II.

To Eugene succeeded Fergus, son of Etfine, in the year 763. He was a very libidinous prince, and noted for nothing so much as incontinency; which enraged his consort to such a degree, that she murdered him, when asleep in bed; for which divers innocent persons being apprehended, and put to the torture, she was so greatly affected by their sufferings, that, for their relief, she acknowledged herself the murderer; and, to prevent her suffering in a publick manner for her barbarous cruelty, stabbed herself with a dagger. Thus the sensual Fergus fell a sacrifice to jealousy and a revengeful consort, in the third year of his reign, anno 766.

SELVATHIUS.

After the death of Fergus, Selvac, son of Eugene VII. came to the crown in the year 766; and, being a wise and just prince, lived in great harmony with his neighbours. But being, in the third year of his reign, seized by the gout in a very severe and uncommon manner, was rendered incapable of managing his domestick affairs as formerly, which occasioned frequent rebellions in the kingdom: the first of which was raised by Donald Bane, who, having possessed himself of all the western isles, and assumed the title of king, invaded the countries of Kintyre and Lorn in Scotland with a great force, and committed great ravages. Selvac, to repress this dangerous rebellion, sent a considerable power against him, under the conduct of Culane and Duchale, governors of the countries of Argyle and Athol. They attacked and put him to flight; and being drove as it were into a pound, proposed to withdraw on certain terms; which being rejected, and finding it impracticable to escape, he endeavoured to force his way by night; but miscarrying in the attempt, was slain, and all his troops cut in pieces.

Soon after, new troubles broke out in the province of Galloway, by Gilcolm son of Donald; but the ringleaders being taken, and punished in an exemplary manner, put an end to the rebellion; as nature did, some time after, to the twenty-one years painful reign of Selvac, (occasioned by his racking distemper) who died anno 787.

ACHAIUS.

To Selvac succeeded Achaius, son of Etfine, in the year 787. The first step he took, after his accession, was to establish peace at home, by accommodating differences amongst his nobility, that he might the better be enabled to defend his country, if attacked by his neighbours: which he no sooner accomplished than advice was brought him, that the Irish had made a descent on the peninsula of Kintyre, and committed great ravages throughout the country; which enraged the inhabitants to such a degree, that they ran to arms, attacked, and killed great numbers of them.

The

The Irish preparing to revenge the loss they sustained by the defeat of their troops, Achaius, who was of a pacifick disposition, endeavouring to prevent a war, dispatched ambassadors to Ireland to compose the difference; but the Irish, instead of listening to the terms proposed, set about raising of troops, and taking other measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and declared to the ambassadors, that unless an adequate satisfaction was quickly made, they would avenge themselves without loss of time: which they soon after accomplished, by landing in the western isles, which they pillaged and destroyed in a very cruel manner; but on their way homewards with their booty, they were overtaken by a violent storm, whereby their fleet suffered to such a degree, that very few escaped shipwreck, and only a small number of their men were saved.

By this sad catastrophe, both of fleet and army, the Irish were apprehensive of a visit from Scotland, to retaliate the injury done them in the late horrid invasion. To prevent which, ambassadors were sent to Achaius, to accommodate all differences between the two nations by a treaty of peace; which was in a short time concluded, to the satisfaction of both nations.

As the alliance betwixt Achaius and Charles the Great is the chief transaction of this reign, and is controverted by the enemies to our antiquities, I shall, from the best authorities, endeavour to shew its reality: previous to which I shall give an account of certain transactions which happened in Britain, between the English and French, before that period.

We are told by Conradus Urspergenfis, that Charles the Great sent an army into Britain, under the conduct of Andolphus, against the English Saxons; who had such success in his expedition, that he compelled the English to give hostages for their good behaviour, whom he presented to Charles at Worms in Germany.

Ursperg.
Chron. p. 174.

Some are of opinion, that this expedition was occasioned by the English Saxons assisting the ancient Saxons in Germany (whence their predecessors came into Britain) against Charles; who, out of a false zeal, commenced war against the German Saxons, for no other reason than their not thinking, in respect to religion, as he did, his being Christianity, theirs paganism; wherefore, cost what it would, he resolved to compel them to renounce their idolatry, and become Christians. But the Saxons, having had as great a regard for the honour of their gods as Charles had for his, resolved to defend them, themselves, and their country, against all attempts that might be made against them on that occasion.

Pursuant to this resolution, armies were raised, and a long and bloody war commenced, which was carried on with the greatest intrepidity for no less a space than that of thirty years, with a variety of success, by that injured people: by whom Charles, to his no great honour, was as it were compelled to compromise the matter, after a prodigious effusion of blood, as followeth, viz. Witekind, the brave Saxon king or general, was to embrace the Christian religion; to take unto him Charles's sister in marriage; and, as a symbol of his Christianity, the black horse he bore on his shield, before his conversion, was turned into a white horse, which is born by the electoral and ducal houses of Brunswick-Lunenburg at this day: and to support the dignity of the match, Saxony, a commonwealth or republick, was converted

verted into a dutchy, and the sovereignty, with the title of duke, conferred on Witekind. Thus, tho' Witekind was first a king, and then a duke; the latter title, with the sovereignty, was much more honourable than the transitory epithet of king, which was always resigned or given up by the person who enjoyed it at the conclusion of a war, according to custom, which somewhat resembled the practice of the Roman dictator.

Lell. in Vit.
Achail.

Now, as by the continuance of the aforesaid war for so great a number of years, it may be presumed that Charles, notwithstanding his great power and vast dominions, might still want allies; and as the Saxons in the southern parts of Britain were the relations and descendants of the German Saxons, it may reasonably be supposed they would give them all the assistance they could; wherefore Charles, to prevent all aid from that quarter, in time coming, by employing their arms at home, policy, as well as interest, would induce him to enter into a confederacy with a prince the most capable to serve him: and as the Scots were the most powerful people in the northern parts of Britain, to whom could he so well apply as to them? And therefore, I think, it is not to be questioned but Charles, on this occasion, made an alliance with Achaius, which, according to our writers, was brought about as follows, viz. Charles having sent ambassadors both to the Scots and Picts, to treat with them concerning an alliance, the Picts rejected the overtures made to them; but the Scots complied with the terms proposed. This transaction is by French writers related as follows.

Egin. in Vit.
Carol.

Abercromb.
in Vit. Achail.

Boece, Lesley,
Chambers.

Paul. Æmil.
de Reb. Gest.
Franc. p. 42.

That the king of Scots and his people, charmed by the grandeur and munificence of Charles, devoted themselves to his interest; and in their letters gave him the title of lord, and subscribed themselves his most humble servants; which letters were extant when Eginhard wrote the life of that monarch. And the said authors add, that the league was made in the year 790; and, in pursuance thereof, Charles sent an aid of four thousand men to Achaius. A modern writer is of opinion, that they were sent against the English Saxons in the southern part of Britain. This may be questioned, seeing they are not mentioned by any English writer, which they certainly would, had those troops been sent against them. Be that as it will, our writers are very sanguine that Achaius sent forces to Charles, under the conduct of his brother William, which shared in all the glories of Charles's reign, particularly in his numerous victories obtained over the Lombards in Italy, and Saxons in Germany; and were amply rewarded for their great fidelity and valour, by being preferred to the most eminent dignities in the subdued country of Saxony.

Ken. Dissert.
Fam. Stewart.

Before I proceed farther in this affair, it is necessary to take notice of what has been said by two writers, who have questioned the truth of this alliance's ever having subsisted. The first, Dr. Kennedy, is a writer so fabulous and trifling, that he scarce deserves to be taken notice of: however, lest my not answering him should be regarded as a tacit acknowledgment of what he has said to be true, I shall subjoin his declaration, with my answer. His words are: "This was an alliance of friendship, or rather a friendly correspondence, settled between him and the king of the Irish, in those days called Scots." To which I answer, That the doctor did not well to call this, instead of an alliance, a friendly correspondence; for Ireland, in all

all ages, has by its neighbours been reckoned so despicable, that it became an easy prey to every invader, and therefore the people were never courted by any foreign power, that I can learn, either for an alliance or friendly correspondence; besides, this would have intailed on Charles and his posterity a perpetual expence, to support an impotent people against enemies, whom the richness of their soil and fertility of their country would invite to subdue them.

And as to what Kennedy says of the Irish being called Scots, I have already shewn that was owing to their speaking the same language with the ancient Gael in the northern parts of Britain, by foreigners called Scots; for the Irish Gael, like the British, never called themselves Scots.

Atwood, another writer of the same stamp, says, that in the reigns of Alexander II. and John Baliol, there was something like a league subsisting between Scotland and France; but that the league said to have been entered into by Achaius and Charles the Great, is only imaginary. It might have been so, for aught he knew; but had he consulted foreign authorities in that respect, he would have found that there was a treaty of alliance entered into by Achaius and Charles, as appears by Eginhard abovementioned: who farther says, that Charles made divers leagues with sundry potentates, amongst which were the emperors Nicephorus, Michael, and Leo, and Aaron king of Persia, and at last with the Scots. Now, as Eginhard was both chancellor and son-in-law to Charles, he must have known all the publick transactions of his reign as well as himself; wherefore his authority is not in the least to be questioned.

Egin. in Vit.
Car. Mag.
lib. 16. p. 79.

And as to what Atwood says of the league's being chimerical, by its not appearing to have been renewed for divers centuries, that is a fallacious way of reasoning; for the French affairs, during a great part of that time, seem to have been in great confusion. The provinces of Normandy, Brittany, &c. appearing to have been torn from the kingdom, is it to be wondered at, that the communication between France and Scotland was interrupted? However, during the time Atwood imagines that the treaty was not renewed, it can be made appear that divers aids of men were sent from Scotland to France. Nay, had it never been renewed, that would not prove that it never did exist.

And, to put the matter beyond dispute, Mezeray, the most celebrated French historian, positively asserts, that Charles and Achaius, in the beginning of the year 790, entered into a perpetual alliance; and, by virtue thereof, the former sent Achaius, then at war with his neighbours, an aid of four thousand men: and, by the said treaty, Charles was occasionally to receive from the Scots a certain number of auxiliaries. And Duplex, an eminent French writer, says, that the league was kept by the French and Scots a very long time. Other eminent foreign historians might be brought to prove the confederacy; but the above shall suffice, being such faithful and impartial relations as are more than sufficient to overbalance the false and malicious inventions of two snarling and trifling cavillers.

Mez. Hist.
France, vol. 1.
lib. 9. p. 412.

Dupl. in Vit.
Caroli.

The articles of the abovementioned league or alliance are, by a certain writer, said to have been of the following tenure:

1. That there shall be an inviolable friendship and perpetual alliance between France and Scotland.

Ormond, Hist.
Abridg. ad
ann. 789,
p. 96.

2. That

2. That whatever injury be offered by the English to either of the contracting powers, shall be repelled by the united forces of both.

3. That the troops sent by the Scots to the French shall be maintained at the king of France's expence.

4. If Scotland be attacked by England, it shall not only be assisted with an army from France, but the expence thereof shall be defrayed by the French.

5. If the subjects of either kingdom shall presume to assist the English in any manner of way, when at war with their sovereigns, they shall be deemed guilty of high treason; and, if apprehended in either prince's dominions, to suffer accordingly.

The above articles were often ratified, and frequently enlarged, by succeeding monarchs; particularly by Lewis VIII. of France, and Alexander II. of Scotland, who added the following article, viz. That neither of the contracting powers should receive into his dominions a foreign enemy, nor a rebellious subject belonging to either.

And by Robert II. and Charles V. the two following remarkable articles were added:

1. That neither of the kings should make a truce or conclude a peace with England, without the consent of both.

2. If through failure of issue, or want of heirs of the king of Scotland's body, the right of succession should happen to be controverted, the king of France shall not intermeddle; but leave the decision to the Scottish nobility, according to the laws and constitutions of Scotland; and on whatever person the succession shall be settled, he shall be acknowledged and supported by the king of France, and his successors, against the king of England, and others who may happen to controvert the same. And if the pope of himself, or at the instance of others, should absolve either the kings of France or Scotland, their heirs or successors, from the obligation or oath taken for the faithful observance of the said alliance, or to annul or invalidate the same, then and in such case neither of the said kings, their heirs or successors, shall take the advantage of such an absolution; but will faithfully and religiously observe this treaty in all its branches, without fraud, collusion, or deceit, in all respects, as if the absolution had never been made.

This is the famous league which subsisted between Scotland and France above seven hundred years, which probably is a space not to be paralleled in history betwixt any other kingdoms or states; and to which, in a great measure, may be said to be owing the preservation of our independency, and from being enslaved by the united powers of England, Ireland, Normandy, and other provinces in France. And to which may likewise be owing France's not falling a sacrifice to England; or, at least, the recovery of their numerous and fertile provinces from the English, may be attributed to this: which is owned by Atwood, when he produces the following lines, viz.

“ But for the Scots, to name no higher powers,

“ Still Gascoign wines and Bourdeaux had been ours.”

This is a truth so glaring, that the English, till the happy union of Scotland and England, were convinced of the justness of the old rhyme:

“ He that France would win,

“ Must at Scotland first begin.”

Though

Though to the above alliance it must be acknowledged, that, in a great measure, we owe our independency, as aforesaid; yet it may as truly be said that we were often duped by the French, who frequently accommodated matters with the English at our expence, and at that of their honour, by leaving us to struggle by ourselves against the mighty power of England, at the expence of our lives, and ruin of our country! Now, praise to heaven, by the succession of king James VI. to the crown of England, we are happily united to our natural and sincere friends the English; since which time, had it not been owing to ourselves, we might have enjoyed all earthly blessings. And being now again restored to the inestimable blessings of peace and plenty, we may see agriculture improved, manufactures flourishing, and commerce increasing.

We are told by certain of our writers, that William, brother to Achaius, who commanded the troops sent to the assistance of the French in Germany, founded and endowed divers abbeys and hospitals in that country. Whether the Scottish monasteries in Germany were founded by William or not, I cannot ascertain; but that we had a number of religious foundations in that country is manifest: to which the Irish, with their usual assurance, have of late trumped up a title; for no other reason, that I can learn, than their having been by some foreign writers called Scots. And finding, since the reformation of religion in Scotland, that the said religious houses were almost deserted by the Scots, they judged it a proper time to put in their claim, and found means to get possession of some of them, from which they have been turned out, to their just reproach. But that these religious foundations only belong to our nation, we have the concurring testimonies of divers writers, particularly Bonaventure Strachan, in his *MS. Germania Christiana per Scotos*: whereby is shewn, that, notwithstanding the length of time, and frequent revolutions both in church and state, some of those houses, conformable to their first institution, are in possession of our countrymen at this day. And by a certain foreign writer we are told, that he is mistaken if either an English or Irishman can be admitted into those houses.

Du Cang.
Gloss. Med.
vol. 2. p. 778.

To prevent the wars that frequently happened betwixt the Scots and Picts, an alliance was proposed and agreed to between the two nations, which was soon after confirmed by a marriage between Achaius and Fergusiana, sister to Hungus king of the Picts, on whom he begot Alpine; whose death occasioned the destruction of the Pictish nation, as hereafter will be related.

Roet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 10.
fol. 196.

By this treaty and affinity the Scots were drawn in to assist the Picts; for Athelstane, king of England, pretending a right to part of the Pictish dominions, crossed the river Tweed, and committed great ravages in the country now called the Merse: but being called home to suppress some commotions, Hungus king of the Picts, being joined by ten thousand Scottish auxiliaries commanded by Alpine, son of Achaius, to revenge himself on Athelstane, invaded the country of Northumberland, making great spoil; but returning homewards with his booty, was overtaken by Athelstane, at the head of a great army, in the neighbourhood of Haddington in the country of East-Lothian; at whose approach the Picts, being greatly dismayed, stood to their arms, and a battle being inevitable, Hungus made all ready to engage the next morning, invoking the Almighty to assist him against his too

Ibid.
Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 14.

Buchan. Hist.
lib. 5. p. 89.

powerful foes: then being fatigued, and his mind oppressed with care, went to his repose, wherein 'tis said that St. Andrew the apostle appeared to him in a vision, and promised him victory over his enemies; which being declared to the army, the military were inspired with such joy and hope, that they cheerfully and with the greatest resolution prepared for battle against the approaching day, which was spent in light skirmishes; and the day after, there being a general engagement, to shew that St. Andrew's appearing in a vision to Hungus was real, it was confirmed by the appearance of his cross in the firmament, at the beginning of the engagement. This so encouraged the Picts, and discouraged the English, that they could hardly sustain the first shock, in which Athelstane was slain, and his army soon routed. The place where the battle was fought, near Haddington in East-Lothian, is still known by the name of Athelstane-foord.

As Hungus ascribed his success to St. Andrew, in gratitude for his powerful assistance, he rebuilt the church of St. Andrew, in the town of St. Andrew's, in a very magnificent manner; and, besides many valuable gifts in commemoration of the victory, gave the tithes of his domains in support of the clergy; and ordered that, in all times coming, the cross of St. Andrew should be used as the Pictish ensign armorial. And the Scots, by conquest, succeeding to the Pictish kingdom, assumed it for theirs, which they continued till the union of Scotland and England in the year 1706; when, by virtue of that treaty, it was incorporated with the cross of St. George, which together make the present ensign armorial of Great Britain.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 836.

Ibid. ad an.
934.

REMARK. As all the English historians are silent in respect to this battle, wherein their king is said to have been killed, his army routed, and almost cut off, which, if true, might have proved of the most dangerous and fatal consequences to England, is it to be doubted but they would have given an account of an action so memorable, though at the expence of their country? Wherefore I take it to be a mistake in our own writers in point of time, which is manifest by the English having had only two kings of the name of Athelstane. The first, who was son of Ethelwulf, came to the crown in the year 836; and the second, the son of Edward the Elder, was advanced to the throne anno 925. Now as to the battle said by our writers to have happened in the reign of Achaius, this could not be; for that prince died in the year 819; whereas the first Athelstane only came to the crown anno 836, and the second of that name began his reign in the year 925. And as by the said English historians it appears, that in those reigns only one battle was fought between the Scots and English, and that was in anno 934, this must have been the battle said to have been fought by Hungus, though varied both as to time and success; an account whereof I shall give, when I come to that period.

Buchanan seems to have been aware of this mistake, by substituting a Danish general instead of an English king; and, through carelessness in not searching into proper authorities, tells us, that Alured, or Alfred, king of England, bestowed the country of Northumberland on Athelstane, a Danish general. But, as ill-luck would have it, that is impossible; for Alured, or Alfred, only came to the throne in the year 871, which was fifty-two years after the demise of Achaius, anno 819.

Achaius,

Achaius, after having transacted divers affairs of great consequence, died in peace, in the thirty-second year of his reign, anno 819.

CONVALLUS.

To Achaius succeeded his nephew Conval, in the year 819; who, having no inclination to war, kept a friendly correspondence with his neighbours; and, being greatly beloved by his subjects, died in peace in the fifth year of his reign, anno 824, without the least remarkable occurrence happening during his government.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 53.

DUNGALLUS.

Dungal, son of Selvac, after the death of Conval, ascended the throne in the year 824. But divers of his subjects proved refractory to his government, and endeavoured to persuade Alpine, the son of Achaius, to assume the crown. Tho' this method of proceeding was not approved by Alpine, they compelled him, by menaces, to a seeming compliance; but, in the interim, he acquainted Dungal with the whole affair: the conspirators were no sooner apprised of this, than they returned the accusation against Alpine, as the arch-rebel and contriver of the plot. But Dungal, giving no credit to their recrimination, apprehended a number of them, and punished them in an exemplary manner.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 10.
fol. 198.

Hungus, king of the Picts, dying soon after, Egan his second son, to make way for himself to the crown, murdered his eldest brother Dorstolog; and Brenna, his relict, in revenge, dispatched him. His death putting an end to the male line of the Picts, the crown devolved on Alpine, son of Achaius, by right of succession, and accordingly he laid claim to it; but, being a foreigner, was rejected by the Picts, who chose Feredeth, one of their own nobility, for their king: which being highly resented by Dungal, king of the Scots, ambassadors were sent to expostulate with the Picts on that occasion; who being denied audience, and ordered to depart the country in four days, Dungal prepared for war, to compel the Picts to do that justice to Alpine by force, which they would not grant him in a legal way. But Dungal being unfortunately drowned in crossing the river Spey, this put an end to his preparations with his life, in the seventh year of his reign, anno 831.

Id. ibid.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 3.
c. 53.

ALPINUS.

To Dungal succeeded Alpine, son of Achaius, anno 831; who resolving to maintain his right to the Pictish throne, raised an army, and marching into the county of Angus, was met near the village of Restennet, in the neighbourhood of the town of Forfar, by Feredeth, at the head of a powerful army; where a battle ensuing, it was fought on both sides with great obstinacy till night, when the Picts giving way, Feredeth, to restore the fight, at the head of one of his troops, broke into the Scottish army, and, fighting like a man in despair, lost his life and most of his followers; and though the Scots obtained the victory, they had no great reason to rejoice, having lost above a third of their army.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.
fol. 199.

To supply the loss of Feredeth, the Picts chose Brudus his son for their king; who being very indolent, and unfit to govern, was murdered by certain of his subjects in the first year of his reign. They then elected Keneth his brother to succeed him, who was found no better qualified to rule than Brudus; for having levied an army, and marched at its head in fight of the enemy, he withdrew from his command in the most dastardly manner; and being met by a countryman, who

Ibid. fol. 200.

who knew him not, was upbraided for a fugitive, and killed as such.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.
fol. 200.

On the death of Keneth, Brudus, a valiant prince, eminently distinguished for his courage and martial achievements, was chosen. He no sooner entered on the government, than he attacked and expelled the Scottish parties, who were plundering the country; and, in order to strengthen himself by foreign aid, endeavoured to make an alliance with the English: but not succeeding, he raised all the men capable of bearing arms throughout Pictland; and, resolving either to conquer or die, marched towards the Scots, who lay encamped in the neighbourhood of the town of Dundee, in the county of Angus. Both sides being greatly irritated, the conflict was sharp and bloody; and some squadrons of the Pictish cavalry having joined the baggage-guard, mounted their horses, and advanced as if they intended to attack the Scottish rear. This struck such a terror amongst the Scots, that they dispersed and fled, and a dreadful slaughter and captivity followed. Amongst the captives was the king, and a number of his nobility: these were killed in cold blood, as was Alpine, whom they carried to a neighbouring village, and decollated publicly. From this melancholy event the place received the name of Bas-alpine in the Gaelick, in English the death of Alpine, at present called Pitalpy. His head was fixed on a pole, carried through their army in triumph, and afterwards set up in the most publick place of their capital city of Abernethy in Strathearn, anno 834, after he had reigned three years.

KENETHUS II.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 3.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.
fol. 201.

On the lamentable death of Alpine, his son Kenneth II. surnamed Mac-alpine, came to the throne, in the year 834. The Picts, by their late great victory, began to entertain thoughts of expelling the Scots the island; to which end they obtained auxiliary troops from the English. But a sedition arising amongst the Picts, which Brudus himself could not allay, the army disbanded, and their king died of grief. Drusken, his brother, having succeeded him, did all he could to compose the difference; but in vain. In the mean time certain Scottishmen, by night, brought off Alpine's head from Abernethy, and delivered it to Keneth, who not only applauded the bold and noble attempt, but rewarded the enterprizers with grants of certain lands.

Ibid.

Keneth, eager to revenge himself on the Picts for the great dishonour done him and his country, summoned the states of the nation to deliberate on a war against the Picts. Though the king and the military were for revenging the unparalleled indignity, yet the graver senators thought it more advisable to wait till their forces, which had been greatly weakened by numerous wars, recovered strength; and in the mean time judged it better neither to seek peace nor make war, till fitter opportunity might offer. This opinion prevailing, there was a peace between the two nations for the space of three years, as if by mutual agreement.

Ibid. fol. 202.

Although Keneth had a strong propensity to renew the war, yet few of his nobility being of the same mind, he endeavoured to prevail on them by stratagem, though he could not by persuasion; and for this purpose invited them to an entertainment, which lasting till late in the night, they were lodged in the palace, which they might easily do, because every man, according to the custom of his ancestors, lay on the ground, having no other bed than grass or heath to repose on.

When they were gone to rest, a person appointed by the king, covered with dried fish-skins, and a long tube or pipe in his hand to speak through, repairing to the place of repose, spoke through the tube as directed. The amazing voice, being heard by the noblemen, seemed to them more than human; and being thereby exhorted to a war against the Picts, they concluded it to be from heaven, which was confirmed to them by a flash of light from the fish-skins, darting on and dazzling their drowsy eyes. In a word, this wonderful apparition affecting them all to a very great degree, a religious fear seized their minds; and that which increased their admiration was, the actor's disappearing imperceptibly, all on a sudden, by a private passage.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 3.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 5.
p. 91.

This amazing appearance being communicated to the king in the morning, he confirmed it, by declaring that he had likewise seen and heard it. Now, all regarding it as an immediate command from God, a resolution was forthwith taken to declare war against the Picts: pursuant to which an army was raised with great expedition; and the Picts, at this dangerous juncture, not being wanting to prepare for their defence, both armies took the field. They no sooner approached than they assailed one another in a furious manner, without waiting for the word of command; and the fight being as eagerly continued as it was fiercely begun, victory at last inclined to the Scots. Those in whom the Picts put the most confidence, proved their ruin; for the English auxiliaries, seeing all things managed without order, and by tumultuary force, retreated to a neighbouring hill, only to be spectators of other men's danger. Now a dreadful scene appeared; for the Scots, calling to one another to remember the murder of Alpine and his nobility, were enraged to such a degree, that they spared neither age nor sex, all being put to the sword without mercy. By the eager pursuit and slaughter of the Picts, the English had an opportunity to march off, and save themselves.

By this battle the Picts were reduced to the greatest degree of misery, insomuch that although they offered very advantageous terms to obtain peace, yet no other conditions would be allowed than the surrender of their kingdom in sovereignty to the Scots. Soon after the battle, all the Pictish dominions benorth the frith of Forth were surrendered to Keneth, who, to secure the same, put garrisons in all places of strength, and set out to reduce the Pictish territories on the southern side of the frith. But having, on his march southward, received advice that the northern Picts had not only taken divers of his fortresses, but put the garrisons to the sword, he marched his army back against the revolvers, retook the several castles and forts, put all therein to the sword, and laid waste the country.

Id. ibid.

Drusken, king of the Picts, observing his people enraged to the last degree at the great cruelties exercised against them, and that, instead of fighting for their country, they were now to fight for their lives, and those of their wives and children, assembled all the forces he could; and crossing the rivers Forth and Tay, arrived at Scone, a town situate on the northern bank of the river Tay in Perthshire, where he waited the coming of the Scots. Here Drusken again endeavoured to accommodate matters, by yielding all the Pictish territories benorth the river Forth; but Keneth would have all, or none. All prospect of an accommodation being over, the armies met, and their lives, liberties, and properties depending on their success, both

fides exerted themselves to the uttermost. The Picts at last being broken, and the river Tay preventing their flight, occasioned their destruction; Drusken and most of his nobility were cut off, and great numbers being pushed into the water, those who escaped the sword perished in the river; so that the whole Pictish army were destroyed. The consequence of this victory, was the surrender of all the Pictish dominions besouth the æstuary of Forth to Keneth, who, uniting the Pictish kingdom to his own, intitled himself king of Picts, as well as of Scots: whereby is evinced, that the Pictish nation was not cut off, as is falsely asserted by divers of our writers; for Keneth would not have assumed the title of king of a people not in being, for he stiled himself king of Picts, and not of Pictland. Thus the northern part of Britain was united into one kingdom, by the appellation of Scotland, by Keneth, who, after a glorious reign of twenty years, died anno 854.

REMARK. Although the nations by foreigners called Scots and Picts, were the same people, as I have, in discoursing on the Gaelick wall, or Graham's dike, and elsewhere made appear, yet, for a number of ages, by various accidents and thirst of empire, they carried on long and bloody wars against each other; which being at last terminated by the above victory, the Scots became possessed of both kingdoms. This transaction having happened above five hundred years before the writing of our first general history by Fordun, the petty extracts from our more antient historians, through the carelessness of writers, have left us in the dark, as to the genuine and antient appellations of the countries by them called Scotland and Pictland.

For the epithets of Picts and Scots mentioned by Adamnan and Bede, seem to have been only according to the tattle of the times; which is manifest by our Highlanders, the true descendants of the first inhabitants of our country, who, instead of calling themselves Scots, reject it as an imposition, and call themselves Gael, as is evident their ancestors did, by the country they inhabited being denominated Ardgyl, which is a corruption of Ard-gael; that is, the Highlanders, or mountaineer Gael. Similar to this is Gael-duni, the inhabitants of the hills, which name by the Romans was converted into Caledonii. I have already hinted, that the Roman wall (commonly called Graham's dike) was denominated the Gaelick wall, from the inhabitants of the country it passed through, who undoubtedly were the Gael, by foreigners denominated Picts.

Lloyd, Hist.
Church.

Now we are told by a certain writer, that Dieu Calydon imports the Caledonians on the right hand, that is, towards the west. As by this it appears, that the western parts were inhabited by the Dieu Calydon; surely the eastern must have been occupied by a nation of a similar appellation. Wherefore, as conjectures are free, I shall be of opinion, till proof appear to the contrary, that the lands inhabited by the people improperly called Scots and Picts, were denominated from the eastern and western Gael; and the eastern Gael being ingulphed by the western, they possessed themselves of all their dominions; the parts whereof besouth the frith of Forth, being by the Picts retaken from the English, who had long inhabited the same. This being a better and pleasanter country than those either of the western or eastern Gael, the western Gael on their settling therein found, that they by the English inhabitants, according to the custom of foreigners,

Bed. Hist.
Eccles. lib. 4.
c. 26.

were

were denominated Scots; as the eastern Gael, their conquerors, were called Picts. This I take to be the time when our ancestors first adopted the appellation of Scots, and conferred on the united countries of the western and eastern Gael the name of Scotland.

DONALDUS II.

After the death of Keneth, Donald his brother acceded to the crown in the year 854, who being a very vicious prince, minded his pleasures more than the good of his people, whereby he got the ill will of his subjects: which the refugee Picts in England taking advantage of, they applied to Osbert and Ella, two powerful English princes, for assistance to enable them to recover their country from the Scots, with a promise to hold it of them in fee, in all times coming: which being agreed to, Osbert and Ella, at the head of a potent army, entered Scotland, and encamping in the neighbourhood of the town of Berwick, dispatched an herald to Donald, requiring him to restore the lands his late brother had taken from the Picts, otherwise they would compel him.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.
fol. 208.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
P. 93.

Donald, a pusillanimous prince, instead of making preparations to withstand his enemies, was anxious to obtain a place to secure himself: but being at last, in this time of common danger, prevailed on not to expose the nation by cowardice, summoned all his people to attend him in the field on a day and place prefixed, and putting himself at their head, marched in quest of Osbert. The armies meeting in the neighbourhood of Jedburgh, in Tiviotdale, a battle ensued, and Donald had the good fortune to discomfit Osbert; whence marching to the mouth of the river Tweed, he seized two of the enemies ships, laden with wine and other provisions for the use of the English army: whereupon his men began to entertain themselves with eating and drinking in an excessive and riotous manner; which Osbert receiving intelligence of, drew together the remains of his army, and being reinforced by the arrival of a new supply, fell on the Scots by night, who, overcome by wine and sleep, became an easy prey to their enemies. Twenty thousand of the Scots were killed, the surviving nobility were, with the king, taken prisoners, and he, in derision was led through the country as a publick spectacle.

Id. ibid.

This great loss occasioned such a confusion and dread amongst the people, that they knew not which course to take to stop the progress of the foe. In the interim, Osbert, the better to prosecute his victory, got together a number of vessels, wherein he shipped ten thousand men to invade the country of Fife; but his fleet being almost destroyed by a violent storm, and five thousand of his men lost, the rest with great difficulty got back in a shattered condition to the port they sailed from; after which Osbert, having reinforced his army, began his march for Stirling, to cross the river Forth over the bridge at that town. The Scots, in the mean time, sent an ambassador to Osbert, to accommodate matters on the best terms they could obtain, which were as follows: 1. That the countries taken from the Scots since the commencement of the war, should remain in possession of the English, and their confederates the Britons, for ever. 2. The Pictish lands still in possession of the Scots benorth the friths of Forth and Clyde, to be held by them as their property for ever; to be bounded on the south by the said friths of Forth and Clyde, and the former thereof to be thenceforth denominated the Scottish sea. 3. That no Scottishman presume to enter

Id. Ibid.

the

the English dominions from across the frith of Forth, on pain of death: and whenever any person of the same nation shall happen to be driven on shore by stress of weather on the English coast, he shall leave the country within the space of three days, unless prevented by accidents. 4. The Scots to carry nothing out of England but provisions. 5. The Scots shall not erect any castles or forts near the confines of England. 6. The Scots to pay to the Britons annually, during the space of twenty years, the sum of one thousand pounds. 7. And, for performance of the above articles, the Scots to give sixty of their nobilities sons as hostages.

The English by the above treaty being put in possession of all the countries besouth the rivers Forth and Clyde, wherein was the castle of Stirling, here Osbert erected a mint, and from its name called the specie coined therein sterling money; and having rebuilt the bridge at that place with stone, that formerly was of wood, he erected a crucifix thereon, and caused to be engraven on its pedestal the following lines, *viz.*

“ I’m a free march, as passengers may ken,

“ To Scots, to Britons, and to Englishmen.”

The Picts considering by this treaty that peace was restored between the English, Scots, and Britons, dreaded that their friends the English, for the sake of their lands, would become their enemies: this consideration had such an effect on many of them, that to save their lives they fled to Denmark and Norway, while those who remained at home, were cut off by the English.

Donald, by virtue of the above treaty, having recovered his liberty, no sooner arrived in Scotland, than he returned to his vicious course of life; for which there appearing no remedy, neither by reason nor persuasion, he was imprisoned by the nobility, which grieved him to such a degree, that he made away with himself in the fourth year of his reign, anno 858.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 15.

REMARK. As the above are the accounts given of Donald, by Boece, Lesley, Buchanan, and Chambers, 'tis necessary to hear what our more antient writers say in that respect. The author of the *Ex-tracta de Chronicis Scotiæ*, Winton and Fordun, tell us that Donald was a prince of great reputation, equally brave, active, and vigilant; well versed in the art of war, sharer in all the glories of his brother's conquests, gained battles, and defeated the Picts as often as he engaged them; that when he came to the throne, he governed his people with great moderation, had a special regard for his brethren and relations, and cultivated a good understanding with his neighbours; and though, on the death of his brother Keneth, the Pictish refugees, at the instigation of the English, broke the truce, and invaded his dominions; yet by his good deportment to the Picts, who had submitted to, and lived under the Scottish government, matters were accommodated, and a happy tranquillity settled within the space of one year: and, according to Fordun, he died in peace at last. However, this story has given occasion to a modern English writer (*Hist. Engl. edit. Lond. 1701, vol. I. p. 51.*) to complain of the silence of his countrymen in respect to that great transaction, which he truly says is only to be found in Scottish writers.

Add to this, that all the English writers are silent in respect to this war betwixt Donald and Osbert, which, if ever an occurrence of that

of that vast consequence had happened, where in one battle, and on one side, no less than twenty thousand men are said to have been slain, with most of the nobility, and the king, with the surviving part of them, and persons of distinction, taken prisoners. Surely such an action, whereby the Scots lost all their dominions on the southern sides of the æstuaries of Forth and Clyde, would not have been overlooked by all the English historians, as the publishing an account of an action so glorious to their countrymen, would have greatly redounded to the honour both of Osbert and their country in general, as they then gave the most mortifying stroke to the Scots, that ever befel this nation before that period. Now, as the Osbert or Osbryght here mentioned was king of Northumberland, it does not appear by the Saxon annals, or other English writers, that I can learn, that ever he or Ella had war with the Scots.

CONSTANTINUS II.

To Donald, Constantine his nephew, the son of Keneth, succeeded in the year 858, who soon after endeavoured to recover the countries lost in his predecessor's time; but the people would not enter into his measures, till the grievances introduced by Donald were redressed: for the accomplishing of which, Constantine summoned the states to meet him at Scone, where, in a convention, divers laws were enacted for the better government of the people; and, by his careful direction of affairs, the nation continued in a state of great tranquillity for divers years, till disturbed by Ewen of the isles, who, breaking out into rebellion, and being joined by a number of people, garrisoned the royal fortresses of Dunstaffage, of which he was governor for the king, for his own use; and endeavoured to prevail on the inhabitants of the countries of Murray, Ross, and Cathness, to rise in his favour. Constantine being advised of this, marched with the utmost expedition against him, surprized the castle, and taking Ewen and his accomplices prisoners, caused them forthwith to be executed, which put an end to the rebellion, and restored peace to the nation.

This peace proved of no long duration; for the Picts who fled to Denmark for refuge, after the conquest of their country by Keneth, resigned all their rights and pretensions to their lands, in possession of the Scots, in favour of Gadan king of Denmark. He, to recover the same, sent his brethren Hungar and Hubba, with a powerful fleet and army, who landing in the country of Fife, committed great cruelties, which obliged many religious, for the security of their lives, to fly to the isle of May, situate in the mouth of the frith of Forth; whither being followed by the Danes, they were, together with the monks of the abbey of that place, all cut off.

Constantine, to stop the progress of the barbarous Danes, summoned his people to meet him at a time and place prefixed, where being assembled in their military accoutrements, he marched in quest of the enemy, who were encamped on both sides the river Leven, which, by a sudden and violent rain, arose to such an height, that all communication was cut off between the troops on both sides: this Constantine taking the advantage of, attacked that part of the army which lay on the southern side of the river, which, after a stout resistance, were overpowered and routed, a great number being slain, and many drowned; but Hubba, the general, saved himself by swim-

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
cap. 15.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.
fol. 112, 113.

Id. ibid.

ming across the river. The waters subsiding soon after, Constantine and his troops, flushed with their late victory, forded the Leven, to attack the remaining part of the Danish army under the leading of Hungar, who being well prepared to receive them, a battle ensued, wherein the Scots were routed, with the loss of ten thousand of their men killed, and a number taken prisoners, among whom was Constantine their king; him the enemy carried to a cave on the sea coast and beheaded, in the sixteenth year of his reign, anno 874.

ETHUS.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 16.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.
fol. 214.

On the unfortunate death of Constantine, Eth, his brother, from his great agility surnamed Alipes, or Swift-foot, acceded to the throne in the year 874; who, being of a weak capacity, minded his pleasure more than the good of his people, and, by not endeavouring to withstand the Danes, they invaded and plundered the country of Lothian without opposition. The nation being reduced to the greatest degree of misery, by the indolence and inactivity of Eth, he was seized and imprisoned by a conspiracy of the nobility, which brought on a fit of melancholy, that carried him off on the third day of his imprisonment, and the second year of his reign, anno 876.

By other writers we are told, that Eth, by his good conduct against the Danes, gained the love of his people to such a degree, that he was by a faction declared king: but Gregory, son of Dongal, having a better title, his right was supported by a number of the nobility; which occasioning a civil war, a battle was fought at Strathalorn, and Eth being discomfited, this event put an end both to his life and usurpation.

GREGORIUS.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 17.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
p. 95.

After the death of Ethus, Gregory, surnamed the great, succeeded to the crown, anno 875. The first step he took after his succession, was his publishing an act of oblivion in favour of the abettors of Ethus, his predecessor; he made certain regulations concerning the clergy, in a convention of the states held at Forfar, in the county of Angus, and endeavoured to redress the grievances of former reigns.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.
fol. 215.

The Danes, on their withdrawing from the country of Fife, having left their confederates the Picts in possession of that peninsula, thither Gregory marched to dislodge them: but they, unwilling to risk a battle, crossed the frith of Forth, and hastening through the country of Lothian to Berwick, were joined by their allies the Danes, which Gregory receiving advice of, set out to attack them. The confederates, apprehensive the English would fall on their rear, avoided an engagement, and having reinforced the garrison of Berwick, marched their army into Northumberland. Gregory, on his arrival at Berwick, was by a conspiracy of the English inhabitants, let into the town by night, where having put the Danes to the sword, and made the Picts prisoners, he garrisoned the town with his own troops, and marched into Northumberland in pursuit of the Danish army, when coming up with Hardunt, he engaged and routed him, with an incredible slaughter; which occasioned his leaving Northumberland a prey to the victorious Gregory, who received the inhabitants into his protection, and took his winter quarters in the town of Berwick.

Gregory, having taken the field in the spring, marched against the Cumbrian Britons to retake Dunbarton, and the countries adjacent, subdued by them in the reign of Donald II. Being then unprepared for

war, they proposed an accommodation, which was agreed to on the following terms, viz. That the Britons deliver up to Gregory all the lands they were possessed of in Scotland; and Gregory, on his part, agreed to assist them if attacked by the Danes.

This peace proved of no long duration; for the Danes being soon after overthrown by Alfred, king of England, Constantine, the British king, apprehending no danger, endeavoured to recover what he had lost by the late treaty with Gregory, entered Annandale in a hostile manner, and ravaged the country; but being laden with spoil, on his return homewards, was attacked by Gregory, in the neighbourhood of Lochmaben, his army routed, and himself killed. The Britons, in this melancholy situation of affairs, chose Hedbert, brother of Constantine, for their king, who being diffident of the English, endeavoured to compromise matters with Gregory in the best manner he could, and to that end proposed the late treaty as a basis for the new; but that being rejected, the Britons were obliged to deliver up in sovereignty to the Scots, the countries of Cumberland and Westmorland, as an atonement for their late breach of faith.

Alfred, king of England, on this occasion sent an ambassador to congratulate Gregory on his great success, especially against the Danes, and to propose an alliance between them for the security of both nations; which being agreed to, Alfred renounced all pretensions to the countries the Scots had taken from the Danes, of which Northumberland undoubtedly was one.

The war with the Britons was no sooner ended, than a new one broke out with the Irish, on pretence that divers of their ships had been seized and plundered on the coast of Scotland; and that the captures made by them at sea, and the reprisals at land, were to reimburse them for the loss sustained by these seizures. Others again are of opinion, that the troubles in Ireland were owing to two powerful factions, raised during the nonage of Donach their king, headed by Brien and Corneil, the contending rivals. Now, as Donach is said to have been cousin to Gregory, he probably went over to assist him against his factious subjects. Be that as it will, Brien and Corneil no sooner heard of Gregory's landing in Ireland, than they laid aside their animosities, and encamped their armies on the banks of the river Bane, to defend the passage, with a view to oblige the Scots to retreat for want of provisions: but Gregory having found means to oblige Brien to leave his intrenchments and provide for his safety, he was in his retreat attacked by Gregory, and a number of his men cut off with the loss of his own life. The news of Brien's defeat no sooner reached Corneil, than he withdrew his army into places of security in the inland parts of the kingdom. And Gregory having caused a severe discipline to be observed throughout the country, the people came in from all parts and submitted to him; and having reduced the castle of Dungard and Pont, marched towards Dublin, the chief city of the kingdom: on his march thither he received advice, that Corneil, at the head of a very numerous army, was advancing to fight him, and was then within less than ten miles of him.

Gregory having made proper dispositions to receive Corneil, and the armies meeting the next day, a fierce battle ensued, wherein Corneil lost his life, and the army put to flight proved fatal to multitudes, the remains whereof being pursued to the gates of Dublin, took shelter in

that

that city; which was crouded to such a degree, that, as they must soon have perished for want of provisions, it was resolved to submit to the conqueror. Pursuant to this resolution a deputation was appointed to attend Gregory; at the head of which, according to sir James Ware, was Cormac, bishop of Dublin, in his pontifical dress, with a crucifix in his hand: who having submitted in the name of the people, Gregory entered the city, and received them into his protection. He then appointed a regency during the nonage of Donach, and, having placed garrisons in the several strong holds throughout the kingdom, took an oath from the natives, That they would suffer neither an Englishman nor Dane to enter the island without his permission: and having taken hostages to secure the peace of the country, returned to Scotland with his army. No sooner was Donach become of age to govern, than Gregory sent back the hostages, and recalled the garrisons he left in Ireland. This relation of the war in Ireland is attested by all our writers, as is the taking of Dublin by Brompton, an English historian, though out in point of chronology. Gregory, after a glorious reign of eighteen years, died anno 892.

DONALDUS III.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 20.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 10.
fol. 222.

To Gregory succeeded Donald, son of Constantine, and grandson of Keneth, in the year 892. He was of a pacifick disposition, and governed his people with great justice and tranquillity. In his time the Danes being returned to England, king Alfred overcame them near Abingdon, and compelled them to become Christians. Peace was no sooner concluded with the Danes, than a war broke out in the northern parts of Scotland, betwixt the inhabitants of the countries of Murray and Ross, wherein some thousands were slain: but Donald, at the head of a considerable power, marching against them, soon reduced them; and seizing on the ringleaders, caused them to be executed, which effectually put an end to these commotions. Donald died soon after, in the eleventh year of his reign, anno 903.

CONSTANTINUS III.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 21.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 223.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
p. 96.

After the demise of Donald, Constantine, the son of Erth, ascended the throne anno 903; who, willing to secure his country from the Danes invasions, entered into a league with them, which he imagined would likewise be a means to preserve to him the northern provinces of England, subdued by his predecessor Gregory, to which Edward the Elder king of England laid claim. With this view he granted to Malcolm, son of Donald III. the country of Cumberland; and ordered, that thenceforth the heir apparent to the crown of Scotland should possess that province, as an appendage to that crown, the better to induce him to defend the same against Danish insults, or English pretensions.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 924.

Edward succeeded his father Alfred the Great in the year 901. His reign was no less celebrated for great actions, than that of his renowned father; for he not only compelled the inland Danes to submit to him, but repelled all invasions from abroad, and recovered large dominions which had been taken from his predecessors, whereby he became one of the greatest princes that ever swayed the English sceptre. Wherefore the monks, who were the historians of those times, willing to increase his grandeur, tell us, that the king and people of Scotland, &c. chose him for their lord and patron: a tale so idle, that many English writers seem ashamed of it; and Marianus Scotus, falsely by some said to vouch it, does not in the least mention it. But such is

is the malevolence and prejudice of many English writers against the honour and independency of Scotland, that they have let slip no opportunity to assert the dominion of their kings over us, without producing the least authority either by deed or writing, or other witnesses than the monks who invented the calumny: yet such is the candour of others, that a celebrated English historian says, "This is the first time we find any submission of the king of Scots, which whether it amounted to a downright homage, and to hold that kingdom of the crown of England, may be much questioned, and is absolutely denied by the Scottish historians." And the same writer, in another place, speaking of the homage paid to the said king Edward by Lewelyn, prince of North Wales, says, "But this circumstance only serves to bring all the rest of this story into question; for it is certain this ceremony of doing homage was not in use till after the coming in of the Normans."

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
b. 5. p. 323.

Ibid. p. 328.

The same author, a little farther, speaking of some objections started by Buchanan against Athelstan's being king of all Britain, says, "But as for what Buchanan objects against some of our later historians, for making Athelstan to be king of all Britain, and to have restored Constantine king of the Scots to his kingdom, and to have forced him to do homage for it; we must confess that Buchanan is so far in the right, that neither our Saxon annals, nor Marianus Scotus, nor Florence of Worcester, mention any thing of it, though they all relate the great victory which king Athelstan obtained over the Scots; but yet are wholly silent either about his driving of the king of Scotland out of his kingdom, or of causing him to do homage for restoring it to him. This is to shew that I would not be partial to the historians of our own country, as if they could not also be sometimes guilty of great errors; and therefore I thought good to take notice of it here."

Ibid. p. 332.

Edward, dying soon after, left his crown by will to Athelstan, his natural son; who, taking Cumberland to be part of his dominions, was much nettled at the disposition made in favour of Malcolm: and being resolved to recover the same, prevailed on the Danes to desert the Scots, and enter into an alliance with him. But they, to their cost, soon found themselves deceived; for, being cajoled by Athelstan, he fell on them unawares, ravaged their country, and almost ruined it.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
p. 96.

This mal-treatment of Athelstan's induced the Danes to have recourse to their late allies the Scots, whom, without the least provocation, they had abandoned; but they now begged their assistance, and vowed inviolable friendship. Constantine, for good reasons, complied with their request; and although all things seemed to tend to a rupture, yet matters were accommodated: for we read, that Athelstan having dispossessed the Danish king of Northumberland of his kingdom, he fled into Scotland for refuge, and Anlaf his brother into Ireland; which Athelstan being advised of, he sent ambassadors to Constantine, to demand the fugitive prince to be delivered up to him, on the peril of a speedy war. Some English writers say that the war was actually begun, wherein Athelstan made the Scots fly before him as far as Dunfeodor and Mertermore, places by sir Thomas Craig said to be unknown in Scotland. And Malmesbury affirms, that Constantine and Eugenius, kings of Scotland and Cumberland, repaired to a place called Dacor, where they surrendered

Id. ibid.

rendered themselves and their dominions into the hands of Athelstan, who thereupon became godfather to Constantine's son.

REMARK. Our authors are greatly mistaken in this affair; for Cumberland, instead of being a kingdom, was only a principality at that time; and instead of Eugenius being king, Malcolm was prince of that country. As to Athelstan's being godfather to Constantine's son, it no where appears, that I can learn, that ever Constantine had a son. And it is equally erroneous, that Constantine at this time invaded England; for the persons who commanded in that expedition, were Malcolm prince of Cumberland, and Anlaf a Danish prince.

Ingulph. Hist.
Croyl.

These princes, to provoke the enemy (who were much inferior in number) to battle, not only committed great ravages in the country, but attacked Athelstan; who wisely giving way to their fury, they, vainly imagining themselves sure of victory, left off the pursuit, and fell to plundering: this Athelstan observing, rallied his troops, and, returning to the charge, soon put to flight the mercenary rout, while the nobility and persons of distinction, who kept their ground, were mostly cut off; and Malcolm, prince of Cumberland, being dangerously wounded, narrowly escaped. This is allowed, by all our writers, to have been a complete victory; though the manner of obtaining it is differently reported by English writers. Ingulph says, that the Scots and Danes, chusing to surprize their enemies by night, fell violently on the English at Brunanburgh (now Bamburgh) in Northumberland, which occasioning great noise and confusion, Athelstan, though a mile distant, took the alarm; and, marching thither with great expedition, observed Turketul his kinsman engaged against Anlaf, forced his way through heaps of Orcadians and Picts, and breaking in upon the Scots and Cumbrians, dismounted Constantine, and would have taken him prisoner, had not the Scots from all quarters come crouding in to his relief: they pressed on in a violent and desperate manner, and all aiming at Athelstan, he had no prospect of escaping, till the brave Singin, captain of the Londoners, came to his rescue, and killed Constantine; which was no sooner known, than both Scots and Danes fled, and were pursued with a dreadful slaughter.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 23.

REMARK. This account of Constantine's death is certainly a mistake; for all our writers agree that he was not in the battle, and survived it full nine years; the last five whereof he spent in the Culdee monastery at St. Andrew's, to which place he retired out of an act of piety in the year 938, leaving the crown to Malcolm, who succeeded him.

The consequence of this great overthrow was the loss of the provinces of Cumberland and Westmorland to the Scots, and of Northumberland to the Danes, which were by Athelstan re-annexed to his English dominions; but that this annexation proved of no long duration, will hereafter appear.

Brompton's
Chron.
Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 23.

Before I leave this head, I think it will not be amiss to observe, that anciently, in the times of popery, all great actions were preceded by miracles; wherefore, as this of Athelstan's proved of so great consequence, it was judged worthy of two of these of the first rate, viz. Athelstan going to war against the Scots, in his march visited the tomb of St. John of Beverly, and pawned his knife at the altar, with a promise to redeem it at his return: after he had discomfited the Scots, he begged of God a sign, whereby it might appear to posterity that he

he had justly beat them; when striking a certain rock near the castle of Dunbar, he made a gash in it above an ell in depth; whence returning to Beverly, he enriched the church of St. John with great possessions, when, no doubt, he had his knife again. The other miracle was this: as Athelstan was ready to engage the Scots, his sword being lost out of its scabbard, it was replaced by another, at the prayer of bishop Odo.

Although all our writers are silent in respect to a second battle between Constantine and Athelstan, the English authors are full of it: but as their accounts are various and contradictory, I shall take no other notice of it than to shew that Constantine, our king, who is said to be slain therein, is by all our writers proved, beyond contradiction, to have been a monk in the Culdee monastery in St. Andrew's, at the time when that battle is said to have been fought.

Constantine, after a long and troublesome reign, resigned his crown to Malcolm his successor in the year 938, and retired to the monastery aforesaid, where he ended his days in peace, anno 943.

MALCOLMUS I.

Although Constantine appears to have resigned his crown in favour of Malcolm in the year 938, yet our writers do not date his reign till the demise of Constantine, anno 943. However, Malcolm, at his accession to the throne, finding his country in a low condition, by the great losses sustained in the late war, cultivated the arts of peace, by maintaining a good correspondence with his neighbours. In the mean time Edmund, king of England, having subdued the province of Cumberland, gave it to Malcolm, on condition that he would assist him against his enemies both by sea and land. To this grant, Boece and Buchanan have added the country of Westmorland; which being only a bare assertion, in opposition to the Saxon chronicle and Fordun, it cannot be depended on. To the service to be performed by Malcolm and his successors, in consideration of the above grant, Bromton, an English writer, adds, that Malcolm was to attend the king of England on all solemn festivals, when he held his common council or parliament; and for his accommodation, in his journies to and from England, divers houses were assigned him on the road.

Ford. Scotiz
chron. lib. 4.
c. 24.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 945.

Brom. Chron.

REMARK. The gift of Cumberland to Malcolm, at this time, seems to contradict its having been taken by Athelstan from the Scots in the year 934. If it was, it must have been retaken by some other power either from Athelstan or Edmund; for by the latter 'tis said to have been taken, and given to Malcolm as aforesaid: wherefore 'tis probable that only part of Cumberland was taken by Athelstan from the Scots, and that the other part thereof was taken from Dunmaile, the ancient prince thereof; which, together with the part taken by Athelstan from Constantine, was given to Malcolm on the abovementioned consideration.

Edmund, king of England, departing this life in the year 946, was succeeded by his brother Edred; who having reduced the country of Northumberland to subjection, the Scots (it seems in apprehension of danger) swore to perform whatever Edred should require of them. This is another monkish flourish; for the oath taken at that time could only be renewing the fealty to Edred for the country of Cumberland, on his accession to the throne. This mistake is continued by Henry of Huntingdon and Matthew of Westminster, who tell us, that Edred

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 946.

having

Buchan. Scot.
Hist. lib. 6.
p. 98.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 25.

having subdued the Northumbrians, the Scots were so intimidated, that they submitted without resistance, and swore fealty to him. Had this been done for any other country than Cumberland, those writers would undoubtedly have mentioned it: and by our own historians it appears, that so far from there having been a misunderstanding between the Scots and English at that time, the former supplied the latter with an aid of ten thousand men, by which they were enabled to take Northumberland from the Danes, as aforesaid.

Malcolm, after his return from Northumberland, employed himself in the administration of justice, for the peace and quiet of his people; and being severe in the punishment of wickedness, he was, by a conspiracy of rogues, murdered at Ulrine in the country of Murray, in the ninth year of his reign, anno 952.

INDULFUS.

After the unfortunate death of Malcolm, Indulf, son of Constantine, succeeded to the crown in the year 952. The Danish affairs in Britain being in a bad condition, they applied to Indulf to break the alliance with the English, and join with them; upon which Indulf, instead of agreeing to it, appointed Duff, son of the late king Malcolm, to be prince of Cumberland, who thereupon took an oath of fealty to Edred, king of England, his superior. This proceeding being highly resented by the Danes, a fleet of fifty Danish and Norwegian ships arriving in the frith of Forth soon after, ravaged the coasts with great cruelty; but attempting to land in the country of East-Lothian, met with so warm a reception, that they were glad to re-embark; and crossing the frith of Forth, landed in the county of Fife with as little success.

Then leaving the frith, they continued their course northwards along the coasts of Angus, Merns, Mar, and Buchan, without an opportunity of landing: wherefore they put to sea, as if they intended to depart, which the people believing to be real, left the coast, and returned to their several habitations. But the Danes returning in a few days, landed near the town of Cullen, in the country of Boyn, without opposition.

Indulf, who had carefully watched their motions before they left the coast, hearing of their landing, marched thither with great expedition, fell on them as they were plundering the country, and obliged them with the greatest precipitation to fly to their camp; whither Indulf advancing to attack them, a desperate fight ensued: but Græme and Dunbar, who commanded the Lothianers, assailing another part of their camp, they fled to secure themselves in the best manner they could: only one brigade, posted behind a thicket to favour their escape, kept their ground; by which Indulf, too eager and incautious in the pursuit, was unfortunately killed, leaving the field of battle to his victorious subjects, the crown to Duff his successor, and the feudal province of Cumberland to Cullen his son, in the ninth year of his reign, anno 961.

Camd. Brit.
in Com. Laud.

We are told, in an abstract from old Scottish histories, quoted by Camden, and published by Innes, that in the reign of Indulf the town of Edinburgh was given up to the Scots. Now as Indulf came to the crown in the year 952, which was the sixth year of Edred king of England, and was killed in the fourth year of king Edgar, anno 961, and as Edwin's short reign of two years was between those of

Edred

Edred and Edgar, Edinburgh must have been delivered up to Indulf by one of the said three kings, about eight hundred years ago. Now as there does not appear to have been any war between Scotland and England since the reigns of Constantine and Athelstan, Edinburgh was probably taken by the latter, and continued in possession of the English till given up to Indulf.

DUFFUS.

To Indulf succeeded Duff, the son of Malcolm, in the year 961. He cultivated the arts of peace both at home and abroad, and severely punished all degrees of wickedness, especially robberies. But nothing of note happening in this reign, the defect is supplied by Boece, and gravely continued by Buchanan; though in itself a story as absurd and ridiculous, as any of the fables published by the monkish writers, viz. That Duff being seized with a violent and uncommon distemper, which his physicians knew not what to make of, being attended with a continual sweat, his body languished, and was emaciated to such a degree, that his death was expected daily: but a rumour being spread that the disease was not natural, but owing to witchcraft, orders were given to inquire into it, to discover whether there was any truth in the report; pursuant to which divers witches were discovered in the town of Forreß, and the house shewn wherein they held their meetings, which being searched, a figure of Duff's was discovered on a spit, roasting before the fire, and basted by them; who, on examination, confessed, that while the wax melted the king's sweat continued, and as long as the figure or image was basted he could not sleep, and when the wax or figure was quite dissolved the king must die! But no sooner was the image destroyed, and the witches burnt, than the king recovered his pristine state of health; which he was no sooner restored to, than he renewed the prosecution of common thieves and robbers; and a number of them being put to death, so enraged their relations, that Duff was cut off by a conspiracy amongst them, anno 965, after he had reigned four years and six months. And, that all might be of a piece, Duff's body was not discovered till six months after his murder, which was so highly resented by nature, that, during that space, neither sun, moon, nor stars appeared!

CULENUS.

On the demise of Duff, Culen, the son of Indulf, ascended the throne in the year 965; who, while a subject, appears to have been very dutiful and serviceable both to his sovereign and the people; and after his accession to the crown, having in an exemplary manner punished the murderers of his predecessor Duff, all were in hopes that he would prove a good and gracious king. But in a short time they found themselves mistaken; for, despising the advice of his grave senators, he suffered himself to be governed by the giddy and unthinking young nobility, and became one of the worst of men. He deflowered religious matrons and maidens; nay, he debauched his own sisters and daughters, and kept a number of bawds in his service, to procure for him beautiful virgins from all parts of the kingdom; on whom having satiated his lust, he gave them to his favourites and domesticks to be used in the same manner: and if at any time they complained of his cruelty, they were punished in a grievous manner. And when the monster had debilitated himself by venereal practices, he took pleasure in seeing his wicked familiars debauch the young beauties in his presence.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 26.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 231.
Buchan. Scot.
Hist. lib. 6,
p. 99.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 27.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 230.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
p. 99.

By these shocking practices of Culen, a loose was given to all manner of vice. The people becoming as wicked as the prince, oppression of all sorts grew common; and robberies being most in fashion, those who resisted were either murdered, or their houses plundered or burnt. The wickedness of Culen being no longer to be suffered, the states met in a convention at Scone, in order to depose him. Culen, on his way thither, (probably to prevail on them not to degrade him) was killed by Cadard, thane of Methuen, for ravishing his daughter! Thus ended his wicked life, in the fifth year of his reign, anno 970.

KENETHUS II.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 28.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
p. 102.

To Culen succeeded Keneth, son of Malcolm, in the year 970; at whose accession to the crown, by the dissolute reign of his predecessor Culen, all things appear to have been in the greatest distraction throughout the kingdom: the nobility were factious and vicious, youth debauched, the poor oppressed, and robberies, murders, and all sorts of villanies and violences not only carried on with impunity, but encouraged by those whose business it was to have prevented them. And although, in this dismal state of affairs, it was a difficult task to bring about a reformation; yet Keneth, by his great wisdom and good conduct, at last established good order and government.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 235.

This was no sooner accomplished, than a numerous fleet of Danish ships appeared off the Red-head, on the eastern coast of the county of Angus; whence directing their course northwards, they entered the river South-esk, and landing at Monrofs, (by Boece improperly called Montrose and Celurea) put the inhabitants to the sword, pillaged and burnt the town, and demolished the castle. Hence marching southwards, they carried death and destruction along with them to the frith of Tay: their fleet sailing up the river, they invested the town of Perth both by land and water. This being within a mile of Keneth's court, then at Scone, he resolved to dislodge them; to which end he crossed the Tay with his army, which the Danes receiving advice of, left Perth; and, marching along the southern side of the river, discovered the Scottish army drawn up in order of battle near the village of Luncarty. Here a fight being unavoidable, Keneth, in a speech to encourage his men to behave well, reminded them, that now they were to fight in defence of their country, and all that was dear to them, against those bands of strolling thieves and robbers, enemies to honour, justice and goodness, with a promise of reward for the head of every Dane that should be brought to him. This promise had like to have proved fatal to the Scots; for they, in a fierce onset, having disordered part of the Danish army, decolated such as fell into their hands, without regarding those that remained unbroken; who falling furiously on the disordered Scots, broke through and routed both their right and left wings, and nearly surrounded the main body, where the king commanded in person; which undoubtedly with the rest had undergone the same fate, had it not been for one of the most stupendous actions that ever happened, which is as follows:

Id. *ibid.*

Both wings of the Scottish army, as aforesaid, being put to the rout, the men fled with the greatest precipitation; which being observed by one Hay (so denominated by our historians, but by a tradition amongst the country people he is called John de Luz, from a village in the neighbourhood of Scone, wherein he is said to have dwelt, as the name of Hay he received from Keneth after the battle. Be that as it will,

will, he) and his two sons, who had been at plow in the neighbourhood, armed themselves with their oxen yokes, and hastening to a pass through which the Scots were flying, placed themselves in it, and endeavoured by persuasion to prevail on their countrymen to return to the charge; but neither arguments nor reason prevailing, they not only bitterly reproached them for deserting their king and country in their greatest necessity, but furiously assaulting them with their mighty yokes, dealt their deadly blows to such a degree that they stopped their flight, and with shame obliged them to rally, to the no small amazement of the Danes; who, imagining them to be reinforced by fresh troops, fled as fast as they had pursued; and now being eagerly followed by the Scots and the three Hays, they fell a sacrifice to their enraged foes, very few escaping.

Scotland thus happily delivered by the surprizing intrepidity of Hay and his two sons, their praise was not only loudly proclaimed throughout the whole nation, but Keneth, in return for his fidelity and bravery, gave him not only a large share of the spoil, but caused Hay and his sons, with their bloody yokes, to parade along the front of the army in triumph; and, being ennobled, advanced them into the first rank of those about him: and the better to enable them to support their new dignity, granted the father a large territory in the fertile carse of Gowry in Perthshire, said to have been about seven or eight miles in length, and four or five in breadth. The ancient family seat is at present denominated Errol; and the earl thereof, as a descendant of the illustrious hero, retains the surname of Hay, and the crest over his arms is the representation of the ever memorable yoke.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 235.

No sooner had Keneth punished and suppressed this band of strolling robbers and thieves, than a dangerous conspiracy was entered into against him by Crathilint, lord of the Mearns, and his friends; who, imagining himself injured by Cruchne his grandfather, governor or lieutenant of the country of Angus, communicated his resentment to his mother Fenele, daughter of the said Cruchne; and she was so monstrously and unnaturally wicked as to stimulate her son Crathilint to revenge, which he soon after perpetrated, by murdering his grandfather, with his whole family, within his own residence, and laid waste his lands.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 32.

Boeth. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 237.

This very barbarous and unnatural murder was so highly resented by the friends and dependents of Cruchne, that they vowed revenge; nay, all the inhabitants of the country of Angus, on this occasion, are said to have taken arms, and to have entered and laid waste the country of the Mearns. Keneth, to quash these dangerous commotions in the bud, summoned the parties concerned to appear before him in his court at Scone, to have the cause determined according to law; but Crathilint and his abettors, who were the aggressors, to avoid justice, fled; but they were soon after apprehended in Lochaber, and convicted. They were executed at Dunfinnan in Perthshire.

Ibid.

This act of justice was so highly resented by the unnatural and bloody Fenele, that she contrived all ways and means to revenge it on Keneth; who having, some time after, repaired to Fordun in the Mearns, to perform his devotion at the shrine of Palladius, he was prevailed on by the perfidious Fenele, on his return, to make her a visit at her castle of Fettercairn, where she promised to communicate to him a certain secret of the greatest consequence, nay, such as affected his

Ibid.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 32.

his life; which he, without the least suspicion of danger, performed; and his curiosity having led him to touch a curious statue or machine in the said castle, it emitted a number of darts or arrows, which killed him on the spot.

REMARK. This story, take it which way you will, has the appearance of a lie; for, at that time, it cannot be justly imagined that art was brought to such a height in Scotland, to make an engine so curious as to perform in the manner it is said to have done. Besides, as Fenele was known to have been so deeply concerned in the murder of her own father, it cannot be reasonably supposed that Keneth would have trusted himself in the power of so wicked a woman; more especially considering it might be presumed, that she would not fail to revenge the death of her wicked son Crathilint. Add to this what we are told by Winton, that Keneth, instead of being killed in the castle of Fettercairn, was murdered by certain horsemen in a wood adjacent thereto.

Ibid. c. 29.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 238.

It was anciently a custom in Scotland, that when the heir apparent to the crown was under age at the demise of his father, or predecessor, the next of kin was appointed governor or regent of the kingdom, during his minority, with the title of king. This manner of government proving of pernicious consequence, by often setting aside the lawful heir, fomenting civil wars and endless broils, Keneth, to prevent the like for the future, found means to repeal that law, by prevailing on the states of the kingdom to settle the crown on his son Malcolm; but Malcolm prince of Cumberland, according to ancient usage, being regarded as immediate successor, he was to be taken off, to make way for his namesake Malcolm: and Keneth not daring to dispatch him openly, Boece says he caused him to be poisoned. This is contradicted by Lesly, who tells us that Keneth, by a criminal process, prosecuted him as an accomplice to Cathilint's wickedness, and by an unjust sentence had him cut off. And Fordun, without mentioning the manner of his death, seems to insinuate it was natural, and is positive that Keneth did not create his son prince of Cumberland till after the death of his cousin Malcolm Duff, lord of that province. This ceremony of creation seems to have been entirely needless; for by virtue of an act made by the states of the kingdom some years before, settling Malcolm's succession, he was empowered to succeed on the demise of his father: wherefore there was no occasion to cut off Malcolm Duff, the innocent prince of Cumberland. By the contradictory accounts of our writers, I think it is not in the least probable that Malcolm was murdered by the contrivance of Keneth.

Mat. West-
minst. ad an.
975.

We are told by a certain English writer, that Keneth being at the English court, king Edgar gave him many rich presents, together with the whole county of Lothian, on condition that he and his successors, on solemn festivals, would attend him and his successors, when they sat in state with their crowns on their heads.

And we are farther told, that Keneth, at an entertainment with his courtiers, jocosely said, that it was amazing so many nations should obey so diminutive and contemptible a creature as Edgar; which he being informed of, sent for Keneth, led him into a wood, and delivered to him one of the two swords he brought with him; declaring, as they were now alone, he was determined to know which of them ought to govern, and which to obey; adding, it was base and pitiful

in a king to reflect on another in his absence, and that therefore he must now give him satisfaction. Keneth, greatly surprized at this declaration, fell at Edgar's feet, and implored his pardon for what he had said in jest, without the least design of malice: whereupon Edgar, as generous as stout, readily forgave him, and they returned good friends.

And to shew the grandeur and power of Edgar, William of Malmesbury, and Florence of Worcester, tell us, that he had three squadrons of ships of war to guard the three coasts of his kingdom, which he annually used to visit soon after the feast of Easter. On board of that belonging to the eastern coast, he sailed to the western; which being remanded back, he set out with the western squadron, and sailed to the northern coast of the island; which being likewise ordered back, the northern squadron returned along the eastern coast. Each of these squadrons contained twelve hundred ships. Besides, we are told there was a fourth squadron, which being added to the former, Edgar's fleet will appear to have consisted of no less than four thousand eight hundred ships. To maintain this wonderful fleet, besides the contributions of his subjects, he had six vassal kings under his dominion, who were bound by oath to be ready at his call, to serve him both by sea and land, viz. Keneth, king of Scotland; Malcolm, king of Cumberland; Maccuse, king of Man, and lord of the Isles; Dufnal, Griffyth, Huneild, Jacob, and Judethil, princes of Wales; who all meeting at his court at Chester, Edgar, to shew his grandeur and power, caused himself to be rowed in a pinnace by six of those kings, himself officiating as cockswain, on the river Dee, attended by his nobility in a barge; to whom, on his return to his palace, he said, That his successors would truly be kings of England, when they, like him, should be attended by so many kings his vassals.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl.
Flor. Worcest.
Hist.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 973.

REMARK. These childish and ridiculous tales must, to every judicious reader, appear to be flourishes of the monks, to aggrandize their great patron and benefactor Edgar, who, at the expence of his industrious subjects, enriched those insatiable drones, to his no great praise.

Although, by the above relations, we cannot ascertain the manner of Keneth's death; yet that he was cut off in an unnatural way, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, anno 994, is by all agreed.

CONSTANTINUS III.

After the death of Keneth, Constantine, surnamed Calvus, son of Culen, by the assistance of his friends, assumed the crown in the year 994, contrary to the late act of settlement made by the states of the kingdom in favour of Malcolm; who, receiving advice of this bold step, summoned his friends to deliberate thereon. They were of opinion, that the only way to recover the crown was to attack Constantine, before he was thoroughly fixed on the throne. Pursuant to this advice, Malcolm, at the head of ten thousand men, marched in quest of Constantine; who, not unmindful of what might happen, had provided a potent army to withstand his enemies: and, being much superior in power, he greatly distressed Malcolm, by preventing provisions from being brought to his army, which obliged him to withdraw towards Cumberland.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 34.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 242.
Buchan. Scot.
Hist. lib. 6.
p. 106.

In the interim Keneth, Malcolm's natural brother, possessed himself of the strong pass at Stirling, to prevent Constantine's crossing the river Forth southwards, in pursuit of Malcolm; whereby Constantine's army

Id. ibid;

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 34.

was so much straitened for want of provisions, that he was, with great reluctance, necessitated to disband it. In the mean time Malcolm, by treaty, being obliged to assist the English against their cruel enemies the Danes, Constantine had an opportunity to raise a new army of twenty thousand men; and entering the country of Lothian, then in possession of Malcolm, Keneth, Malcolm's natural brother abovementioned, marched against him; and meeting at Cramond, the battle no sooner began than a violent easterly wind arising, blew the sand into the eyes of Constantine's men, which affected them to such a degree, that they were rendered incapable of defence; and a rout following, Constantine and Keneth met, and a personal engagement ensued, wherein both were killed, in the second year of Constantine's reign, anno 996.

GRIMUS.

Id. ibid.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 243.

Constantine, who, according to the ancient constitutions of Scotland, was lawful heir to the crown, being killed in the late battle, in defence of his imaginary right, was succeeded by Grim, grandson to king Duff, in the year 996; and having assembled the remains of Constantine's army, repaired with his followers to Scone, where he was crowned; and, to gain the people to his interest, dealt his favours promiscuously both to the friends of the late Constantine, and to Malcolm the present prince of Cumberland.

Id. ibid.

Malcolm, being a second time disappointed of the succession, desired the advice of his friends; who, remembering the bad effects of the former war, advised him to use policy rather than force, by endeavouring to make the nobility in Grim's interest to leave him; which advice he approved of, and prevailed on certain of the nobility, in his interest, to use their endeavours to accomplish the same: which they partly effected, by bringing over divers of Grim's followers to join him. This proceeding irritated Grim to such a degree, that he forthwith set out at the head of his army in quest of Malcolm, who was likewise on his march to decide the dispute by battle: but the latter being informed of the superior strength of Grim's army, stopped his march; which, together with the bad report, raised such a panick in his army, that he judged it not proper to hazard an engagement.

Ibid. fol. 244.

As the country was almost ruined by the war, the dismal depredations committed therein being observed by bishop Tothad, moved his compassion to such a degree, that he offered his mediation to accommodate matters between the competitors. In order thereto he addressed himself first to Grim, who agreed to enter into a treaty, provided it could be done with his honour, and security of the ancient laws of the kingdom: and having, for obtaining so salutary an end, applied to Malcolm, he agreed to accept of his mediation. The treaty being in a short time happily concluded, to the satisfaction of both sides, the terms agreed on were: 1. The armies to be forthwith disbanded on both sides. 2. Grim to enjoy the crown during life, and at his death to revert to Malcolm; and after his demise, the next of kin to succeed in course. 3. All the lands lying betwixt the frith of Forth and the river Tweed, and between the friths of Forth and Clyde and the country of Westmorland, to remain in the possession of Malcolm. This treaty being ratified by both parties, their armies were forthwith disbanded, and peace restored, to the great satisfaction of the people.

This

This peace proved of no long duration, for the crown being secured to Grim during life, he began to act the tyrant, by cutting off divers of the nobility and wealthiest subjects to possess himself of their estates, and oppressing the people in a grievous manner. He also seized on the revenues of certain lands, to prevent their coming to Malcolm, should he survive him; and wherever he met with opposition in collecting the same, he ravaged and wasted the country in a dreadful manner.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 11.
fol. 245.

We are told by the Saxon annals, that in the year 1000, Ethelred king of England, invaded and nearly destroyed the province of Cumberland, without a reason assigned by the English writers for his so doing. But we are told by Fordun, an historian of our own, that Ethelred having paid large sums of money in tribute to the Danes, sent to Malcolm prince of Cumberland, his vassal, though subject to Grim, commanding him to contribute towards the tribute. The prince returned for answer, that neither he nor his people were obliged to contribute on that occasion; they, with the rest of the kingdom of Scotland, being only obliged to assist the kings of England when called out to war: adding, that it was more honourable to fight manfully against an enemy in the field, than to purchase an inglorious peace with money. By this answer, Ethelred imagining that Malcolm favoured the Danes, committed great ravages, and carried off much spoil from his country: but a reconciliation soon after following, they remained good friends ever after.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1000.
Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
cap. 35.

The people, sensible of their error in chusing Grim for their king, cast their eyes on Malcolm for redress; who being well acquainted with their sufferings, forgot the injury done him, their lawful prince, with all the dispatch imaginable hastened to their relief, and being arrived in Scotland with his forces from Cumberland, joined the nobility there in arms against Grim, who, on this occasion, appears not to have been wanting in his preparations; for he marched at the head of a numerous army to meet Malcolm, and, by a decisive battle, to determine the fate of the crown. The armies having met on Ascension-day in the neighbourhood of Auchinbard, a fierce battle ensued, wherein Grim's army was almost cut off, and himself being mortally wounded, died the night after; which put an end to his usurpation, the eighth year of his reign, anno 1004.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 245.

MALCOLM II.

Malcolm, by his great success in the late battle against Grim, after he had lived as it were in exile for the space of ten years, came to the crown in the year 1004. But, according to Simeon of Durham, he must have been king, anno 999; for he tells in that year, that after Malcolm, king of Scots, had laid waste the country of Northumberland, he laid siege to the city of Durham. Uthred, son of Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, in the mean time having raised an army in Northumberland and Yorkshire, attacked Malcolm, and almost cut off his whole army, himself narrowly escaping: and after a battle, Uthred caused a number of the heads of the slaughter'd Scots to be cut off, and giving them to a woman to wash, for her labour gave her a cow for each head; and fixing the said heads on poles, placed them on the walls of Durham. Whatever this story may be as to fact, 'tis manifest our author is mistaken in point of chronology, for by all writers

Sim. Dunelm.
ad an. 999.

it

it appears, that Malcolm did not come to the crown till the year 1004, as aforesaid.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 993 &
994.

Anlaf, king of Norway, and Swegen, prince of Denmark, in the years 993 and 994, committed great devastations in England; but on Anlaf's becoming a christian, Swegen ceased to molest the English; but whether Swegen left England with Anlaf, I cannot learn: however, we hear no more of him till ten years after. This probably was the time, when, according to Adam of Bremen, Swegen was engaged in a war against Harwold, the great king of Denmark, his father, whom he deprived both of his life and kingdom: but being himself soon after expelled out his ill-gotten dominions by Erick, king of Sweden, (by our own writers said to have been by Allan, king of Norway) he was justly despised by his neighbours; 'till at last, the king of Scotland taking compassion on him, not only entertained him for divers years, but by his assistance restored him to his kingdom.

Ford. Scoti-
chron, lib. 4.
cap. 39.

But these favours it seems were soon forgot; for Malcolm, prince of Cumberland, having frequently assisted Ethelred, king of England, against the Danes, to which he was obliged as his vassal, Swegen, in revenge, commanded earl Ochred to invade Cumberland; wherein he committed great depredations, and returning with his booty, was overtaken by Malcolm, who routed his army, and recovered the spoil, near the village of Burgh in Cumberland.

Id. ibid.

The Northumbrians and Danes, not forgetting the loss they sustained in the late battle, on Malcolm's accession to the crown, entered Scotland in a hostile manner; against whom was sent Duncan, the king's grandson, who, coming up with them, had the good fortune to defeat them with a notable overthrow. On which occasion Malcolm conferred on him the principality of Cumberland, to which he had a right by birth. This second loss irritated Swegen to such a degree, that he caused a fleet of Norwegian ships to sail for Scotland, with a considerable force on board, which landing, spoiled and ravaged the country far and near; but by Malcolm being attacked unawares by night, were all cut off, with the loss of only thirty of his own men.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 11.
fol. 249.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
p. 108.

The next attempt by the Danes proved more successful; for Forlan a Norwegian, and Eneth a Dane, having at the head of a numerous army landed in the mouth of the river Spey without opposition, and marching through the country of Murray, laid all waste with fire and sword, without distinction of age, sex, or place. To withstand this formidable power, an army was raised in haste by Malcolm; but being raw and undisciplined men, they no sooner came in view of the enemy, than they were greatly dismayed at their numerous appearance, inso-much that he could only prevail on a few to stand their ground, and advancing towards the enemy in a disorderly manner, were soon put to the rout, and Malcolm himself being wounded, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This loss occasioned the immediate surrender of the castle of Nairn; and the garrison being put to the sword, contrary to the articles of capitulation, the garrisons of the castles of Forreß and Elgin were so greatly intimidated, that they abandoned these fortresses to the enemy, who having got footing in that fruitful country, resolved to subdue the rest; and to that end sent home their ships to fetch their wives and children, with fresh troops to augment and recruit their forces.

And the year following marching southwards to Murthlack, in the country of Mar, they were met by Malcolm at the head of a numerous army, and a battle ensuing, the three gallant commanders, Kenneth thane of the Isles, Grim thane of Stratheren, and Dunbar thane of Lothian, had the misfortune to fall in the beginning of the action; whereby the Scots were so greatly discouraged, that they gave way, and retreating for a short space, possessed themselves of an antient fortress, fenced by a wall and a ditch, with a rampart of trees laid cross-ways. Thither the Danes marched, and attacked their intrenchments, not doubting of success: but being repulsed, and Eneth, one of their generals, slain, the entire defeat of their army ensued; when Olans, with the small remains of his army, fled into Murray, without being followed by Malcolm, by reason of the great loss sustained by him in the late engagements.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 250.
Buchan. Scot.
Hist. lib. 6.
p. 108.

The news of the defeat of the Danes no sooner reached Swegen in England, where he continued to triumph, than he sent by sea not only a considerable reinforcement from his own army, but ordered a number of troops to be sent from Denmark and Norway, under the command of Camus; who attempting to land in the frith of Forth, was, by an unexpected opposition, obliged to leave it: therefore directing his course northwards, he landed at the Redhead, in the county of Angus, when he marched his army to Brechin, but laying siege to the castle, met with a vigorous resistance, which so irritated Camus, that he destroyed both the town and church: then receiving information that Malcolm was arrived at Dundee with a powerful army to fight him, he raised the siege of the castle, set out to meet him, and encamping at the village of Panbride, received advice that Malcolm was within two miles of him at the village of Barry. The armies having met the day after, a fierce and bloody battle happened, which was desperately fought on both sides, and with such incredible slaughter, that the neighbouring brook of Lochty is said to have run with blood some time after. Be that as it will, the Scots having obtained the victory, pursued the Danes about the distance of two miles, where Camus was slain, and those that attended him cut off; at which place, a little bewest the mansion-house of Panmuir, stands a cross, called Camistone, or Camus's stone, with divers antient preposterous figures thereon. Amongst the many brave actions performed in the battle, one Keith, a young gentleman, is said to have signalized himself in an extraordinary manner, for which Malcolm rewarded him with a barony in Lothian, from whom the earl marshal, now an exile abroad, is descended; who being hereditary marshal of Scotland, forfeited that office for rebellion in the year 1715, together with his other honours and estate.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 250.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
p. 108.

The misfortunes of the Danes did not end with the loss of Camus their general; for another body of them being intercepted by the Scots at the village of Aberlemno, about four miles bewest the city of Brechin, they were mostly cut off; in commemoration of which, divers stone monuments were erected in the church-yard and neighbourhood, with divers barbarous and preposterous figures. Another party of the Danes having reached the sea-coast, repaired on board their ships to join their countrymen in the province of Murray; but a violent contrary wind arising, they lay wind-bound on the coast of Buchan till their provisions were nearly spent; and about five hundred

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 251.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
p. 109.

men landing for a new supply, having seized on divers herds of cattle, were intercepted by Mernan thane of Buchan, assisted by the country people; and being unable to reach their ships, retired to the top of a steep hill near to Gemry, where being attacked, they threw and rolled down stones on the assailants, which obliged them to retreat with considerable loss: but being encouraged by Mernan, the Scots remounted the hill with great intrepidity, and put all of them to the sword; while those on board the fleet with a favourable wind got safe to Murray.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 252.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 6.
p. 109.

Swegen, on receiving advice of the melancholy situation of his affairs in Scotland, resolved, by a numerous fleet and powerful army, to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour; and to shew he was in earnest, conferred the command of both on his intrepid son Cnute, who landing in Buchan, Malcolm, to prevent his destructive designs, marched thither with all expedition; but not thinking it safe, with his new-raised troops, to risk the fate of his kingdom on a general engagement, contented himself with harassing Cnute with frequent skirmishes; and by preventing provisions from being brought to his army, thought to oblige him to leave the country, and return on board his fleet.

Id. ibid.

This precaution in Malcolm not being relished by his army, they did in a manner compel him to fight; and a battle happening soon after, the slaughter was terrible, most of the nobility and commanders on both sides being cut off; and although the Scots obtained the victory by remaining masters of the field, they judged it not proper to pursue the flying enemy. The loss on both sides was so great, that it inspired both parties with the thoughts of peace; and commissioners being appointed to treat of the same, the following articles were agreed on:

Id. ibid:

1. That the Danes and Norwegians evacuate the fortresses they are possessed of in the countries of Murray and Buchan, and leave Scotland within a certain time. 2. That during the lives of Malcolm and Swegen, no act of hostility shall be committed by either of the contracting parties; nor assistance given to any power, who may attempt to do the same. 3. That part of the field whereon the battle was fought, be consecrated and converted into a cemetery, for burying both the Scots and Danes that were slain in the late battle. The peace was no sooner ratified, than Cnute reembarked his army, and left Scotland; and Malcolm having caused both the Danes and Norwegians that were slain in the battle to be honourably buried in the new burying ground, in commemoration erected a chapel thereon, and dedicated it to Olam, the tutelar saint both of Danes and Norwegians; near to which, at present, is a village called Croju-dane, or Crudane, that is, the slaughter-place of the Dane, where a number of human bones are frequently dug up.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1031.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 41.

This war is not in the least taken notice of by any English writer that I can learn; nor of Cnute's having been in Scotland during the reign of Swegen his father; for we are told by the Saxon annalist, that Cnute went into Scotland anno 1031, in the fifteenth year of his reign, when Malcolm king of Scots, and Melbeth and Jemac, two other kings (by some said to have been of the isles) subjected themselves to him. Indeed, we are told by Fordun, that Cnute's coming to Scotland was occasioned by Duncan prince of Cumberland's not having done fealty to him, notwithstanding his having been

been often summoned for that purpose. Wherefore Cnute, at his return from Rome, set out for Scotland at the head of a powerful army, to bring Duncan to his duty, by compelling him to do fealty for the province of Cumberland, and to acknowledge his subjection as his vassal; which Duncan seems to have been still backward to perform, no doubt for his being an usurper: but Cnute being ready to compel him, an accommodation was brought about by the interposition of certain prelates and others, who awarded, that Duncan and his successors, as lords of Cumberland, should, according to the custom of his predecessors, in all times coming do fealty to Cnute and his successors, kings of England, his legal lords.

This is perverted by the author of the Saxon annals, by saying, king Malcolm subjected himself to king Cnute, as his liege lord. This is of a piece with the other pretended homages, by other English writers said to have been paid by the kings of Scotland to the kings of England as their superiors.

I think it will not be amiss to take notice of a very extraordinary transaction, by all our historians ascribed to king Malcolm II. who, to reward his nobility for their gallant behaviour against the Danes at the battle of Murthlack, distributed all the lands in Scotland (by some said to have only been the crown lands) amongst them; only reserving to himself the royal title, and a little mount in the town of Scone, called the Mute-hill, that is, the court hill, whereon he used to hear and determine controversies among his people. This affair is recorded in the first chapter of the said king Malcolm's laws, which were approved of by parliament in the reign of James III. and published by Sir John Skene, before his edition of the books of Regiam Majestatem; the first whereof, intitled Warde and Relief, consists of the following words:

" King Malcome gave and distributed all his lands of the realm of
" Scotland amongst his men; and reserved nathing in propertie to him-
" selfe, bot the royall dignitie and the Mute-hill of Scone; and all
" his barons gave and granted to him, the warde and releif of the
" heire of ilk baron, quhen he sould happen to deceis, for the king's
" sustentation."

REMARK. That this relation is fact, I cannot be of opinion for divers reasons. 1. The laws called Malcolm the second's, are by good judges supposed to be Malcolm the third's: for as to their being called Malcolm the second's, by a statute of James the third's, that, instead of proving them to be really so, only serves to shew that they were then in force, and called so by a false tradition. Besides, that wards and reliefs were hardly so old, or the officers of the king's household and courts of justice so regulated, or their fees so ascertained, as there they are said to have been; and that the words wrang and unlauch, used in these laws, were not fashionable in Scotland before the reign of Malcolm the third. And Sir Henry Spelman observes in them customs, language, and names of magistrates and other officers of a much later age, and altogether unknown in these times, of which no man was a better judge. Indeed, our countrymen Sir Thomas Craig speaks of these laws as authentick, but that is for proving a darling point he was so desirous to establish for the honour of his country, namely, that we

had

Nicol. Scot.
Hist. Libr.
p. 260.

Home's In-
troduct. Eff.
Feud. Law.

had the feudal law in Scotland before it was brought into England by the Norman conquest.

But a late writer of our own will not admit of the feudal law's being in Scotland before the Norman conquest, when it was brought into England by the conqueror : and endeavours to shew, that we not only had the feudal law from England, but likewise all our statute laws from thence, as will appear by his following declaration.

“ When one dives into the antiquities of Scotland and England, it
“ will appear we borrowed all our laws and customs from the English.
“ No sooner is a statute enacted in England, but upon the first oppor-
“ tunity it is introduced to Scotland ; so that our oldest statutes are
“ mere copies of theirs. Let the Magna Charta be put into the hands
“ of any Scotsman, without giving its history, and he will think no doubt
“ that he is reading a collection of Scots statutes or regulations.”

Macdow. In-
stit. Law Scot.
vol. I. p. 13.

This origin of the feudal law in Scotland is opposed by Macdowal, in his institute of the laws of Scotland ; wherein we are told, that the feudal law was brought into this country by Fergus the son of Erth, commonly called Fergus the second ; who had served under Alarick the Goth, in his wars in Italy, where becoming acquainted with the customs of the Goths, Vandals, and Longobards, which customs were called the feudal law, he, on his return from his exile with a number of his countrymen, Danes, and Norwegians, to recover the crown of Scotland, and having succeeded in his undertaking, established the said feudal law amongst his subjects. But as I have made it appear, I hope to the satisfaction of my readers, that the story of the Scots being expelled their country by a combination of Romans, Picts, and Britons, is a fable, the origin of it in Scotland cannot be owing to Fergus, nor to his Danish auxiliaries.

2. For a prince to give away his all, and reduce himself to the lowest degree of poverty, has not the least appearance of truth : and as to the returns said to have been made by the nobility, in giving him the wardship of their children, with their revenues, till they came of age, with a power to dispose of them in marriage, and to receive their dowries ; these concessions are so trifling and insignificant, that they bear no proportion to the excessively extravagant donations said to have been made by Malcolm : and if at that time there were no such minors, his majesty must have become a humble suppliant to his people for bread, to keep him from his starving. For in those days money was not raised by the people to support the royal dignity ; for our kings maintained themselves and families by the produce of their lands, as well as the nobility and landed men did by theirs. Besides, the king, by reducing himself to so miserable a condition, would have sapped his authority, and brought himself into contempt, as no people would chuse to be governed by a beggar.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 11.
fol. 254. a

3. The followers of the inventor of this fable seem to have been men of no greater forecast than himself, by their unluckily telling us, that after Malcolm had given away all his lands, he founded the bishoprick of Murthlack, and endowed it with the lands of Murthlack, Cloveth, and Dunmeth, which undoubtedly were his own ; and shews, that after the pretended distribution of all the national or crown lands, he was still possessed of some of them.

4. And to put it beyond dispute, that all the national or crown lands were not given away by Malcolm, I shall take notice of the nu-

merous

merous religious foundations which were erected by some of our kings a few years after. Malcolm III. about forty years after the pretended distribution, founded and endow'd the bishopricks of Murray and Caithness, and built the cathedral church of Durham, and the conventual church of Scone at a great expence: and Alexander I. son of Malcolm, about twenty years after, founded and endowed the abbeys of Scone and Inchcolm, and gave great revenues in land to the church of St. Andrews in Fife. David I. youngest son of the said Malcolm, was so very profuse of the crown lands, that he founded the bishopricks of Brechin, Ross, Dunkeld, and Dumblane, which he endow'd, and built their respective cathedral churches; founded the abbeys of Holyrood-house, Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Dundranan, Campuskenneth, Kinloss, Newbottle, and Holme in Cumberland; he likewise founded two priories of Monks at Newcastle upon Tyne, a nunnery at Carlisle, and another at Berwick upon Tweed: all of which he richly endowed, at the expence of his successors, for which they have no reason to thank him.

Spotf. Hist.
Church Scot.
p. 107.
Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 5.
cap. 20, 28.

Spotf. Hist.
Church Scot.
p. 98. 108,
109.
Append. Sco-
tichron. edit.
Hearne.

The lands given by the abovementioned three kings for the support of their several foundations, together with those given by Malcolm IV. and William, their immediate successors, who erected the abbeys of Cuper, Aberbrothock, and Balmerinock, with the priories of Soltry and Manwell, must have amounted to a very great yearly revenue; which is a further demonstration, that the crown-lands were not all given away by Malcolm.

In the above discourse plainly appear the great effects of enthusiasm and religious bigotry upon weak minds; for David undoubtedly imagining to please the all-great and just God by such works, unjustly spoiled the crown and his successors of the lands appropriated for their subsistence, which he unwarrantably applied to the use of a number of idle and useless drones of monks and nuns, who lived in a sumptuous manner at the expence of others; while many industrious poor families wanted bread. I therefore think it will not be amiss to acquaint all persons who are of David's mind, that such works are so far from being acceptable to God, that to feed the lazy or idle sluggard, is contrary to the sacred scripture, which saith, that an idle soul shall suffer hunger.

Prov. xix.
15.

Now had Malcolm as aforesaid given away all the crown lands, he and his successors would have had but a sorry revenue to support the dignity of the crown and their own families, by the wardship of noble minors, the profits of the estates, and dowries, as will appear by the following account, which, though it consists of more articles than our kings were to have in return for the royal domains, yet the sum total received is but a trifle, as will appear by the account. Now, as the particulars of this account will not only shew the prices of goods at that time, but the apparel worn by the king, queen, and prince; I shall, for the information of the curious reader, subjoin it at length, as taken from the publick records in the lower parliament-house at Edinburgh.

Compt of a reverend fader in God, Johnne, bishop of Glasgou, the-
 faurar to our soverane lorde, of the office of thesaurary, made at
 Edinburgh, the first day of the moneth of Decembre, in the zere
 of God 1474 zers; of all his ressatts and expenss maide in the saide
 office, fra the ferd day of the moneth of August, in the zere of
 God 1474 zers inclusive, to the first day of Decembre also inclusive:
 before richt reverends, mychty and noble lords of our saide sove-
 rane lord's counsale, be his hienes specialie deput and ordainit thairto,
 for the hering and resaveing of the said compt in his name. That
 is to say, Andro, lord Avandail, cancellare; Colin, erle of Ergill,
 lord Lorne and Cambell, master of housshald; reverend faderis in
 God, Thomas and William of Abirdene and Orknaa, bischopis; a
 venerable fader in God, Archibald, abbot of Halironde house; a
 noble and mychty lord, David erle of Craufurde, lord Lindefay;
 master William Sheves, archdene of saint Andross; the secretaire,
 master Alexander of Murray; Sir Richarde Royfone and Sir David
 Luyerdale, channonis of Murray, Abirdene and Dumblane; and
 master Alexander Inglis, prebend of Dunkell.

Scotish money.
 l. s. d.

Charge.

The compters charge for compositions of charters, wards,
 marriages, reliefs, escheats, remissions, &c. for said zere
 1474, extends to - - -

3240 19 9

Discharge.

Expenss for the king's person.

Imprimis, Deliverit to James Homyll, the 13th day of
 August, 4 elne, or ells, of Franche blak, for a fyde
 gowne to the king, fra Wat Bertram, price elne 42 s.
 sum - - -

8 8 0

Item, To James Homyll, to buy 10 elne of fustiane to
 lyne the samyn gown, price elne 3 s. -

1 10 0

Item, To James Homyll, the samyn tyme, to buy graith
 (trimming) to the king's doublet of blak vellom (velvet)
 10 s. - - -

0 10 0

Item, Be Androu Balfoure, fra Rob. of Kille, ane elne
 and ane halfe of blak, to lyne a short gowne to the
 king, price elne 8 s. - - -

0 12 0

Item, Fra the samyn, twa elne of quhite, to lyne twa
 pair of hofs to the king, price elne twantie pennies, sum

0 3 4

Item, Fra the samyn, ane elne of black to eke furth (to
 widen) the lynyng of the king's gowne -

0 6 0

Item, Coft (bought) fra Will. of Carkettel, be Androu
 Balfoure, and deliverit to Rob. Sheves, for thre sarks
 (shirts) to the king, 3 Septembris, ten elne and ane
 halfe of small (fine) holland clath, price elne 13 s.
 4 d. sum - - -

7 0 0

Item, Fra Isabell Williamsone, 3 Septembris, and deliverit
 to Rob. Sheves, 13 elne of small holland clath for 3
 sarks and a curch (a woman's head-dress) price elne
 12 s. sum - - -

7 16 0

Item,

Scotish money,

l. s. d.

Item, Fra Thom. Brōune, 4 Septembris, thre quarters of blew for harneſſing to the king's ſadellis, price 12 s.	0 12 0
Item, Fra the ſamyn, ane elne of quhite for the ſamyn, twantie pennies - - - - -	0 1 8
Item, Fra Thom. Crown, for the ſamyn harneſſing, ane elne and ane halfe of rede, price - - - - -	0 9 0
Item, Fra David Quiltiteh's wife, 3 unce of ſilk for the ſamyn, price of the unce 5 s. ſum - - - - -	0 15 0
Item, Given to James Saddilar, for a ſadill to the king's trompis, coſt be Androu Balfoure, fra the ſaide James, price 45 s. - - - - -	2 5 0
Item, Given to a ſkynner, 7 Septembris, for a lynyng of lam ſkinnis, coſt be Androu Balfoure, to lyne a gowne of chamlot to the king, price 34 s. - - - - -	1 14 0
Item, Fra Thom. Malcolme, ane elne and ane halfe of quhite for fute ſokks to the king, price elne 2 s.	0 3 0
Item, Fra David Quiteheid, be Androu Balfoure, 5 elne of braid clath, to turſs the king's doublatts and his hoſs, price of the elne 18 d. - - - - -	0 7 6
Item, Given to Archibald of Edmonſtoun, 12 Septem- bris, to buy a pair of ſpurrs to the king, 4 s. - - - - -	0 4 0
Item, To a child of the chalmer, 4 elne of braid clath, for twa farkes, price elne 3 s. - - - - -	0 12 0
Item, By the king's command, 5 quarters of bukacy, for a doublatt to littill Bell, 10 s. - - - - -	0 10 0
Item, For braid clath to the ſamyn, 18 d. - - - - -	0 1 6
Item, For a quarter of blak to make a jakat to Bell, 8 s.	0 8 0
Item, For a quarter of ſatyne, to bind Bell's doublatt, 6 s.	0 6 0
Item, Be Androu Balfoure, 20 Octobris, fra David Gold- ſmith, 8 elne of ſmall ribbons for the king, 2 s. - - - - -	0 2 0
Item, Be the ſaide Androu, 24 Octobris, fra Will. of Kerketill, 10 elne of canves to mak Nikky and Bell a bed to ly on in the king's chalmer, price of the elne 16 d. ſum - - - - -	0 13 4
Item, Fra Thome of Stanly, be the ſaide Androu, ane elne and ane halfe of blak, for 2 pair of hoſs to the king, price 38 s. - - - - -	2 17 0
Item, Fra John Malcolme, 2 elne of quhite to lyne the king's hoſs, price elne 18 d. - - - - -	0 3 0
Item, Fra David Quhiteheid, 3 Decembris, 2 elne of vallouſs for 2 tippats to the king, price 55 s. - - - - -	5 10 0
Item, Fra Thome of Zare, and deliverit to Archibald of Edmonſtoun, 17 Decembris, 2 elne and ane half of vallouſs, for a fute mantill to the king, price elne 45 s. ſum - - - - -	5 12 6
Item, Fra Thome Cant, 24 beſtes of grece, to lyne a tip- pat to the king, price of the beſt 13 d. ſum - - - - -	1 6 0
Item, Fra Thome Cant, be Androu Balfoure, 20 De- cembris, a bonet to the king, price 15 s. - - - - -	0 15 0

Item,

Scotish money.
l. s. d.

Item, For 2 hattis to the king, cost fra Karnies, price 20 s.	
Item, Given to Sandy Balfoure the schevar, for certane clath schorn be him to the king and the quene, and my lady of Hadingtoun the king's sister, and the heuſſmen, fra Paſche to Zule, that is, from Eaſter to Chriſtmaſs	1 0 0
Item, Given to a ſkynner for the lynyng of lam ſkinnis to the king's jakat of ſating	2 0 0
Item, Given to James Homyll, 3 Januarius, to buy 3 elne of gray, for lang ſokks to the king	0 6 0
Item, Given to Will. Scheves, to pay for the ſewing of the king's ſarks, laid down by him before 3 Septembris	0 5 0
Item, For ſilk to the ſamyn	0 12 0
Item, Fra Thome of Stanly, half ane elne of blak ſating to cover ane oriſone buke to the king	0 3 0
Item, For a hat to the king, tane by Johne of Murray at Zule	0 13 4
Item, For an elne and ane halfe of vellouſs, for a che ſabell to the king's cloſat, price 45 s.	0 12 0
Item, Fra Iſabell Williamſone, primo Martii, half ane elne of vellouſs to the king's brigintynis, 25 s.	3 7 6
Item, Fra Will. of Rend, 4 pyrnis of gold, for the king's knappis to the harneſſing, price of the pyrn 12 s. ſum	1 5 0
Item, Fra Will. of Rend, 16 elne of holland clath, for ſarks to the king, price elne 10 s.	2 8 0
Item, Given to Robyne Hunter, 20 Junii, to buy a chymna to the king's cloſat, 18 s.	8 0 0
Item, Fra Thome Cant, to the king on Paſche evin, a bonat	0 18 0
Item, For the king, 5 elne of ribbanis for his doublat	0 16 0
Item, Fra David Quhiteheid, for grene ginger, tane at divers tymes be Kirkcaldy and Will. Pringell, at the command of Will. Schevas, ſen the comptar's laſt compt, to the 26th day of Julii laſt	0 3 4
Item, Fra Will. of Rend, 6 elne of ſmall braid clath, for coverings to the king's codbers, (pillows) price elne 4 s. ſum	2 12 6
Item, Fra David Malwyne, 3 elne and ane halfe of gray, for a klok to the king, price elne 10 s.	1 4 0
Item, the 27th day of Julii, to a Flemyng of Brugesſs, for certane potigariis, coſt to the king, be maiſter Williame Schevas, archdene of ſanct Androis	1 15 0
Item, Given to Jame Broune, ſadillar, at the king's command, the 26th Auguſti, ane and ane half Henry-noble of gold, to gilt a ſmale harneſſing to the king	12 7 0
Item, given to a tailzour that makes the king's hoſs, for certane lynyng, making, and uther warkmanſchip wrocht be him, as his bill beirs preſentit to the comptar be Androu Balfoure, 28 Auguſti	2 0 0
	4 13 6

Item,

Scotish money.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Item, Fra Isabell Williamsone, 6 Octobris, 6 quarters of velloufs, for covering of a sword and 2 tippats; price of the elne 3 <i>l.</i>	4	10	0
Item, A pyrn of gold for a skawburn to the samyn	0	10	0
Item, Gevin to Androu Balfoure a ferding of a noble, to gilt a chaip to the king's sword,	0	7	6
Item, Fra Johne of Zare, 13 Octobris, ane elne of skarlett, for a petticoate to the king,	2	10	0
Item, The samyn tyme, fra Isabell Williamsone, ane quarter of rede crammasy vellous, for the covering of the litil bering sword,	1	0	0
Item, Fra Thome of Stanly, 16 elne of smale ribbanis for the king's doublat sleiffs, price the elne 3 <i>d.</i> sum	0	4	0
Item, Fra Will. of Kerkettill, 26 Octobris, 4 elne and ane half of fating, to lyne a gowne of clath of gold to the king, the quhilk was gevin to the herald of Inglande, at the passing of the ambasters, price elne 30 <i>s.</i>	6	15	0
Item, Gevin to Rob. Raa, 4 Novembris, for certane gluffs coft to the king and quene, as a bill beris, subscrivit with the king's hand,	1	10	0
Item, Fra Will. of Kerkettill, 8 Novembris, ane elne of holland clath for muchis (caps) to the king,	0	10	0
Item, Gevin to Gely Brusfour, 20 Novembris, for a bag, filk, gold, and werk thereof, to the king,	1	0	0
Summa totalis	11	18	6

Things tane for the quenis person.

Imprimis, To Caldwell in here chalmer, to pay for patynis and corks,	0	12	0
Item, To Androu Balfoure, 20 Augusti, for livery gownes to sex ladys of the quenis chalmer, at here passing to Quhyteherene, 21 elne of gray fra David Gill, price of elne 10 <i>s.</i> sum	10	10	0
Item, Fra Henry Caunt, 22 Augusti, ane elne and an halve of fatyne, for turrats to the quene, price of the elne 26 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	2	0	0
Item, Fra Thome Malcolme, 26 Augusti, 28 elne of gray, to lyne the sex gownes; price elne 14 <i>d.</i> sum	1	12	8
Item, Fra Will. of Kerkettill, the samyn tyme, 6 elne of braid clath to the samyn gownes; price elne 18 <i>d.</i> sum	0	9	0
Item, Fra samyn man, the samyn tyme, 3 elne and ane halve of blak for a fliding gowne to the quene, price elne 36 <i>s.</i> sum	6	6	0
Item, From the samyn, 3 elne of velloufs, for the collars and sleiffs of the gentill womans gownes, price elne 55 <i>s.</i> sum	8	5	0
Item, The samyn tyme fra the faide Williame, 3 elne and ane halve of velloufs for the queneis gowne, price elne 55 <i>s.</i> sum	9	12	6
	4	0	Item,

Scottish money:

l. s. d.

Item, Given to a skynner of Strivelinge, for a dufane of gluffs to the quene,	- - - - -	0	6	0
Item, Be Androu Balfoure, fra Will. of Kerkettill, 2 elne and ane halve of blak, for a klok and a capite bern for the quene, price elne 36 s. sum	- - - - -	4	10	0
Item, Twa elne and ane halve of Scotts blak, to lyne the samyn klok, price elne 5 s.	- - - - -	0	12	6
Item, Three quarteris of blak, to fullfill furth the lynyng of the queneis gowne,	- - - - -	0	3	9
Item, Fra Androu Mowbra 8 elne of braid clath, 6 Octobris, to cover a baith fate to the quene, price 2 s. the elne	- - - - -	0	16	0
Item, Fra the samyn, 3 elne of braid clath, for a schete to put about the quene, in the baith fat, price elne 3 s. sum	- - - - -	0	9	0
Item, Fra Isabell Williamfone, be Sandy Wardropare, in absence of Androu Balfoure, 5 Novembris, 5 quarters of blak for hofs to the quene, price elne 40 s. sum	- - - - -	2	10	0
Item, Be Androu Balfoure, fra David Quhiteheid, 3 Decembris, 7 elne of cramacy fatyne, for a kirtell to the quene, and to cover her bonats of tyre, price elne 3 l. 10 s. sum	- - - - -	24	10	0
Item, Given to a smyth of Leith for a chimney to the quene's clofat,	- - - - -	0	18	0
Item, For band-ledder to the quene's furring of her gloves,	- - - - -	0	5	0
Item, Fra Henry Caunt, be Androu Balfoure, 17 Aprilis, 5 elne of crifty gray, price of the elne 30 s. to lyne a gowne of blak damask to the quene, sum	- - - - -	7	10	0
Item, Fra Thome of Stanly, 27 Aprilis, ane quarter of blew velloufs, to cover the quene's stirup-irons,	- - - - -	0	15	0
Item, Fra Will. of Rend, 7 Maii, and deliverit to Caldwell, halfe ane elne of double tartan, to lyne ryding collars for the quene, price	- - - - -	0	8	0
Item, For 5 elne of smale braid clath for 2 hed schets, price of the elne 4 s.	- - - - -	1	0	0
Item, Given to Caldwell, 22 Junii, to buy 2 bassings for here chalmer,	- - - - -	0	12	6
Item, Fra Isabell Williamfone 2 elne of fatyng for tippats and collars, and deliverit to Caldwell, price elne 30 s. sum	- - - - -	3	0	0
Item, Fra Will. of Rend, ult. Julii, halfe ane elne and halfe quarter of fatyng, for the quenes bonat of tyr, price elne 30 s.	- - - - -	0	18	9
Item, Fra Isabell Williamfone, 26 Augusti, halfe ane elne and halfe quarter of blak, for 2 pair of hofs to the quene; price elne 34 s. sum	- - - - -	1	13	
Item, Gevin to Hud Sutor, for the quenis schonne, fra saint Jelys day wes a zere, to the 21 day of Septembre,	- - - - -	7	0	0
Item, Fra Will. of Kerkettill, and deliverit to Caldwell the samyn tyme, ane elne of fatyne, for stomoks to the quene,	- - - - -	1	10	0

Item,

Scotish money.

l. s. d.

Item, Fra Roger of Murray the halve of 5 quarters of vellous, for a tippat to the quene, price elne 50 s.	1	11	3
Item, For armyng to lyne a stomok to the quene, —	1	5	0
Item, To Thome Skynnare for 26 bestes of grece, to lyne a tippat to the quene, price — —	1	6	0
Item, For making the tippat and 2 stomoks, — —	0	3	0
Item, For a mefs bucke to the quenes alter, at her command by capt. Johne Cat, — —	10	13	4
Summa totalis	113	1	6

Things coft for my lorde the prince.

Imprimis, To my lorde prince, 28 Augusti, from Robert Nut, 5 elne of holland clath, for farkes and muchifs, price elne 10 s. fum — —	2	10	0
Item, Fra Thome Malcolme, ultimo Augusti, 5 quarters of quhite to lyne a cot to my lorde, price — —	0	2	0
Item, Fra Donald of Kyle 3 quarters of broune for a cot, price elne 30 s. — — — —	1	2	6
Item, The samyn time fra Thome Malcolme, 3 elne of quhite for his credile, and stufte perteynyng thairto, price elne 2 s. — — — —	0	6	0
Item, Gevin to Androu Balfoure, 12 Octobris, to buy 12 elne of lynyng for a schets to my lord's nuryfs, — — — —	0	10	4
Item, Sex elne of smale braid clath, for his schets, price 4 s. fum — — — —	4	0	
Item, Tertio Februarii, for ane elne of quhite, to be hofs to my lorde, price — — — —	0	3	0
Item, Fra Thome of Stanely 2 elne of lawne, for my lordes muchifs, price elne 12 s. — — — —	1	4	0
Item, Fra Thome of Zare, ane elne of carfaye, — — — —	0	13	4
Item, 30 Februarii, for ane elne of quhite for my lorde princes petycot, price — — — —	0	4	0
Item, Fra Dik Forestare, in Leith, 3 dusane of Estland burds for my lorde prince's chalmer, price of the dusane 15 s. — — — —	2	5	0
Item, To my lorde prince for his farkes, 3 elne of braid clath, tane fra Isabell Williamsone's sone, price elne 4 s. — — — —	0	12	0
Item, Fra Isabell Williamsone, quarto Aprilis, 2 elne and ane halve of Franche broune, to cover my lorde's cradill, price elne 30 s. fum — — — —	3	15	0
Item, For 4 elne and ane halve of tartane, for a sparwort aboun his cradill, price elne 10 s. — — — —	2	5	0
Item, Elevin elne of braid clath for farkes and schets, tane fra Isabell Williamsone, to my lorde prince, price elne 4 s. fum — — — —	2	4	0
Item, Fra Will. of Rend, to bind my lordes courtings, ane and a halve quarter of bukrame, — — — —	1	4	0
Item, For 8 elne of quhite to my lorde for blankats, price of the elne 3 s. — — — —	1	4	0

Item,

		Scotish money.		
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Item, Be Androu Balfoure, fra Thome of Zare, 28 Junii,				
3 elne and ane halve of Inglis ruffat, for a gowne to my				
lorde prince's nuryfs, price elne 24 s.	-	4	4	0
Item, Ten elne of quhite fustiane for blankats to my lorde,				
tane fra Will. of Rend, price elne 2 s. 8 d. sum		4	0	0
Item, 12 elne of braid clath for a pair of fchets, tane fra				
Will. of Rend, price elne 2 s. 6 d. sum	-	1	10	0
Item, To my lorde prince, fra Will. of Kerkettill, 5 elne				
of braid clath, to his fchets in his cradill, price 2 s. 6 d.				
sum	-	0	12	6
Item, Fra Will. of Kerkettill, 26 Julii, 8 elne of holland				
clath for farkes and muchifs, price elne 10 s.	-	4	0	0
Item, Fra Isabell Williamfone, sexto Octobris, 2 elne of				
fatyne to his cot, price elne 36 s.	-	3	12	0
Item, Fra the samyn, ane elne and ane halve of blew tar-				
tane, to lyne his gowne of a clath of gold,	-	1	10	0
Item, Twa elne and ane halve of quhite, for a nyght cot				
to him,	-	0	5	0
Summa totalis		41	18	
Sum total of the three accounts		273	18	
Due to balance		2967	18	1

In the debit of the above account the reader may observe, that the articles of compositions of charters, escheats, remissions, &c. are foreign to the concessions of wards, reliefs, revenues, and dowries, made to the king by his nobility, in lieu of the crown lands he is said to have granted them. Now, though these foreign articles may probably have brought in as much money, if not more, yearly than those of the wards, &c. I shall only reckon them equal in produce, which will bring the moieties of the balance to the sum of 1483 *l.* 19 *l.* 0 *d.* half-penny, Scotch money, each: which shews us what a hopeful sum our kings would have had (exclusive of the small sum abovementioned, laid out in apparel) to support their families, pay the civil list, and maintain the dignity of the crown, viz. 123 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* sterling, of yearly revenue. Which is another proof of the absurdity and falsity of Malcolm II. having distributed the national or crown lands among his nobility.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 11.
fol. 254.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 41.

Of a piece with the above is the story, that Malcolm, by his imprudent acts of generosity afore said, being become very poor, endeavoured to recover certain of the lands by illegally putting to death many of the possessors; which so irritated their relations, and others apprehensive of the like treatment, that they conspired against Malcolm, and murdered him in the castle of Glames. That he was murdered for endeavouring to recover the lands he never gave away, cannot be true; for his death, according to Fordun, happened on a different account, viz. That notwithstanding his having pardoned, nay, enriched the relations and friends of the late usurpers Constantine and Grim, they nevertheless ungratefully sought all opportunities to dis-

patch

patch him, which they at last accomplished in the castle of Glames, after a brave defence made by himself and followers.

This act of wickedness was not long unpunished; for the murderers in making their escape, it being in the winter-time, and the lake or loch of Forfar then covered with ice and snow, over which they were passing, but it not being strong enough to bear their horses, all fell in, and were drowned; but being soon after taken up, their bodies were hung on gibbets in divers parts of the country. Thus fell Malcolm, after a prosperous reign of thirty years, anno 1034, in the eightieth year of his age.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 254.

DUNCANUS I.

After the barbarous murder of Malcolm, Duncan, his grandson, in right of his mother Beatrix, relict of Crynyn abthane of the Isles and western parts of Scotland, acceded to the throne in the year 1034; but being of a mild and pacifick disposition, a rebellion was raised against him by Macdowel of the Isles, who slew Malcolm the king's lieutenant in those parts, and routed his army: against whom Macbeth the king's cousin-german, and Bancho thane of Lochaber, being sent, they beat and dispersed the rebels; and Macdowel, having no hopes of a pardon, made an end of himself.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 4.
c. 44.

This rebellion was no sooner over, than a dangerous storm gathered in the north; for Sweyn king of Norway, brother (mistaken for the son) of Cnute, had formed a scheme to subdue Scotland; and to that purpose fitted out a powerful fleet and army, and landed in the country of Fife, wherein he committed great depredations. At last being met by Duncan in the neighbourhood of Culrofs, a battle ensued, wherein the Scots were defeated; and Duncan, with the remains of his army, retreated to the town of Perth, in which he endeavoured to secure himself till fresh supplies arrived.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 11.
fol. 254.

Sweyn, flushed with his late victory, marched to invest the town; and, ordering his fleet thither, resolved to attack it both by land and water. In the mean time, Macbeth arriving with a considerable reinforcement, the apprehensions of the Scots were greatly alleviated: however, rather than risk an engagement whereon depended the fate of the nation, it was resolved to try what might be done by a stratagem, devised by Bancho. To this end, commissioners were dispatched to Sweyn, to treat of an accommodation; but the haughty Norwegian would admit of no other terms, than the surrender of the kingdom to him.

Ibid. fol. 256.

These conditions being very unacceptable, the commissioners were sent back with provisions of all sorts, as a present to Sweyn and his army; who being in great want, the dangerous gift was joyfully accepted, which being mixed with the juice of somniferous herbs, the Norwegians not suspecting the fraud, and regaling themselves plentifully therewith, were laid fast asleep; which the Scots taking advantage of, invaded their defenceless camp, and cut off the greatest part of their army: and had not Sweyn, who was in the same condition with his men, been carried off by some of his people, who had not eat and drank so heartily as others, he must have undergone the same fate, or been taken prisoner. But by his being luckily carried on board the fleet, he returned safely to Norway, though most of his ships were destroyed by violent storms; the wrecks whereof are said to have given rise to the dangerous sand-banks in the mouth of the river Tay. This loss,

Ibid. fol. 257.

loss, which is thought to have been the greatest that either the Danes or Norwegians ever sustained in Britain, is the more amazing, since it was accomplished without the expence of Scottish blood.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 256.

Soon after Sweyn's leaving Scotland, a fleet, with a considerable number of forces on board, sent by Cnute (mistaken for Harold) king of England, to reinforce his brother's army in these parts, entered the frith of Forth, and landing at Kinghorn, spoiled and laid waste part of the country of Fife: but being met by Macbeth and Bancho, were defeated, and the remains of their army forced to fly to their ships; from whence they wrote to the commanders of the Scottish army for leave to bury the bodies of their nobility and officers, slain in the late battle; which being agreed to, on their paying a certain sum of money, they were interred in Inchcolm, an island in the frith, where their sepulchral monuments are still said to be seen. The Norwegians and Danes, greatly discouraged and worn out by their many unsuccessful attempts against Scotland, on this occasion are said solemnly to have sworn never to return to this country.

Ibid. fol. 258.

Macbeth and Bancho, having greatly signalized themselves in the service of their country, were become the darlings of the people; whereby the ambitious Macbeth was so elated, that he began to think of aspiring to the royalty, to which he was greatly encouraged by the incessant solicitations of his haughty wife. The first step to be taken was to remove the king, as had been often practised in former reigns: but as an inducement was necessary on that occasion, a miracle must be devised to incite him to proceed; which is said to have happened as followeth:

Ibid. fol. 257.

Macbeth and Bancho, on their way to court, which was then residing at Forreßs, were met in the fields by three women, in appearance more than human; who addressing themselves to Macbeth, the first saluted him by the title of thane of Angus; the second, by thane of Murray; and the third, by the title of king. Macbeth making no return to these amazing compliments, Bancho was not a little troubled at their taking no notice of him, by foretelling something in his favour. One of them said, "To you, sir, the fates are more propitious; Macbeth shall reign, his posterity not: but from Bancho shall descend a race of kings." Whereupon they all disappeared. Thus encouraged, Macbeth murdered the king at Inverness.

Buchan. Scot.
Hist. lib. 6.
p. 108.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 258.

MACBETHUS.

Although Macbeth ascended the throne by the barbarous and perfidious murder of his sovereign, yet he governed, during the first ten years of his reign, with moderation, justice, and seeming piety: but finding himself not secure, during the lives of the princes Malcolm and Donald, (the former, from the large dimensions of his head, was surnamed Canmore, that is, great head; and the latter Bane, that is, white, from his fair complexion) he endeavoured to dispatch them likewise; which they being aware of, raised troops to defend themselves, and maintain their right, which they did for the space of two years; but being unable to continue the war, or remain in the kingdom with safety, Malcolm withdrew to his principality of Cumberland, and Donald his brother to the western isles.

Id. ibid.

While there was no appearance of trouble, Macbeth governed to the satisfaction of every one; made laws to secure the rights of the people, and, by his liberality to the nobility, attached them to his interest.

terest. But now he became jealous of all men in power, and particularly of Bancho, who was far superior to the rest in might. Besides, he had not forgot the prediction concerning him; and to elude the prophecy, so far as it regarded Bancho, invited him and Fleance, his son, to an entertainment, and regaled them in a sumptuous manner: but they repairing homewards late in the night, a tumult, by design, was raised in the street through which they were to pass, in which Bancho was killed; but Fleance escaping, was reserved for better fortune.

The murder of Bancho struck the whole kingdom with terror, no man thinking himself safe, after this bloody tragedy perpetrated on one who, next to Macbeth, was the most powerful man in the kingdom. Now, divested of benevolence and money, he acted the tyrant in the most destructive degree; and, degenerating into cowardice, erected a strong fortress or castle on the summit of the lofty and steep hill of Dunfinnan in Perthshire, which, having an extensive prospect on all sides, could not easily be surprized: and although he took all the precautions imaginable to secure his hated life, the only thing which gave him ease was the assurance given him by a sorceress, that he should not be overcome till the forest of Birnan was brought to his castle of Dunfinnan, and that he should not die by any man born of a woman.

Lucky had it been for Macduff, earl of Fife, that the usurper believed the deluding oracle; for he being one of the most noted loyalists and powerful men in Scotland, Macbeth had more reason to fear him than any other man in the kingdom: he now, however, resolved to remove him out of the way as soon as possible, which Macduff being apprised of, he fled by sea to England, to deliberate with Malcolm on measures to be taken towards his restoration. The tyrant was no sooner informed of Macduff's escape, than he put to death his wife, children, and servants, and confiscated his estate.

Malcolm being then at the court of Edward, surnamed the Confessor, king of England, Macduff discovered to him the business he came about; but Malcolm it seems being very diffident, our writers have, by long rhetorical flourishes, and a Billingsgate speech put into his mouth, made him not only reject the crown, but to have maltreated Macduff for his sincerity in the grossest manner, telling him, that, instead of helping to recover the crown, he intended to betray him. This being refuted by Macduff, in a proper but handsome manner, Malcolm declared, that what he said was with a view to discover whether his heart and tongue went together. Be that as it will, this is certain, that he not only prevailed on Malcolm to endeavour to recover his right, but he was likewise stimulated thereto by the generous offer of assistance from king Edward, which, according to Simeon of Durham and Roger Hoveden, was a fleet by sea, and an army by land, under the command of Siward earl of Northumberland, grandfather to Malcolm; the latter is, by Buchanan, said to have amounted to ten thousand men. But by the ridiculous account given us by Fordun, Malcolm is said to have refused Edward's offer of assistance, and brought only Siward along with him, as if he alone were sufficient to restore him. Similar to this story is that told us by Matthew of Westminster, that Scotland being conquered by the auxiliary English army, Edward gave it to Malcolm, to be held of him and his successors. This is a falsity so very gross, that no other English writer mentions the same.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 12.
fol. 258.

Ibid. fol. 261.

Ford. Scotl-
chron. lib. 5.
cap. 1.

Ibid. c. 7.

The

The army under Siward, being joined by a number of volunteers in England, began their march for Scotland, accompanied by Malcolm; whither Macduff went some time before, to prepare the loyalists to join them. Macbeth, having received advice of the preparations making in England against him, endeavoured to secure himself in the best manner he could, by seizing all persons disaffected to his government, and raising forces to withstand the intended invasion. In the mean time an association was formed, and troops raised by Macduff, to join the English auxiliaries on their arrival in Scotland; and, being joined, they were daily increased by deserters from the usurper's army: insomuch that Macbeth and his adherents were forced to fly to his castle of Dunfinnan for safety; and being closely pursued by Malcolm, his soldiers, in their march by the wood of Birnan, cut down boughs, and stuck them in their helmets, by way of triumph. This was no sooner perceived by Macbeth, than he discovered how greatly he had been imposed on by the forcerers, who had tricked him into a belief, that he should not be overcome till the wood of Birnan was brought to his castle of Dunfinnan.

However, having resolved to try his fate in fight, he drew up his army in order of battle; but, conscious of the badness of his cause, the armies no sooner met than he fled in a dastardly manner; which so discouraged his men, that they submitted to Malcolm: and Macbeth being pursued by Macduff, was by him killed at a place (according to a tradition amongst the people in that neighbourhood) near the village of Meigle in Strathmore, in Perthshire, called Bely-duff; which being of a small circular form, surrounded with trees, it is still well preserved in commemoration of the death of the usurper. Macduff, in consideration of the signal services performed by him in the restoration of Malcolm, had a charter granted him by that prince; of which, some say, the following inscription is the tenour, which was engraven on a monument near the town of Newburgh, in the country of Fife, called Macduff's cross; which, according to sir James Balfour, was destroyed by the covenanters, in the civil war in the reign of queen Mary, on their march from the town of Perth to that of St. Andrew's. Now as the only part of the said cross remaining at present is the pedestal, I shall, for the information of the curious, subjoin a copy of the inscription, taken from that on the body of the cross, before its destruction, which, from its amazing stile, is probably nowhere to be paralleled, and is as follows:

*Maldraradrum dragos, Malairia largia largos,
Spalando spados, five nig fig knippite gnaros,
Lorea lauriscos, lauringen louria luscas,
Et coluburtos sic fit tibi bursea burtus.
Exitus & blaradrum five lim, five lam, five labrum,
Propter Macgidrim & hoc oblatum,
Accepe smaleridem, super limpide, lampida labrum.*

The ingenious Mr. Cuninghame, in his remark on the above lines, having told us that they are a compound of the Latin and Saxon languages, makes them to be the substance of the charter granted by Malcolm Canmore to Macduff earl of Fife, which he has rendered into English, as follows:

“ Ye, earl of Fife, receive for your services, as my lieutenant, (by Sib. modern State of Fife.
 “ right of this regality) large measures of corn for the transgressions
 “ of the laws, as well from those that want, or put away their wea-
 “ pons of warfare, as of such as stay away from; or refuse to come
 “ to the host, or those that raise frays or disturbances therein, or from
 “ such as keep, haunt, and frequent unlawful convocations; together
 “ with all amerciements due to me for the slaughter of a free liege, or
 “ for a robbery or theft, or for adultery or fornication, within your
 “ bounds; with unlaws of fugitives, and the penalties due by such
 “ cowards as desert the host, or run away from their colours. Thus
 “ shall your gains be the greater. And yet, further to witness my
 “ kindness, I remit to those of your kindred all issues of wounds, be
 “ it of limb, lith, or life, in sua far as for this offering (to wit, of nine
 “ kyne and a queyoch) they shall be indemnified for limb, lith, or
 “ life.”

We are told by sir James Dalrymple, in his second edition of Cam- Camd. De-
 den's description of Scotland, that one Douglas of Newburgh, near script. Scot.
 the said cross, had a copy of another explanation of the aforesaid p. 134, 5.
 charter, which was as follows:

*Ara urget lex quos, laregentes atria lis quos;
 Hoc qui laboras, hæc fit tibi pæctio portus,
 Mille reum drachmas, multam delargior agris;
 Spes tantum pacis, cum nex fit à nepote natis
 Propter Macgidrum & hoc oblatum, accepe semel
 Hæredum, super lymphato, lapide labem.*

Englised thus:

“ All such as are within the ninth degree
 “ Of kindred to that ancient thane Macduff,
 “ And yet for slaughter are compell'd to flie,
 “ And leave their houses and their household stuff;
 “ Here they shall find for their refuge a place,
 “ To save them from the cruel blood avenger;
 “ A privilege peculiar to that race,
 “ Which never was allow'd to any stranger:
 “ But they must enter heir on this condition,
 “ (Which they observe must with a faith unfeigned)
 “ To pay a thousand groats for their remission,
 “ Or else their lands and goods shall be distrained,
 “ For saint Macgidder's sake and this oblation;
 “ And by their only washing at this stone,
 “ Purg'd is the blood shed by that generation:
 “ This privilege pertains to them alone.”

And Malcolm farther, to shew the grateful sense he had of Mac- Boet. Hist.
 duff's service, granted to him and his heirs three very great and Scot. lib. 17.
 honourable privileges, viz. To crown the king, to lead the van in the fol. 265.
 royal armies, and to appoint all officers within his own regality.

Thus was Malcolm restored to his crown and kingdom by the assistance of an English army, though not chiefly by it, as some English writers would have us believe. And that it was not so, is manifest by Fordun and Buchanan, who tell us, that Malcolm was not crowned,

Chron. Mel.
rof. ad an.
1055.

nor got possession of the kingdom, till the year 1057; and, according to Boece and Lesly, not till anno 1061, before either of which years Siward is said to have died. We are told by Fordun, that Malcolm owed the crown to his own valour, and the loyalty of his people, who were engaged in a war against the usurper about the space of three years before his death. However, it is generally agreed that Malcolm was restored by assistance from England.

MALCOLMUS III.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 5.
c. 8.

Although Malcolm III. surnamed Canmore, that is, great head, after a long exile, was restored to his crown and royal dignity by the death of Macbeth, yet an end was not put to the usurpation; for having left Lulach, his son, from his being an idiot surnamed Fatuus, he nevertheless was, by the friends of his late father, proclaimed king at Scone, in opposition to Malcolm; who, having assumed the government in the year 1057, marched in quest of Lulach, who, on his approach, retreated with the small number of his desperate followers, having plundered the country in their march northwards, but were overtaken in Strathbolgy, and all put to the sword. But Macbeth and Lulach being royally descended, their bodies were ordered to be interred amongst those of their ancestors at Icolmkill, and were the last of the royal family interred in that place.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 267.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 116.

Malcolm was no sooner freed from his rivals, than divers rebellions broke out in several parts of the kingdom, viz. in the country of Galloway and the western Isles, and in the counties of Murray, Ross, and Caithness. Against the former, Macduff was appointed commander, and Walter was sent to repress the latter; by whose good conduct both rebellions were soon quelled, and the ringleaders punished in an exemplary manner. In consideration of the great service done on this occasion, Malcolm created Walter high steward of Scotland; from whom not only descended the royal family of Stewart, but his descendants received their names from his office: and as to Macduff, he had so many lands, honours, and privileges conferred on him before, that there was hardly room left for more.

Ibid. c. 9.

Though by Malcolm's happy restoration all things seemed to conspire to peace and plenty, with a series of halcyon days; yet he was not secure from the plots and attempts of the wicked murderers of his late father, who had conspired his death; of which Malcolm being informed, commanded the informers not to divulge it to any other person. The miscreant, who undertook to dispatch the king, coming to court to execute his villainous intention, brought with him a numerous band to favour his escape. He was seemingly kindly received by Malcolm, who invited him to a hunting match, to be performed the day after; which was no sooner over, than Malcolm addressed himself to the traitor as follows:

Ibid. c. 10.

" Being informed of your wicked design against my person, we
" now being alone, you in some measure have an opportunity safely
" and honourably to put the same in execution, and not to accomplish
" it in a traitorous manner: wherefore, if you have the spirit of a
" brave man, and not that of a dastardly ruffian, give me, as I do you,
" fair play for my life." Then attempting to draw his sword, the
traitor was so greatly amazed at the unparalleled generosity and bravery of the king, that he fell on his knees, and humbly begged pardon; which, to the surprize of all, was granted by Malcolm.

REMARK.

REMARK. If this transaction be true, for it is by many justly questioned, Malcolm, instead of having acted either with prudence, courage or clemency, may be censured as guilty of the greatest weakness and indiscretion, by putting himself on a level with the worst of his subjects, to risk his life (which ought to be preserved for the good of his people) to fight one of the most abandoned and execrable villains!

Be that as it will, Malcolm was no sooner restored to his kingdom, than he shewed his gratitude to those who had been instrumental in his re-establishment. In a convention of the states, held at Forfar in Angus, he restored to some their lands, which were forfeited by Macbeth, and conferred on others divers lands and possessions, enjoyed at present by their descendants. His beneficence was not confined to his own people, but extended to the English adherents to Edgar Atheling, to whom he not only obliged William the Conqueror to restore them their estates; but to such of them as were willing to live free men in Scotland, he bountifully bestowed lands and tenements, according to their several stations.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 264.

Although we are told by our writers, that from the death of Macbeth to the Norman invasion of England, Malcolm enjoyed a state of serenity and peace; yet the English writers say that Malcolm, anno 1060, about three years after his restoration, in his journey to England to visit his great friend and benefactor, Edward the Confessor, contracted so great a friendship with Tofti, earl of Northumberland, who was appointed to attend him on his way to the court, that they became as it were sworn brethren. But Tofti, some time after, being obliged to repair to Rome, Malcolm taking advantage of his absence, invaded Northumberland, and committed great ravages therein.

Sim. Dunelm.
ad an. 1060.

REMARK. Were this relation true, Malcolm must have been the worst of men to have acted in so ungenerous a manner, nay, I may say perfidious. But that he did not, I think, does in some measure appear by the silence of our writers in that respect, together with the great honour, generous temper, and numerous acts of benevolence for which Malcolm is so highly celebrated: for such an iniquitous action as that would have been, would not only have caused a breach with Tofti, but an act of the vilest and blackest ingratitude to his great friend and benefactor king Edward, and the English nation, which they undoubtedly would have resented, as in justice they ought; but as it does not appear they did, I think it must be a mistake of Simeon of Durham's, in point of chronology, both as to the time and persons. It was the interest of Malcolm, both in policy and gratitude, to hold a good correspondence with Edward.

William duke of Normandy having subdued the neighbouring kingdom of England; Scotland, according to English writers, not only became an asylum for his enemies, and the malcontents of his new kingdom, but Malcolm openly favoured a dangerous insurrection in the northern parts of England, anno 1068; which giving William no small uneasiness, he was, no doubt, willing to accommodate matters with Malcolm in the best manner he could. To which end, we are told by Ordoricus Vitalis, that William having received Egelwin, bishop of Durham, into favour, terms of peace were offered by him to Malcolm king of Scotland, which being approved of, matters, by his mediation, were happily accommodated between the two kings. This peace proved of no long duration; for we are told by Simeon of

Ordor. Vital.]

Durham,

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1018.
Sim. Dun-
elm.
Flor. Wigorn.

Durham, that in the autumn following earl Gospatrick, Malefwyne, and other Northumbrian noblemen, apprehensive of being seized and imprisoned, as many others were, prevailed on Edgar Atheling, his mother Agatha, and his sisters Margaret and Christina to join them; they repaired to Scotland by sea, where they were not only kindly received and nobly entertained by Malcolm, but he conferred on them lands and estates of considerable value, some of which are still in possession of their descendants, amongst the antient Scottish nobility.

Id. *ibid.*

Malcolm by this having declared himself protector of the oppressed English, we are told by Hoveden, that the year following, viz. 1069, he invaded the northern parts of England with a powerful army, and committing great ravages, killed a number of the nobility and people, and laid waste the countries of Tiesdale, Clieveland, Heorternes, and bishoprick of Durham; where he received advice of Edgar Atheling and his company's being arrived in the harbour of Waremouth, in their way to Scotland: thither Malcolm hastened, and congratulating them on their arrival, promised them a safe retreat, and secure residence in his dominions.

Ford. Scoti-
chron, lib. 5.
cap. 14.

REMARK. Neither of the above accounts of Edgar Atheling's going to Scotland are to be depended on, seeing they contradict the relation thereof given by Turgot, who was cotemporary with, and in such favour with Malcolm, that, from being prior of the monastery at Durham, he promoted him to the bishoprick of St. Andrews, and, being always near the king, had a better opportunity of knowing what passed in Scotland than any foreign writer could have; wherefore Turgot, who wrote the lives of the said Malcolm and his consort Margaret, is much more to be depended on than the English historians who mention that occurrence, which, by Turgot, is said to have happened as followeth, viz. Upon the conquest of England by the Normans, Edgar Atheling's hopes being at an end in respect to his right of succession to the English crown; and being apprehensive of the danger he run, being the only male branch remaining of the royal Saxon line, he judged it proper to provide for the security of his person against all attempts that might be made by the usurper; which he endeavoured to do, by repairing on board a vessel, accompanied by his mother Agatha, and sisters Margaret and Christina, in order to return to Hungary, the place of their nativities: but being by stress of weather drove on the coast of Scotland, they put into the frith of Forth, which Malcolm, then at his castle of Dunfermling in that neighbourhood, receiving advice of, he repaired thither, and, congratulating their safe arrival, assured them of protection and safety in his dominions; which they thankfully accepting, Malcolm became so enamoured with the beauty and excellent qualities of Margaret, Edgar's eldest sister, that he married her the year after, in the fourteenth of his reign, anno 1070.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 266.

William the conqueror was apprehensive that this marriage might be attended with bad consequences, by raising factions and insurrections in England, in favour of Edgar; for the preventing of which he banished a number of the most suspected: these retiring to and settling in Scotland, Malcolm, for their support, bestowed on many of them lands and possessions; among whom were the Lindsays, Ramsays, Wars, Lovel, Towers, Preston, Sandilands, Bisset, Sowles, Wardlaw, Max-

Maxwell, Creighton, Fotheringham, Giffard, Bothwick, and others, many of which families are amongst our antient nobility at present.

To revenge the great depredations committed in the northern parts of England by Malcolm, in the year 1069 abovementioned, Gospatrick, who had just purchased of William the conqueror the county of Northumberland, entered Malcolm's province of Cumberland, and destroyed it far and near. This proceeding was so highly resented by Malcolm, that he gave orders to his men to kill or carry off all the English they could: the slaughter on this occasion was so great, and captives so numerous, that, according to Simeon of Durham, there was hardly a village, nay, scarcely a house in Scotland without them. Sim. Dunelm.
ad an. 1069.

It seems the ravages committed in the northern parts of England, and spoils carried off by Malcolm, were not sufficiently revenged by Gospatrick's making reprisals in Cumberland. We are told by the Saxon chronicle, and Florence of Worcester, that William the conqueror, in the year 1072, invaded Scotland with a great army by land, and a powerful fleet by sea, with an intent to subdue it; but when he entered the country, he was met by Malcolm at a place called Abernethie, where he submitted himself, and became William's liegeman, and gave hostages for the true observation of the treaty then concluded. But Ingulph is more particular, by saying, that William then subdued Scotland, and compelled Malcolm to do him homage, and swear fealty at the aforesaid place. This monk, like the rest of his brethren, has concealed the territories this homage is said to have been done for; whether for the kingdom of Scotland, Cumberland, or Lothian; for Northumberland then belonged to Gospatrick. Wherefore we have the greatest reason to believe, that had it been for Scotland, Ingulph would have exulted, and proclaimed it with an air of triumph. However, the declarations of those writers have given occasion to Hollingshed, and other modern English writers, without the least authority to assert, that Malcolm did homage to William for all Scotland. Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1072.
Flor. Wigorn.

Ingul. Hist.
Croyland.

Tyr. Hist.
Angl. vol. 2.
b. 1. p. 37.

To what has been said, I shall subjoin the accounts of those transactions given by two other English historians. The first whereof, Polydore Virgil, says, that William having entered Galloway, his army was so much harrassed in passing mountains and marshes in pursuit of the enemy, that he was forced to give over his expedition in that country; whence winding eastwards, he marched into the country of Lothian, where Malcolm then lay with his army, being resolved to end the war by a decisive battle. But Malcolm, wisely considering the uncertainty of success, judged it not prudent to risk the fate of his kingdom on the chance of a battle; wherefore he sent ambassadors to William with terms of peace, which were well received and willingly accepted; for it seems that William being of the same mind with Malcolm, that it was better to accommodate matters in an amicable way, than leave it to fortune, provided Malcolm would take an oath of fealty to him: and, on the other hand, at the desire of Malcolm the English exiles were restored to their estates by William; which shews he was not willing to disoblige the king of Scots.

Our next historian is Sir William Temple, who, speaking of this war says, that "for some days the armies stood at bay, seeming both prepared for a fierce encounter, and yet both consented to delay it, from the mutual respect they had to one another's forces and dispositions. They were indeed not much unequal in numbers, nor
4 R " in

Temp. In-
trod. Hist.
Engl. p. 120,
121, 122.

“ in the bravery and order of their troops. Both kings were valiant
 “ and wise, having been trained up in arms, inured to dangers, and
 “ much embroiled at home in the beginning of their reigns. They
 “ were now animated to battle by their own courage, as well as by
 “ that of their soldiers : yet both considered the event in the uncer-
 “ tainty, and the consequence. The loss of a battle might prove the
 “ loss of a crown, and the fortune of one day determine the fate of
 “ a kingdom. They very well knew, that whoever fights a battle,
 “ with what number of forces, what provisions and orders, or ap-
 “ pearances soever of success ; yet, at the best, runs a venture, and
 “ leaves much at the mercy of fortune, from accidents not to be fore-
 “ seen by any prudence, or governed by any conduct or skill.

Temp. In-
 trod. Hist.
 Engl. p. 120,
 121, 122.

“ These reflections began to dispose both kings to the thoughts of
 “ ending their quarrel by a peace, rather than a battle : and though
 “ both had the same inclinations, yet each was unwilling first to disco-
 “ ver it, lest it might be interpreted to proceed from apprehensions
 “ of weakness or fear, and thereby dishearten their own soldiers, or
 “ encourage their enemies. The Scots at length began the overture,
 “ which was received by king William with a shew of indifference,
 “ but with a concealed joy ; and the more reasonable, as having the
 “ greater stake, the less to win, and the more to lose by the issue of
 “ a battle.”

Boet. Hist.
 Scot. lib. 12.
 fol. 267.
 Ford. Scoti-
 chron. lib. 5.
 c. 17.
 Buchan. Hist.
 Scot. lib. 7.
 p. 116.

Our writers give a different account of the transactions in those wars, by telling us, that at the commencement thereof, Roger, a Norman, was sent with an army into Northumberland, to oppose the united forces of Malcolm and Siward ; but Roger being defeated, and soon after killed by his own people, Richard, duke of Gloucester, was sent with a much greater army, but being narrowly watched by Patrick Dunbar, and many of his men cut off by frequent skirmishes, he was obliged to retreat ; and bishop Odo, William's half brother, being sent at the head of a great army to supply his place, laid waste the greatest part of Northumberland ; whence returning with a rich booty, he was set upon by Malcolm and Siward, who defeated him, and recovered the prey. The abovenamed generals not succeeding in their designs, Robert, William's eldest son, was sent at the head of an army more numerous than any of the former, but with no better success ; for, encamping at the river Tyne, he contented himself with erecting a castle at a ford in the river, near the village of Monkchester, the name of which was obliged to make way to that of Newcastle, by which the town is still denominated.

English writers, who place Robert's expedition in the year 1080, (which is eight years after the conclusion of the second peace between the two kings) charge Malcolm with having, without the least offence or provocation given, broke the peace divers times, viz. anno 1078, when he invaded Northumberland, plundered it, and carried away a vast number of people with large spoils. That he committed the like depredations in Edward the confessor's time ; and broke with William the Norman, before he took part in Edgar Atheling's quarrel. And after Atheling's renouncing his pretensions to the crown, and reconciling himself to the conqueror, Malcolm invaded England without an offence given. But as those relations seem to be meer assertions, they are not much to be depended on.

However,

However, to shew they are facts, a modern English historian says, that the greatest part of the Scottish relations concerning these wars are mere romances; for one Roger did not invade Scotland at that time, nor was the duke of Gloucester in England long after; and that Odo the bishop was not sent against the Scots, but to revenge the murder of Walcher, bishop of Durham. Be these things as they will, the writers of both nations agree in this, that after a long and bloody war, a peace was concluded between Malcolm and William. The first article require, that all the English exiles in Scotland be delivered up to William. This demand seems not to have been complied with, by Atheling's continuing in Scotland a long time after that period. 2. That thenceforth no English exiles be admitted into, or entertained in Scotland. This seems likewise to have been rejected by Malcolm, who, according to Simeon of Durham, not only received Gospatrick into favour, but conferred on him the lands of Dunbar in East Lothian. 3. That Malcolm shall continue in possession of his English dominions, and do homage to William for the same. 4. Such of the English exiles as are willing to return to their own country, shall, on their submission to William, have their estates restored to them.

Tyr. Hist.
Ang. vol. 2.
b. 1. p. 27.

Craig. Ho-
mege, chap.
23.

In commemoration of this treaty, a stone cross was erected on Stanmoor, in Yorkshire, with the effigy of the kings on the northern and southern sides thereof, by the English denominated Rarecross, and by the Scots Recross, that is, the kings cross; to serve as a boundary between the two kingdoms. The remains whereof were seen by Camden, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, which probably may still be extant.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 12.
fol. 267.

The ancient English writers having only told us, that Malcolm did homage to William, without mentioning whether it was done for the kingdom of Scotland, or for Cumberland and other English dominions held by the kings of Scotland of the kings of England, this has occasioned great disputes between the later writers of both nations. Had it been for Scotland, it is not to be doubted they would, with the greatest pleasure, have declared the same, and not have left a matter of that consequence to be controverted by future ages: and as they could not prove it to have been done for Scotland, they have left it doubtful, to encourage cavillers to dispute, although contrary to the express stipulation in the third article of the aforesaid treaty.

And, being sensible that all their artful fencings are not sufficient to prove, that Malcolm did homage to William for the kingdom of Scotland, nor any other of our kings, (except William, as hereafter shall be mentioned) to any king of England for the same, they have brought a charter from the royal archives at Westminster, to prove, that homage was done by king Malcolm at York, in the ninth year of his reign, by the consent and advice of Margaret his consort, and Edgar Atheling her brother, to Edward the confessor, king of England, for the whole kingdom of Scotland, which is of the following tenor, viz. That Malcolm king of Scotland, and Edward his son, earl of Carrick and Rothesay, hold the kingdom of Scotland of Edward king of England, the superior and liege lord of Scotland.

Rym. Foed.
Angl.

REMARK. Surely nothing can more demonstrate the pitiful subterfuges the English are drove to, to support their pretended superiority over Scotland, than the spurious charter aforesaid; the author whereof must have been as weak as wicked.

*

This

For this charter appears to be a bungling contrivance and continued blunder; its characters are many years later than Malcolm's time; its syllabication is modern; it makes the king speak in the plural number, which was never used in Britain till the reign of John king of England; it makes Malcolm address Edward by way of a prayer, commencing our lord, &c. it intitles Malcolm, king of Scotland and isles adjacent, a title never used by the kings of Scotland; it calls Malcolm's eldest son, Edward earl of Carrick and Rothsey, whereas the heir apparent to the crown of Scotland was then intitled prince of Cumberland; for that of Rothsey came not into use, 'till the accession of the family of Stewart to the throne, divers centuries after: it useth the French appellation, parliament, though not known in Britain 'till after the Norman conquest. But that which shews the fallacy of this pretended charter beyond contradiction, is the consent of Margaret, and Edward her son; the former was not queen of Scotland 'till after the year 1066, when William the Norman invaded England; and if, according to English writers, she was not married in the year 1070, and that her son Edward, according to the laws of Scotland, was not capable of transacting affairs of that moment 'till he came of age, he must have consented to and subscribed the said charter before he was born.

Of the same stamp is a modern copy of the laws of Edward the confessor, and William the conqueror, in Lambard's *Archaionomia*, which are brought to prove Malcolm's being subject to the king of England: these have been effectually refuted by Anderson; and in the genuine laws of the said prince, published by divers other English writers, there is not the least mention of the pretended homage: which shall suffice, without mentioning the idle tales and ridiculous monkish fables of pope Eleutherus's letter to Lucius, king of Britain, in the year 169; or that Arthur subdued Scotland, Norway, &c. and made eastern Lapland the boundary of his dominions; or that Ina was chosen by an angel to be the first British monarch. On the faith of such writers, the homage said to be paid by the kings of Scotland to the kings of England is built.

The abovementioned counterfeit charter I take to have been written in the reign of Edward I. king of England, and probably by his command, seeing it is preserved in the royal repository of records at Westminster; more especially if we consider, that Edward stuck at nothing, both by invention and concealment, to ascertain his unjust claim to the superiority of Scotland: this is evident, by his endeavouring to prove the same by the romance of the infamous Geoffry of Monmouth, falsely entituled the history of Britain; wherein he asserts, that Albanaſtus, a pretended son of the fabulous king Brutus, whom he fabulously asserts to have been the founder of the British monarchy, was king of Scotland: nor had Edward the candour to acknowledge the acquittance or discharge given by Richard I. king of England, to the Scots, of the superiority extorted from our king William, during his captivity in England.

That some English writers have endeavoured to shew that Scotland was held of England, is not to be wondered at, since those who mention it wrote in the times when war was incessantly carried on between the two nations; which begetting as it were an innate antipathy in the people of both kingdoms, they stuck at nothing to asperse one another at the expence of truth. But the ancient English writers,

as already hinted, have not in the least mentioned homage being done for Scotland at any time ; which is confirmed by the ingenious, learned, and impartial English historian Tyrrel, the great and industrious searcher into the records and antiquities of England, who says, " That Hollingshead and others of the modern English writers, have, without any authority from our antient historians, said in express terms, that the king of Scots then did homage to king William for all Scotland." Tyr. Hist. Engl. vol. 2. b. 1. p. 37.

After the discomfiture and death of Lulach, the country enjoyed peace for several years ; 'till a numerous band of robbers infested the countries of Lothian and Merse, against whom Patrick Dunbar, at the head of the country people, marched, and cut off about six hundred, and took and hanged about eighty, which put an effectual end to their ravages. For which piece of good service, Malcolm created him earl of March, and appointed him conservator of the counties of Merse and Lothian. Boet. Hist. Scot. lib. 12. fol. 265.

Now Malcolm enjoying peace on all sides, began to reform his people from the vices which foreigners lately brought in amongst them ; who, from a state of morality and temperance, were given up to luxury and vice : the monks, without regarding the rules of their order, were clothed in sumptuous apparel, and divested both of piety and literature ; the nobility being dissolute, despised religion, preyed on the people, and debauched their wives and daughters, whilst the populace luxuriously spent their substance in rioting and debauchery. Ibid. fol. 268.

Malcolm, the better to accomplish his laudable design, set about reforming his own court, and made sumptuary laws to restrain the luxury of his people ; and all laws and customs tending to the encouragement of vice he abrogated, especially the infamous and detestable practice of the superior, or lord of the manor's having the first night's enjoyment of the several brides of his respective vassals ; and in lieu of this scandalous and wicked custom, he ordered half a mark to be paid by the bridegroom to his landlord, which to this day is called Marcheta Mulierum, or the womens mark. This reformation was chiefly owing to Malcolm's religious and virtuous consort Margaret, the great patroness of virtue, and enemy to vice, and in whom were conspicuous all the qualities of a good and holy woman.

Now, as hitherto there were only in Scotland the bishopricks of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Galloway, and Murthlack, Malcolm, to encourage the propagation of religion, added those of Murray and Cathness, founded the church and monastery of Dunfermling, and rebuilt the church of Durham ; and having introduced many English customs amongst his people, created new titles of honour to dignify his nobility with, viz. earls, barons, and knights ; to which the antient Saxon title thegen, or thane, was forced to make way : and as earl and knight are likewise Saxon, the former being a compound of ehre and all, i. e. all-honour ; and the latter knight, from knecht, a servant ; I am of opinion that baron is also Saxon, from beoni, noble, though by most it is thought to be from the Gaelick barones, or verones, a soldier. Ibid.

William, surnamed the conqueror, dying in England, was succeeded by William Rufus his second son, who being jealous of Edgar Atheling, on account of his large possessions in Normandy, conferred on him by the conqueror at their reconciliation, prevailed on his brother,

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1091.
Flor. Wigorn.

ther, Robert duke of Normandy, not only to sequester Edgar's estate, but to expel him the country. On this occasion, the unfortunate and injured prince repaired to Malcolm his brother-in-law in Scotland, who, commiserating his condition, might probably (as he is said by English writers to have been the aggressor) have declared war against William on this account. This our writers deny, and assert, that the war was owing to the avarice and incroaching temper of William, who surprized the castle of Alnwick in Northumberland, then belonging to Malcolm; for the recovery of which he invaded England in the year 1091, whence he retreated soon after with a considerable booty. But what occasioned his short stay and sudden return, is not accounted for by our historians.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1091.

However, to revenge the injury done by Malcolm, William, with Robert his brother, at the head of a numerous army, marched into Scotland, whither he had sent a fleet to annoy the coast, which being shattered and dispersed by storms, he had only his army to trust to, which, though it was reduced to great hardships by long marches and the want of provisions, yet it advanced a considerable way into the country: but, on viewing the Scottish army, and observing their number and order, with their seeming resolution to fight, Robert advised his brother to accommodate matters with Malcolm. As they were got already too far, they began to think how they might retreat with honour and safety; and having heard of Edgar Atheling's being in the Scottish army, they applied to him to endeavour an accommodation, the terms whereof being communicated to Malcolm, were readily accepted. By the first, Edgar Atheling was restored to his estate; and the second not only gave up the twelve manors in dispute to Malcolm, but William obliged himself to pay yearly to him twelve marks of gold, on condition he do him homage for the lands held by him; which looks as if Malcolm had insisted on holding the said lands in sovereignty. For this great service, Edgar Atheling was restored to William's favour.

Flor. Wigorn.
Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 5.
c. 19.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1093.
Sim. Dunelm.
ad an. 1093:

This peace proved of no long duration; for William it seems repenting of the honourable terms granted to Malcolm, did not fulfil the treaty; which Malcolm by his ambassadors complaining of, the English nobility, willing to maintain the treaty, proposed an interview between the two kings, which being agreed to, Malcolm was with great honour conducted to Gloucester, the place appointed for their meeting; but William, according to the English writers, refused to see him, unless he would do him homage in his own court. This haughty, rude, and unprecedented deportment of William being highly resented by Malcolm, he left Gloucester in discontent, with a resolution to avenge himself for this mal-treatment; to which end, having raised an army, he marched into Northumberland, and ravaging the country as far as Alnwick, laid siege to the castle, and reduced it to that extremity, that they began to treat of a surrender; under the cloak of which Robert Moubray the governor, or, according to others, Moreal of Bebanburg, his steward, came out of the castle on horse back, with the keys of it on the point of his spear, and tendering them to the king, as if he intended to surrender, ran his spear into the king's eye, and escaped by the swiftness of his horse.

The king being slain, Edward his son, to revenge his death, pursuing the regicide with more haste than precaution, fell into an am-
buscade

buscade, and was likewise cut off. All our writers agree in this, with an addition by some, that from this dastardly action of Moubray's, the Piercies are denominated. Thus fell Malcolm, in the thirty-sixth year of his troublesome reign, in the year 1093; which Margaret his pious relict laid so much to heart, that she survived him only three days.

This fact is denied by English writers, who assert, that both Malcolm and his son were killed in battle, and their army routed, by Robert Moubray earl of Northumberland, on St. Brice's day, and most of them either killed or drowned in the rivers (which were much swollen by the autumnal rains) in their retreat to Scotland: they add, 'tis more probable that Malcolm was slain in battle, by his body remaining in possession of the English, who buried it in the monastery at Tinmouth, (which is acknowledged by our own writers) at the influx of the river Tyne to the sea, which is above twenty miles besouth the castle of Alnwick. Besides, by Edward's being killed in an ambuscade, they say is shewn, that there was an English army in the neighbourhood; for, if there had not, the Scots, at their raising the siege, might have carried the body along with them, and not suffered it to have been ignominiously put into a cart by two country clowns, to be by them carried above twenty miles into England, and interred at Tinmouth.

Rog. Hoved.
Sim. Dunelm.
ad an. 1093.

Malcolm was a man of great resolution, valiant, munificent, and generous. By the assistance of king Edward, surnamed the confessor, he reduced the tyrant Macbeth, defeated several conspiracies against his person, and carried on sundry wars against William the conqueror, and his son Rufus, with great success; quelled some dangerous commotions amongst his people, reformed their manners, and by good laws established peace, plenty, and learning in the kingdom; and, by the pious examples of his religious consort, became a pattern of virtue, goodness, and piety: insomuch, that although he was not dignified by the pope with the title of saint, yet many are of opinion that he deserved it more than many who are preferred to places in the Roman rubrick. The only things objected against him by his enemies are, that he was cruel in making war, and apt to revenge the least injuries: this I take in other words to imply, that he was a prince of such magnanimity, that he would suffer none to go on with impunity that provoked him, as is manifest by the frequent wars carried on by him against the English and others.

Malcolm's
character.

Margaret, consort to Malcolm, was grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside, king of England, and daughter of Edward his son, who, with his brother Edmund, though very young, gave great uneasiness to Cnute the Danish usurper, who, from the great love shewn them by the people, judged himself not secure while they lived or resided in England. But, not daring to attempt their lives, for fear of becoming odious to the people, he gave them in charge to one of his domesticks to conduct them to the king of Denmark, under pretence of travelling. But their conductor, conscious of Cnute's design, being touched with compassion for the innocent and injured princes, instead of carrying them to Denmark, took them to the king of Sweden, to whom having discovered his master's intentions, he received them very kindly; but not to break with Cnute, sent them to Solomon king of Hungary, his relation, who, touched with the piteous condition of the

His wife and
children.

the innocent and unfortunate princes, had them carefully educated and brought up at his court; gave one of his daughters in marriage to Edmund, and to Edward, Agatha his sister-in-law, daughter of the emperor Henry II. Edmund dying soon after, Edward, by his consort, had five children, two whereof dying in Hungary, the other three, viz. Edgar Atheling, Margaret, and Christina, with Edward their father, were sent for by king Edward the confessor, his uncle, and their grand uncle, to succeed him in the throne of England. Nay, 'tis said, that on his arrival, he offered to resign the crown to him, which Edward unluckily refusing during his uncle's life, his son Edgar Atheling, after his demise, was unjustly set aside by Herold, son of Goodwin earl of Kent, who had not the least right to the crown: and Herold being soon after deprived both of his life and crown by William duke of Normandy, Edgar, with his mother Agatha, daughter of the king of Hungary, and his sisters Margaret and Christina, with many of the English nobility, retiring into Scotland, were kindly received, protected, and generously entertained by Malcolm, who becoming soon enamoured with the beauty, virtue, and admirable qualities of Margaret, took her in marriage, by whom he had six sons and two daughters, viz. Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar, Alexander and David, Matilda and Mary, the former afterwards queen of England, and the latter countess of Bononia. Edward, the eldest son, being killed in Northumberland as aforesaid, Edmund sequestered himself from the world, and led a religious life in England; Ethelred died in his infancy; and Edgar, Alexander, and David, succeeded regularly to the crown. Malcolm having copied after Margaret his consort, they, according to Fordun, are celebrated by Turgot their biographer, as the greatest patrons of piety, benevolence, and charity; especially the latter, who is thought to have excelled all her contemporaries in virtue and piety; and her humility was such, that she not only distributed alms to the poor with her own hands, but frequently washed their feet herself.

DONALDUS IV.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 12.
fol. 269.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 5.
cap. 21.

Donald, brother to the late king Malcolm, (notwithstanding of the constitution made by Keneth III. for the king's eldest son to succeed to the crown) encouraged by the old practice of the deceased king's brother being appointed regent, or king, during the nonage of the heir apparent, together with the great assistance Donald expected from Norway, (for which he perfidiously engaged to deliver up in sovereignty all the Scottish islands to Maginus king of Norway; which being accordingly performed, they remained in possession of the Norwegians or Danes for many ages after) and his being joined by the Scottish malecontents, (who repined at the profuseness of the late king, in conferring great honours and estates on the exiled English) usurped the crown in the year 1093; which Edgar Atheling, then in England, was no sooner apprized of, than he sent for his nephews and nieces, children of the late king Malcolm, to secure them against the wicked machinations of the usurper, which had like to have proxed fatal to him; for one Organ, a court parasite, accused him to William Rufus, king of England, that he had boasted of their title to the English crown, and had brought into and educated them in England, in hopes of obtaining it. One Goodwin, to vindicate the honour and innocence

of the injured prince, challenged the informer to single combat, in which he had the good fortune to kill him, to the no small satisfaction and pleasure of the people.

Whereupon, although William permitted him to continue his care and kindness to the royal orphans, and suffered them to be educated within his dominions, according to their high rank and qualities, yet he thought it not safe to restore a family to the throne of Scotland, that was so nearly allied to that of England. But, as he was an enemy to Donald the usurper, who had then invaded England, he resolved to depose him, and set up Duncan, natural son to the late king Malcolm, a brave and experienced general, who had served under himself in the late French war; and having taken an oath of fealty to William, (which is not to be wondered at, seeing he was to promote him to a crown) he gave him a considerable army of English and Normans, at the head of which he marched in quest of Donald, whom, according to English writers, he engaged and routed.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1093.

Id. ibid.

This, by our writers, appears to be a mistake; for upon Duncan's approach, the Scots no doubt imagining he was come to act in behalf of Edgar his legitimate brother, deserted Donald and joined Duncan, which occasioned the former to fly to the isles for safety. But they soon found themselves mistaken, for marching his army to Scone, he assumed the crown; which being highly resented by the people, occasioned many insurrections against him: which Donald being advised of, prevailed on his friend Malpedir earl of Mearns, to dispatch him, which he soon after performed in the castle of Monteith, in the night time, as he lay asleep in bed, in the eighteenth month of his usurpation, anno 1095.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 5.
cap. 24.

On the murder of Duncan, Donald, by the assistance of Malpedir and the Norwegians, re-assumed the government, and renewed his petty incursions on England, which enraged William to so great a degree, that he resolved to ruin him; and the most effectual instrument to accomplish the same being Edgar, son of the late Malcolm Canmore, the right and lawful heir to the crown of Scotland, he gave him an army, which being joined by the loyalists in Scotland, he thought would be sufficient to expel the usurper, and place Edgar on the throne: the conduct of the whole was given to Edgar Atheling his uncle. But a miracle being judged necessary to encourage his men, on their arrival at Durham, the burying-place of St. Cuthbert, that saint appeared to Edgar in a dream, and bid him be of good cheer, and assured him, that if he carried his banner along with him, his enemies would fly before him, and he should recover the throne of his ancestors. Pursuant to this assurance, Edgar the next day repaired to St. Cuthbert's church, and received of the canons the said banner, which being displayed in the van of his army, it no sooner appeared in sight of Donald's host, than his men left him and joined Edgar. Donald endeavouring to save himself by flight, was apprehended by the country people, and brought to Edgar, who committing him to prison, he soon after died of grief; by which peace was restored to the country, and Edgar to the throne of his ancestors.

Id. ibid.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 270.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 5.
c. 25.

REMARK. Whether the banner of St. Cuthbert did intimidate Donald's men I know not, but that it was lucky for the monks of St. Cuthbert's monastery, is manifest. For Edgar, as it may be presumed, believing it to have been of great service to him, gave to the

Chart. Edgar.
Append. Anderf. Hist.
Eff. n^o 1, 2,
4, 5.

monks of Durham the town of Coldingham, with its appurtenances; and to Ranulph the town and mansion of Berwick upon Tweed; for which they soon after made very ungrateful returns: for the bishop, detected in an attempt on the life of his sovereign, had his benefice confiscated. And the monks in after-ages, to flatter their then sovereign the king of England, forged divers charters; two whereof are said to be granted by their great benefactor Edgar, and two by their persecutor William Rufus, in confirmation of them, to shew that the former did homage to the latter for the kingdom of Scotland.

Anderf. Crit.
Eff. p. 31.

But the said charters have some time since been effectually refuted by the ingenious James Anderson, in his historical essay on the independency of the kingdom of Scotland; wherein he tells us, that the charter under seal, inserted in the appendix to his said essay, is of a modern character: its syllabication, words, and names are likewise modern. Edgar is made to speak in the plural number, which was not used either in Scotland or England for ages after. The seal is different from that of Edgar's genuine charters, which has occasioned its being marked in the repository of the records belonging to Coldingham as suspected, and is separated from Edgar's genuine charters in that valuable repository.

The second of the supposed charters of Edgar, wherein he acknowledgeth the superiority of William, is not extant; that in the historical essay being only a copy: and we may observe, that, if ever it had an original, it is not to be supposed but the monks, who were keepers of their own registers, would have carefully preserved it, as they have done the other five charters of Edgar; more especially if we consider, that in this is not only contained all the lands granted by the said five charters, but makes the king and kingdom of Scotland dependent on those of England. But to put it beyond dispute, that the four charters abovementioned, which insinuate homage, are spurious counterfeits, they are granted to William the bishop, Durget or Turgot the prior, and the monks of Durham.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1096.
Sim. Dunelm.
ad an. 1096.
Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 5.
c. 26.

Now, as there was no other bishop of that see or name but William Carilefo before the year 1143, who, according to divers English writers, died anno 1096; and as by Fordun it appears that Edgar came to the crown in the year 1098, which was two years after the death of the said bishop, and Edgar, till that period, being an exile in England, could neither grant lands nor charters to the said William, &c. nothing can more evince the falsity and forgery of the said charters.

To what has been said may be added, that some English writers tell us that Edgar Atheling, having expelled the usurper Donald, placed his nephew Edgar on the throne; who being rightful heir to the crown, did homage to William Rufus, as king of England. This, like all the other homages pretended by the monks to have been done by our kings for the kingdom of Scotland to the kings of England, as their superiors, is seemingly refuted by the homage done by William king of Scotland to Henry II. king of England, wherein there is not the least mention of homage being done for the kingdom of Scotland before that period; which is acknowledged by the learned, candid, and ingenious English historian, Tyrrel, who says, "This charter is the more remarkable, because it is the first wherein we find it expressly mentioned, that the king of Scots did homage to the king of England for all Scotland, and not for those earldoms or counties which were held of him before."

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. ii.
b. 5. p. 396.

We are likewise told by certain English writers, that the Scottish nobility unanimously elected Donald, brother of the late Malcolm Canmore, to be their king; and that the Scottish nation made bold to elect two kings together, (one of which was a bastard) in prejudice of prince Edgar, eldest son of the late king Malcolm. That these are mistakes is manifest by all our own writers, who declare that Donald, by the assistance of the Norwegians and Scottish malecontents, usurped the crown; and Duncan, by the assistance of England, seized the crown violently: whereby is shewn, that neither of them were elected by the states of Scotland, as is vainly asserted.

Flor. Wigorn.
ad an. 1093.
Sim. Dunelm.
ad an. 1093.
Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1093.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 5.
c. 21, 24.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 69, 70.

EDGAR.

Donald the usurper's army was no sooner dispersed, and himself imprisoned, than Edgar was advanced to the throne of his ancestors, in the year 1098, after he had lived in exile for the space of fourteen years. Being a pious, virtuous, and pacifick prince, he maintained a good correspondence with his neighbours; and being sincerely beloved by his people, peace and plenty prevailed during the course of his happy reign; wherein nothing of moment happened, except the marriage of his sister Matilda to Henry I. king of England; previous to which, a dispute arose whether she could lawfully marry, which was occasioned as followeth:

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 5.
c. 26.

At the conquest of England by the Normans, many virgins retired to monasteries, and veiled themselves for protection against the lustful soldiery, who, being puffed up by their late great victory, thought all things subject to their will. Amongst the numerous young ladies who assumed the veil on this melancholy occasion was Matilda, on whose account the doubt was started, which put a stop to her intended marriage. The decision of this affair being left to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, Matilda informed him of the following particulars, viz. That she had been veiled in the nunnery of Wilton much against her inclinations, and assumed the habit with no other view than to preserve her chastity against the lust of the Normans, which she could sufficiently demonstrate: and as for the veil, she never wore it but in presence of the abbess Christiana, her aunt, whose back was no sooner turned than she laid it aside: and that the king her father, on seeing her once with her veil on, pulled it off, and tore it, declaring to Alan earl of Bretagne, that he intended to marry her, and not to make her a nun.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. p. 88.

Anselm would not take upon himself to decide in a case of this consequence, without assistance; and the convocation being to meet in a short time at Lambeth, he resolved to take their opinion. The council having met and considered the case, and given their opinions thereon to the archbishop, he, with the several members, left the place of assembly, and before the church-doors, in presence of the king, nobility, and a vast number of the commonalty, gave the following sentence, viz. That Matilda should enjoy the liberty of her own person, and might, according to the law of God, marry. Which being unanimously approved of by the whole assembly, her marriage with Henry was celebrated with great solemnity at the feast of Martinmas following. And Edgar, after having enjoyed a quiet and happy reign for the space of nine years and three months, died at the town of Dundee in the county of Angus, on the 8th day of January, anno 1107, and was interred at Dunfermling soon after.

Ibid.

ALEXANDER

ALEXANDER I.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 5.
c. 28.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 271.

On the demise of Edgar without issue, his brother Alexander, first named the Fierce, fifth son of Malcolm Canmore, succeeded to the crown in the year 1107; and being, like his brother Edgar, a prince of great piety, applied himself, in the beginning of his reign, wholly to religious affairs; which many of his subjects regarding as the effects of indolence and cowardice, the inhabitants of the countries of Murray and Ross, being given to rapine and plunder, committed great ravages, by spoiling the neighbouring countries and murdering the people; which Alexander no sooner received advice of, than he marched against them, cut off many, and hanged a great number, which made the people sensible of their mistaken notions. And to shew that he was a man of justice as well as resolution, neither quality nor condition could screen an offender from the law, as is manifest in the case of the son of the earl of Mearns; who, to support his luxurious and licentious way of living, had incurred a number of debts, and if any of his creditors demanded their money, he beat and abused them in a very cruel and barbarous manner. The widow of one of his creditors, whom he had first enjoyed, and then beaten almost to death, for threatening to sue him at law, applied to Alexander for redress; who was so moved with the relation and enormity of the crime, that he caused the murderer, then present, to be hanged in his sight. This and the like acts of justice created the king a number of enemies; some of whom, by bribery, prevailed on his domesticks to let into his palace by night certain ruffians, to murder him in bed; but, being luckily awake, he snatched up his sword, and not only defended himself gallantly, but killed them all, who were six in number, in his bed-chamber.

Id. *ibid.*

This conspiracy was no sooner put an end to, than a rebellion broke out in the northern parts of the kingdom; for the repressing of which Alexander marched in quest of the rebels, and discovered them encamped on the northern bank of the river Spey, to prevent his passage. But having commanded a number of his best troops, under the conduct of Alexander Canon, to force their way through the river, the boldness of the attempt so intimidated the rebels, that they betook themselves to flight; but being soon overtaken, were quickly routed, and a number cut off; many of them being afterwards taken, were immediately hanged.

Ford. Scoti-
chron. lib. 5.
c. 28.

This being the last martial action Alexander had occasion to exert himself in, he applied himself to religious performances. He repaired, enlarged, and enriched the abbeys of St. Andrew's and Dunfermling, and founded and endowed the abbeys at Scone (the ancient capital city both of the kingdoms of Pictland and Scotland) in Perthshire, and Inchcolm in the frith of Forth, both for canons regular of the order of St. Augustin. Alexander, who was a beautiful personage, a learned, humble, pious and generous prince, after a reign of seventeen years and twenty-one days, died in a state of celibacy in the year 1124, and was buried at Dunfermling in the county of Fife.

DAVID I.

Ibid. c. 32.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1126.

David, youngest son to Malcolm Canmore, having succeeded his brother Alexander on the 8th of May in the year 1124, went to England about two years after, to visit Henry his brother-in-law; by whom he was not only most honourably received, and sumptuously entertained,

tained, but by his advice his brother Robert, duke of Normandy, was taken out of the custody of Roger bishop of Salisbury, and committed to the keeping of earl Robert, his natural son. David was so well pleased with his reception and treatment by Henry, that he staid near a year at the English court, where he swore to maintain Matilda his niece's succession to the crown of England, to which she was heiress apparent, by the loss of her brother prince William at sea, in his return from France to England; as did also, by command of king Henry her father, Stephen earl of Montaigne and Bouloigne, and all the English nobility and dignified clergy.

In the third year of David's reign, Angus earl of Murray, said to be descended from Duncan the late usurper, broke out into rebellion; but a sufficient power being sent against him, he with his followers were all cut off. However, this did not prevent others from raising new troubles; for the late commotion was no sooner over, than Malcolm Macbeth, an inveterate enemy to the king, endeavoured to spirit up the people to a new rebellion; but he being apprehended, and committed prisoner to the castle of Roxburgh, it was happily prevented: and Dovenald his son, soon after attempting the like, was seized in Whitehorn in Galloway, and imprisoned. Whether these were the chief men of the country, I cannot learn; but that Galloway, which anciently extended eastward as far as the river Esk, the eastern boundary of Annandale, was very powerful, is evident by Robert Bruce's having, some years after, endeavoured to dissuade king David from invading England, desiring him to remember, that by the assistance of the English he was enabled to reduce the Gallowegians; and that Walter Espec, with divers of the English nobility, joined the king at Carlisle, and assisted him in quelling the late rebellion.

1126.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 120.

The pious and virtuous Matilda, consort to David, dying at this time, to the great affliction of the king and people, was interred in the abbey-church at Scone.

Ethel. deBell.
Standard.
P. 345.

Henry, king of England, dying in the year 1135, Stephen his nephew, by the assistance of the nobility and clergy, (to whom he promised great rewards) assumed the crown, contrary to his oath, in prejudice of Matilda, and was crowned king at Westminster on the 26th day of December, anno 1135. Soon after he summoned David king of Scotland to qualify himself for his government, by doing him homage for the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon, which he held in England; otherwise, he said, he would compel him, by invading his country. To this David returned for answer, That as he had sworn to maintain Matilda's right to the crown, he would not be guilty of a breach of his oath, in support of an usurper. This reproachful answer irritated Stephen to such a degree, that he sent the earl of Gloucester at the head of a potent army into Northumberland, then belonging to Scotland, which he plundered and destroyed in a very barbarous manner: to revenge which, David sent the earls of March, Monteith, and Angus, with a great army into England; who engaged and discomfited the English army at Alverton (now North Allerton) in Yorkshire, under command of the earl of Gloucester, who with many of the English nobility were taken and brought prisoners to Scotland. They were afterwards ransomed by Stephen; who resigned, for himself and his successors, all right and claim to the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon.

1132.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 274.

Id. ibid.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 120.

Boer. Scot.
Hist. lib. 12.
fol. 274.

Stephen, repenting what he had done, soon after re-entered Northumberland with a powerful army, plundering and destroying wherever he came. David, to avenge himself, having raised a great army, was met at Roxburgh by the archbishop of York, by command of Stephen, where they agreed on a truce for the space of four months, on condition that he restored Northumberland to the Scots, on the terms of the late resignation. But this agreement being no better kept by the English than the former, David entered Northumberland with his army, and cut off a great number of his enemies. Stephen, to revenge himself on the Scots for the great loss of his troops, marched with a great power into Scotland, as far as Roxburgh, when, by a difference amongst his nobility, he was obliged to return without coming to a battle. And a treaty being soon after set on foot, a peace was concluded on the following terms, viz. That the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon shall remain in possession of Henry prince of Scotland, in right of his mother; and the county of Cumberland, by right of his father, to be held of the king of England, and to do homage to him and his successors for the same.

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. ii.
b. 4. p. 215.

The English writers, who will by no means allow the above accounts to be genuine, say that the relation given of the battle of Alerton by Buchanan is a most notorious falsehood; for the Scots, instead of having gained that battle, were utterly routed; and that the earl of Gloucester, who is said to have commanded there, never was in the service of king Stephen, whose troops obtained the victory. But as these assertions are not sufficient to give a just idea of those affairs, I shall subjoin an account of the transactions of those times, as related by English historians, viz.

Ibid. vol. ii.
b. 4. p. 201.

That king Stephen received advice at Oxford, that king David, under pretence of a journey to England, perfidiously seized the fortresses of Carlisle, and Newcastle upon Tyne; upon which Stephen, not in the least concerned, said, "Very well, what he has got by treachery, I will manfully recover." Then raising a great army, he marched against the Scots: but the armies came no sooner in view, than a treaty was proposed; and the kings meeting at Durham on the 5th of February, a peace was concluded on the following terms, viz. That since David would not take an oath of fealty to Stephen, because of that he had taken to Matilda the empress, his niece, he should cause Henry his son to take an oath, and do homage to Stephen, for the countries he held of him in England: which terms being performed, David gave up the county of Northumberland and town of Newcastle; but Carlisle and Doncaster he retained by permission of Stephen, who likewise granted to Henry his son the town and honour of Huntingdon, as an augmentation to his dignity and revenue.

1136.
Jo. Hagulstat.
Chron. in
decem Scrip.
col. 312.
Ric. Hagul.
col. 258.

David, without regarding the late treaty, taking the advantage of Stephen's absence in Normandy, raised a great army, with an intent to fall upon Northumberland. To oppose the intended invasion, most of the English nobility, with their troops, assembled at Newcastle; whence Thurstan, archbishop of York, their leader, repaired to king David at Roxburgh, and proposed to enter into a truce with him till the Christmas following; which being agreed to by David, he forthwith withdrew his army from the English frontiers farther into Scotland. But Stephen refusing to deliver Northumberland to prince Henry, as demanded, the truce did not endure the time it was made for:

1137.

for: for David having sent his nephew William with part of his army into Northumberland, he laid siege to the strong castle of Wark; where meeting with greater resistance than was expected, David with his son Henry marched thither, and assaulted that fortress in a violent manner; but having no better success than his nephew, he left the siege, and advancing farther into Northumberland, laid all waste with fire and sword, without distinction of age or sex, slaying infants at their mothers breasts, and priests at the altars.

Vil. de Rievall.
de Bello Stan-
dard.

To repress the cruel invaders, Stephen, attended by a great number of his nobility, and a powerful army, marched against David; who was no sooner advised of his coming than he set out on his return to Scotland; and Stephen, crossing the river Tweed, destroyed most of the Scottish borders. In the mean time David encamped his army within a bog, in the neighbourhood of the town of Roxburgh; to which there being only one entrance, he waited an opportunity to fall on Stephen's army by night, if he entered the town; in which having left a strong garrison, he ordered the governor, on Stephen's approach, to open the gates, to encourage him to enter. This Stephen receiving intelligence of, together with a conspiracy amongst his own nobility to betray him, and a great number of his men being unwilling to serve him any longer, and also provisions beginning to fail, he declined going to Roxburgh, judging it the safest way to return with his army to England. To which is added, that the chief reason for his departure was, that divers of his nobility in England had rebelled against him, for a breach of his coronation oath, touching their forests, and other liberties granted them by his late charter.

Ric. Hagul.
col. 317.

Stephen no sooner left Scotland than David re-entered England, and laid waste the sea-coasts of Northumberland, and those of the bishoprick of Durham: but a rumour being spread that a numerous army was marching towards him from the southern parts of England, he retreated towards Norham, and laid siege to its castle; and then sent part of his army, under the command of his nephew William aforesaid, into Yorkshire, where he carried all before him; and routing a great number of English at Clitherton, killed many, and took more prisoners: thus ravaging the country wherever he marched, he spared none but those fit for service, whom he carried along with him. Having taken the town and castle of Norham, which belonged to the bishop of Durham, David let him know, that, provided he would forsake Stephen, and reconcile himself to Matilda the empress, he would restore both the town and castle to him; but the bishop refusing to purchase them on those terms, he demolished the castle, and returned to the siege of Wark-castle: where having no better success than formerly, he left that siege to the direction of two of his nobility. Then he destroyed part of the country, and entered the bishoprick of Durham, where being joined by the rest of his army, the whole was found to consist of twenty-six thousand men; with whom marching southward, he entered Yorkshire, continuing to commit depredations all the way.

1138.
Id. ibid.

In this melancholy situation of affairs, Thurston archbishop of York, the king's lieutenant, summoned the nobility and gentry of the country to meet at York, to deliberate on what was to be done in this exigency, (for Stephen, being engaged in the southern parts, could not come to their assistance): whereupon having resolved to raise troops for their

Ibid. p. 318.

their

their defence, they soon got together a considerable force, which was joined by a strong party of horse sent by Stephen, under the command of Bernard Baliol: these being advanced to the town of Trefe, or Thirsk, sent Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Baliol to prevail on David to desist from destroying the country; to which if he agreed, they promised to procure from Stephen the country of Northumberland for Henry his son: but David and his nobility, instead of complying with their desires, despised and defied them. Wherefore Robert Bruce renounced the homage formerly done by him to David, and Baliol the fealty sworn to him when he was his vassal; and returned and joined their army, which consisted of all the nobility and gentry of the country, together with many others from the neighbouring counties, who all bound themselves by oath to stand by one another, till death or victory.

Hen. Hunt.
Chron. decem
Script.

But Thurstan, through age and infirmities, being rendered unfit to attend the army, he appointed Ralph bishop of Orkney to command in his stead; who, leading his forces towards the Humber, encamped near that estuary, expecting the coming of the Scots; and receiving advice that David had passed the river Ties in his march towards them, Ralph with his army having marched by the town of Alverton, at present called North Allerton, arrived in Cutun-moor, where they set up the mast of a small ship, and called it the standard; on the top whereof was placed a silver box, (wherein, as believed by the army, was contained the body of Christ) and on each side were hung the banners of St. Peter, St. John of Beverly, and St. Wilfred. This erection was not only of use to encourage the soldiers, but, if dispersed, it served for an assembling place, where they could form themselves, and return to fight.

Id. ibid.

The Scottish army being now in fight, and the English in order of battle, the bishop made a long and bitter oration against the Scottish barbarities, and absolved all those from their sins that should happen to fall in battle. This had so good an effect, that they fought like men in despair: and though the Scots, when they came in sight of the standard, were seized with fear, they nevertheless fought for the space of two hours; when many of the Gallowaymen, who were but lightly armed, were slain at the first attack, and the rest threw down their arms and fled. The Lothianmen, having lost their leader, dispersed; though the king with the nobility, having done all they could to rally them, brought many back to the dragon, which was the Scottish standard; but finding they were not sufficient to renew the fight, commanded them to throw away their distinguishing marks, and mix with their enemies; which being done, they passed safely undiscovered thro' the van of the English army: but the king keeping on his armour till he was out of danger, and having left it at a poor man's house, made no great haste, to have an opportunity to pick up the stragglers of his army; and arriving at Carlisle, he was joined by his son Henry, who arrived the third day after. In the mean time, a vast number of Scots were killed and taken in the pursuit, which, according to some English writers, amounted to upwards of ten thousand men; while very few of the English were missing.

De Bell. Stan-
dard. col. 323.

The English army no sooner returned home, than David, having recruited his army, re-invaded England, and again invested the strong castle of Wark, which, for want of provisions, was at last taken and demolished.

demolished. Albert, bishop of Ostia, the pope's legate, arriving in England during the siege, repaired to the king of Scots at Carlisle, on whom he endeavoured to prevail to make peace with king Stephen; but in vain. What the bishop could not do, Matilda, neice to David, and consort to Stephen, did; for, on her application to her uncle, a treaty was set on foot, and soon after concluded between the two kings: whereby Henry, prince of Scotland, was put in possession of the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon; in consideration whereof, David obliged himself by oath not to concern himself, directly or indirectly, with the quarrel between Stephen and Matilda the empress. But by Henry of Huntingdon, and other English writers, we are told, that the abovementioned peace was not concluded till the year following, when Stephen with his army marched into Scotland, and, by laying the country waste with fire and sword, compelled David to make peace with him, and to give Henry his son an hostage for the performance of articles. That this is not true, will in some measure appear by the following account of another English writer.

"The war being thus ended, the king (Stephen) returned home, attended by the prince of Scotland, who, by his noble and generous carriage, had so won the heart of Stephen, that he loved him no less than if he had been his own son. The king's caresses to the young prince stirred up the jealousy of the earl of Chester, and some other lords, who, under pretence that the king had placed him above them at his table, retired from court. But supposing that Henry's birth had not required that distinction, yet his merit deserved that the king should pay him a very particular respect, since all our historians unanimously give him the character of an accomplished prince. Stephen continued therefore, notwithstanding the envy of the English, to shew him marks of his affection, particularly in a case which demonstrated him to be sincere. This young prince, who had accompanied the king to the siege of Ludlow, having approached too near the walls, was like to have been taken from off his horse, by the means of an iron hook at the end of a rope, if Stephen had not, at the hazard of his own life, run to his rescue: an action which redounded as much to the honour of the king as of the prince, for whom he testified so great an affection."

REMARK. To what is said of king David's having treacherously seized the fortresses of Carlisle and Newcastle, in a pretended journey to England, I answer, that David, by right of his consort Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, son and heir to Siward earl of Northumberland and Judith countess of Huntingdon, was in possession of the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon, before the reign of king Stephen, is ascertained by our own writers; but how he came to be dispossessed of the same, as the English historians would have it, I cannot learn. Be that as it will, Henry of Huntingdon, in his relation of David's having seized Carlisle and Newcastle, makes Stephen blusteringly say, "Very well, what he has treacherously taken, I will manfully recover." But that he was not so good as his word, is manifest by the treaty concluded between him and David, without blood-shed; whereby, even according to English writers, Carlisle and Doncaster were continued to David, and Huntingdon given to Henry his son.

Rapin, Hist.
Engl. vol. ii.
b. 6. p. 396.
8vo edit.

Ailred, abbot
of Rievall.

Jo. Prior
Hagul. ad an.
1138.

Hen. Hunt.
ad ad. 1138.

Ric. Hagul.
ad an. 1138.

De Bell. Stan-
dardi, col.
323.

If David, as our writers say, fulfilled his part of the late treaty, and that Stephen, under divers pretexts, deferred to restore Northumberland; 'tis not to be wondered at that David should endeavour to do himself justice, by compelling Stephen to perform his engagements in respect to that country, or to reduce it by dint of arms, either for himself or his son Henry. And as to the barbarous and most shocking cruelties, said to have been committed by David's army, they are hardly credible; nor can it reasonably be presumed, that a prince so pious, charitable, merciful, valiant and good, as David, even by English writers, is said to have been, could have been guilty of such enormities as he is charged with. Wherefore it may be justly supposed, that the dismal character given him by some English writers, on this occasion, was to keep up the animosities and national hatred that then raged between the two kingdoms. But that great excesses have been and are still committed in war by the common men, contrary to the will or command of the leaders or generals, is not to be disputed; which may have been the case in the wars of those times, incessantly carried on to the great hurt both of England and Scotland. And that the depredations said to have been committed by the Scots in those wars, were not so great as given out by the monks, is evident by William, David's nephew, who, after having taken the town of Hagulstad, or Hexham, in Northumberland, saved the church from being destroyed.

The abovementioned fight, which by the Scots is called the battle of Allerton, from its vicinity to that town, is by the English denominated the battle of the Standard, from the erection aforesaid. Now, as the victory is claimed both by the Scots and English, I am of opinion that the Scottish claim bids the fairest; for the account of this fight by English writers is so wildly and confusedly related, that they seem to be but little intitled to the victory; which please to take as followeth:

The Scots being routed, they, by command of their king, threw away their marks or badges, worn to distinguish them from the English; and mixing with their enemies, passed safely through the vanguard of the English army. This is a relation so extravagant, that it is only fit for the entertainment of children; for the Scots, instead of having been routed or beaten, by this account appear to have advanced and mixed with the vanguard of the English army, through which they passed with great safety. To what place? surely, through their army; which is an amazing manner of running away to save their lives, or secure themselves from being taken prisoners. But what is more surprising is, that the shattered and almost ruined Scottish army, on the return of that of England homewards, (for it does not appear, notwithstanding of the pretended victory, that the English staid to take towns, or subdue countries; for their greatest security seems to have depended on their getting home as soon as possible) instead of staying at home in a state of indolence and safety, re-invaded England, took castles and towns, and destroyed countries with impunity. For the English, instead of making military efforts to stop its progress, prevailed on Albert bishop of Ostia, the pope's legate, newly arrived in England, to attend David at Carlisle, to supplicate a peace with Stephen; but in vain. But what the bishop could not do, Matilda, consort of Stephen, and neice of David, did; for by her mediation a treaty

was

was commenced, towards the latter end of the present year, and finished in the following; when Stephen, early in the spring, marched again with his army into Scotland, and laying the country waste with fire and sword, compelled David to make peace with him. But, as ill-luck would have it, this quadrates not with the time required to march an army from many parts of England into Scotland, and thence back again to the city of Durham. And admitting the words, "early in the spring," to mean the month of March, and that Northumberland was delivered up to prince Henry on the 9th of April following, Stephen had but about six weeks to march probably some hundreds of miles, without reckoning the time he employed in destroying Scotland, which must have been considerable; for had he only entered the borders, and made a small progress in Scotland, it is not to be supposed that a prince so martial as David was, would have made peace with him for a trifle not worth regarding.

That this was the case, I think, is manifest, by our author's not giving us the articles then said to have been agreed on; which, if any such there had been, he undoubtedly would, to have supported the disadvantageous conditions hinted at by him. And although Tyrrel tells us, that the peace was brought about by Stephen's compelling David, with fire and sword, to agree to the same; yet he elsewhere, with the greatest incogitancy, says, that, it must be confessed, peace was made (between the two kings) at the intercession of queen Matilda. Thus we see what a foundation Tyrrel had to build his compulsory treaty on. And as to what Tyrrel says, concerning prince Henry's being given as an hostage for the better conservation of the treaty, that is likewise a mistake, as already mentioned; for the hostages given, on that occasion, were the son of earl Gospatrick, Hugh de Morevilla, earl Fergus, Mel, and Mac, by our author called five Scottish earls.

Some time after, William Cumin, chancellor of Scotland, by a grant from the empress Matilda, (during her successful attempts in England, to obtain the crown of that kingdom) took possession of the castle and bishoprick of Durham; which, on the misfortunes of that princess, he restored to their bishop, only reserving to his nephew Richard the town of Allerton, and lands thereunto belonging. This Richard was father to William Cumin, the first earl of Buchan, justiciary of Scotland; from whom descended the great and noble family of the Cumins, who made so great a figure in this country.

Matilda the empress, after she had routed king Stephen's army, and taken himself prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, and brought all parts of England under her dominion; by her great folly, wilful obstinacy, and intolerable pride, lost the love of the people to such a degree, that she was forced to return to Normandy for her security.

Whereupon prince Henry, her son by the earl of Anjou, (since king of England, by the title of Henry II.) in the year following arrived in England, with a small but well chosen army, consisting of one hundred and forty horse, and three thousand foot, to attempt the recovery of the crown and kingdom of his ancestors. But these being insufficient to take the field against the numerous forces of king Stephen; Henry, attended by Ranulph earl of Chester, Roger earl of Hereford, and others, repaired to Scotland to king David his grand-uncle, who received him in a very honourable and pompous manner at Carlisle, at the

Hen. Hunt.
ad an. 1139.

Tyr. Hist.
Ang. vol. ii.
b. 4. p. 219.

Id. ibid.

Jo. Hagul.
ad an. 1139.

1142.
Chron. Mel-
ros.
Jo. Hagulst.
ad an. 1142.

1147.

1148.
W. Newbrig.
ad an. 1148.

the feast of Pentecost; and not only knighted him, with divers noble-men of his retinue, but joined him with a considerable number of troops to invade England: which Stephen receiving intelligence of, marched at the head of a great army to prevent the invasion. Both kings watched each others motions during the summer season, and then returned to their respective homes, without striking a stroke.

1152.

At this time a very great affliction befell king David, which was occasioned by the death of the brave and magnanimous prince Henry his son, both his and the people's darling: nay, such was his deportment, that he gained the love of the English, and their king Stephen, as abovementioned, although his father was for many years engaged in war against them. The nobility, being apprehensive that the king would sink under the burden of this loss, repaired from all parts to court, in order to comfort him: but David, to shew them their mistake, and that he was more of a philosopher than they imagined, invited them to an entertainment, and spake to them as follows:

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 275.

“ That what had happened was the common debt of nature; that
“ he had learnt from the conversation of good men, and the pious exam-
“ ples of his late father and mother, that the world is governed by God,
“ whose providence is not to be withstood; that he ever observed a ray
“ thereof darting on the soul, amidst his greatest afflictions: that the
“ Wise Disposer of all things does all for good ends, tho' inconceivable
“ to us. He could not grieve at so common a calamity; for he found
“ joy in the midst of sorrow, and comfort in time of trouble. He
“ had often been blessed in afflictions of the same kind: his father,
“ while he was an infant, was removed into eternity; and being the
“ father of his people, especially of the poor, could tears have saved
“ him, he never would have died. Death too, to fulfill the decrees
“ of heaven, cut off my mother, whose virtues are so well known,
“ 'twere needless to mention them. My brethren also, who loved me
“ tenderly, paid the debt of nature in their juvenile days. My dearly
“ beloved and affectionate wife, whom I valued above all the rest of
“ the world, was likewise snatched from me by death. My son has fol-
“ lowed his mother, and paid the debt to nature contracted before
“ his birth.

“ As this is the case, we ought always to be ready to discharge this
“ natural debt, when called thereto by the Almighty. Were the wicked
“ only subject to death, we might grieve at the loss of our kindred;
“ but as the good are often carried off before the bad, to inherit ce-
“ lestial joys, we ought all to believe that no evil can befall the good,
“ whether dead or alive. And as to my son's being taken away before
“ me, that I ought not to regret, since he is gone to enjoy the fellowship
“ of my parents and brethren, whose precious souls the world was no
“ longer worthy of. Now, should I mourn at the death of my son,
“ 'twere arraigning the goodness and justice of God, for removing him
“ into the mansions of bliss before me: instead of which, I have great
“ reason to be thankful, and to rejoice, that the Almighty endowed
“ my son with so much grace as to behave himself in such a manner,
“ that he gained the love of all whilst alive, and that when dead, his loss
“ is so greatly lamented. Now, as this is the case, and that you have
“ abundantly shewn your great respect both to me and him, I ought not
“ to bewail the loss of a treasure enjoyed for so short a time, nor my great
“ hopes which are vanished, by the dearest part of my heart's being
“ separated

"separated from me; for the Almighty having taken him to himself, I soon hope to follow, and being delivered from temporal miseries, to enjoy a blessed eternity with the saints of light in the heavenly mansions."

David, soon after, being apprehensive of his approaching dissolution, redoubled his acts of charity, fed the poor with his own hands, became more fervent in his devotions, and received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper weekly on Sundays. After having appointed Malcolm his grandson to succeed him, being seized with sickness, he commanded himself to be carried to church; and having, after divine service, received the sacrament, returned to his palace, and ended his life with the following pious ejaculation: "Jesus my saviour, I render thee the kingdom wherewith thou didst entrust me; put me in possession of that, whereof the inhabitants are all kings:" and having, after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years, two months, and three days, died at Carlisle in Cumberland, on the 24th of May, anno 1153, was interred at Dunfermling, by the bodies of his father and mother.

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
p. 405.

1153.

David was a great friend to the church, (but as James I. expressed it, a fore faint to the crown) by enriching it at the expence of his successors: for he not only repaired many churches and monasteries, but to the six bishopricks formerly erected, he added those of Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, and founded and endowed the abbeys of Holyrood-house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Melros, Newbottle, Kinlofs, Cambuskeneth, Dundrenan, and Holmcultram in Cumberland, with four priories, viz. two at Newcastle upon Tyne, one for monks of the Benedictine order, and the other for Dominicans, or white friars; and two nunneries, one at Carlisle, the other at Berwick upon Tweed. For these and other benefactions to the monks, who were the historians of those times, David is extolled to the skies: but by others severely censured, for his profusely squandering away the royal revenues, to feed the luxury of prelates, and indulge the indolence of lazy and avaritious monks.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 12.
fol. 273.
Buchan. Scot.
Hist. lib. 7.
p. 120.
Ford. Scoti-
chron, lib. 5.
cap. 38.

Major says, had David duly considered the number of religious houses founded by his predecessors, the parsimony wherein churchmen, especially monks, ought to live, and the little allowance made by the Scots to their kings in those times, he would not lavishly have given the crown lands to nourish the sensuality of bishops, and spoil the devotion of monks: adding, that opulence no sooner got into cloysters, than great irregularities followed; the children of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, young, riotous, and debauched, thrusting themselves into the church, did, by their great ignorance and vice, become a dishonour and reproach to religion; and abbeys and churches being given in commendam, the licentious superiors rather encouraged than discouraged vice. To which Buchanan adds, that as in bodies too corpulent, the use of the members in some measure ceases, so wit, oppressed by plenty, languisheth; learning becomes nauseous; piety, superstition; and vice is taught in the schools of virtue.

Major Hist.
Scot. lib. 3.
c. 11. p. 105.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 120.

But, according to a certain prelate, David being a wise king, knew to proportion his gifts to his revenues: his benefactions on this account, at the highest estimate, amounted not to above one hundred and twenty thousand franks; a very great sum at that time, but such as he could spare. And a little farther adds, This further will I boldly

Scot. Eccles.
Hist. b. ii.
p. 34.

affirm,

affirm, that if there be any profusion excusable in princes, it is this, and the reason is plain; for as these foundations are the most lasting monuments to glorify their memories, so they are the readiest help to supply their necessities on all occasions.

To this I answer, that it is not to be wondered at, that the bishop does so warmly justify David's profuseness in his gifts to the church, seeing he was so deeply concerned in the lucrative part thereof. Besides, he is greatly mistaken in saying, that those foundations, that is, the church lands, are the readiest helps to supply the necessities of the government on all occasions: for 'tis well known, that neither our kings, or any other christian potentate under the popish hierarchy, could have the least assistance from the church temporalities, without the pope's permission, which in those times was rarely obtained. Nay, even at present it is with the greatest difficulty to be got by princes of the Romish communion; which plainly shews, that they were not the readiest helps to supply the necessities of our kings: whereas, had they not been alienated from the crown, they would on all occasions have been ready to serve the government.

Add to this, that as David was only a tenant for life, he could not justly give away the crown lands to the impoverishment of his successors, to erect magnificent palaces or monasteries for the luxurious support of monks, the most indolent and useless set of men upon earth; who, while the industrious poor by the sweat of their brows scarce earn a livelihood, live in the greatest affluence on the fat of the land: many monks, with other churchmen, by their great riches have vyed to outdo princes in grandeur, pompous equipages, retinues, and high living; and many of their houses were more magnificent than the palaces of their sovereigns. And David, with other kings, having enriched this part of their people at the expence of the laity, these latter were grievously racked with taxes to support the royal dignity, which begetting disloyalty, it often ended in rebellion, to the great hurt both of king and people; the sad effects of a blind zeal.

Anderf. Hist.
Ess. p. 137.

Craig. Jus
Feud. lib. 1.
cap. 8:
Ibid. lib. 3. c. 7.

King David having had the good government of his people much at heart, knew that nothing could contribute more to their prosperity than good laws. Towards accomplishing this desirable end, he employed divers learned men to make a collection both of the Scottish and foreign laws; which being performed, he summoned the states of the kingdom to meet, to have their advice in an affair wherein they were so nearly concerned: by their advice he chose from amongst the voluminous collection, that system of the Scottish law, called the regiam majestatem. This treatise of our laws has been much controverted, some affirming them to be ours, while others declare for their being English. They are rejected by our countryman the learned Craig, as the works of Glanville, lord chief justice of England in the reign of Henry II. and, if Craig may be believed, we had no written laws before the reign of Malcolm Canmore. Others again, namely, Skene, Anderson, and Dalrymple, declare for their being king David's: and we are told by the celebrated English antiquaries Spelman and Selden, that the said laws were published by command of David I. king of Scotland. Although this system of laws is controverted in respect to its author; yet that made at the town of Newcastle upon Tyne, by king

king David, called the borough laws, is not disputed by any, that I can learn.

King David excelled all his predecessors in piety; for he was not only a professor, but a strict practiser of religion: insomuch that although Stephen earl of Mortain and the English nobility shewed not the least regard to their words and oaths, but made every thing subservient to their own interest, as is manifest in the case of Matilda the empress, whom they deserted, and not only assisted Stephen their perjured brother in his usurpation, but placed him on the throne; yet the pious David's honour and virtue was such, that no worldly interest or advantage could prevail on him to infringe the oath he had taken to maintain the succession of Matilda to the crown of England, as is manifest by his constant and sincere attachment to the interest of that princess, till she routed Stephen's army, and took himself prisoner at the battle of Lincoln.

David's character.

Chron. Sax. ad an. 1127.

David was of great natural parts, valiant, magnificent, and generous. He compelled Stephen king of England, to give up to him the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon. If Buchanan may be believed, he equalled all former kings in the military science, and excelled them in the arts of peace; and that if the best heads were to form the character of an accomplished prince, they could not devise a better than David's, as appears by the whole course of his life. In justice he could not be excelled by any, for he did justice to all, especially to the poor, whose cause he heard himself.

Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. 7. p. 122.

David, who was the son of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, sister to Edgar Atheling, the last male branch of the Anglo-Saxon royal line, married Matilda, a daughter of Waltheof earl of Northumberland, son of Siward earl of Northumberland, and Judith countess of Huntingdon, neice to William the conqueror of England: by virtue of this match he became possessed of the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon, in England. Although we are by most writers told that David had by his consort Matilda only one son, called Henry; yet from good authority we have reason to believe that he had another son named Waltu, Walthenius, or Walderus, who became a monk in the abbey of Melros, and was preferred to the priority of that convent, as he was likewise to the see of St. Andrew's soon after, but declined accepting.

David's marriage and issue.

Henry, who married Ada, daughter of earl Warren in England, and of a sister of Radulph earl of Perona, a relation of Lewis the French king, dying before his father, left three sons and as many daughters. Malcolm, the eldest, was by the king his grandfather declared his successor; William, the second son, was appointed earl of Northumberland; and David, the youngest, was constituted earl of Huntingdon in England, and of Garioch in Scotland: Margaret, the eldest daughter, was married to Conan duke of Bretagne; Adama, the second, to Florence earl of Holland; as to Matilda, I cannot learn how she was disposed of.

Ford. Scotichron. lib. 5. c. 33.

MALCOLM IV.

On the demise of David, Malcolm his grandson, from his great continence and celibacy surnamed the maiden, ascended the throne in the thirteenth year of his age, anno 1153, who being educated in the strictest principles of virtue, made the duties of religion his chief study, and shewed but little regard to the government of his people. By the indo-

1153.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
fol. 277.

indolence of Malcolm, and dreadful pestilence that swept away about one half the nation, together with the assistance of Donald, son of Macbeth (who raised disturbances in the late reign) Sumerled, the avaritious and powerful thane of Argyle was encouraged to put himself at the head of a numerous band of free-booters, to rob and spoil the people. But Donald, his associate, being apprehended at Whitehearn, in Galloway, was committed prisoner to the goal wherein his father Macbeth was confined; and Gilchrist earl of Angus being sent with an army against Sumerled, had the good fortune to defeat him in three several engagements; and having cut off most of his men, Sumerled fled to Ireland for refuge, whereby peace was restored to the country.

Ibid.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 123.

1157.

Hoved. Hist.
& Chron. Mel.
ad an. 1157.

This peace proved of no long duration; for Henry the second of England, forgetting the numerous favours he received from David, Malcolm's grandfather, ungratefully and ungenerously sought all opportunities to injure and expose Malcolm, which he did by encroaching on his subject the bishop of Glasgow; and soon after inviting himself to a friendly interview at Chester, prevailed on his weak and easy temper to swear fealty to him, instead of his brethren, whose business it was to do homage to Henry for the lands held by them in England. By Hoveden, and the chronicle of Melros, we are told, that Henry demanded of Malcolm the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, which had been seized by David his grandfather, and confirmed to him by the empress Matilda, as they likewise were by Henry's own oath before he came to the crown. The reason assigned by Henry in bar of his oath, was, he could not afford to part with so large a share of his dominions.

Malcolm not being in a condition to withstand the unjust demands of Henry, delivered up the said counties to him, who allowed him to keep the county of Huntingdon, which lying near the middle of England, he could reap no other benefit therefrom than its bare revenues, for which that the abovementioned homage must have been done is manifest, and not, as Tyrrel vainly imagines, for the county of Lothian; which, as is already shewn, must have been delivered up by the English to Ingulf king of Scotland, about eight hundred years since: and that it was done for Huntingdonshire, is evident, by the said writer's declaring, that the homage aforesaid was done in the same manner as that performed by David his grandfather to Henry I. Henry's grandfather; which never was alledged, by any English historian, to have been done for the country of Lothian, nor kingdom of Scotland.

Id. ibid.
1158.

We are told by the same writers, that Henry at his return from France repaired into Cumberland, where he had an interview with Malcolm at the city of Carlisle, and 'tis said they parted not good friends, which is the reason assigned for Henry's not knighting Malcolm. However, though Malcolm was not then knighted, yet Henry soon after had the address to prevail on Malcolm to accompany him in his French war, wherein he behaved so well, that Henry, for his great valour and martial performances, knighted him in the city of Tours.

1159.

Malcolm, on his return from France to Scotland, met with a very indifferent reception, for his people were greatly enraged at his having ingloriously given up the territories held by his brethren in England; as they likewise were at his joining Henry, against their antient friend

and ally the king of France; and to make their resentment more fully appear, raised an army and besieged him in Perth. The king having invited certain of the nobility to a conference, told them, what he had done was by compulsion, being forced by Henry to surrender the dominions belonging to his brethren in England, and to join him against his good ally the king of France; adding, that instead of blaming him, they ought to avenge themselves by turning their arms against the perjured author of those unjustifiable actions, and not revenge themselves by destroying their innocent friends and countrymen, acting in defence of their injured sovereign.

This remonstrance had so good an effect, that the people not only laid down their arms, but a war was resolved on against England, and it was for a while carried on with various success; but Malcolm's religious disposition being ill-suited to war, he did all he could to accommodate matters with Henry, with whom, at an interview in Carlisle, a peace was concluded on the following terms, viz. Malcolm resigned all pretensions to Northumberland, and Henry agreed to his keeping the counties of Cumberland and Huntingdon.

This peace, instead of quieting the minds of the people, incensed most of the nobility against Malcolm, for his having resigned all his right to Northumberland. Æneus thane of Galloway, taking advantage of the difference betwixt the king and people, raised a considerable army, with no less a design than to put in for the crown; but Gilchrist being sent against him, he overcame him in three several battles; and most of his troops being cut off, was forced to take sanctuary in the monastery of Whitehearn: and though on the application of his friends Æneus was pardoned as to life, yet great part of his estate being confiscated, and his son given in hostage for his good behaviour, he was thereby so affected, that he sequestered himself from the world, and became a monk in the monastery of Holyrood-house, near Edinburgh.

Æneus's rebellion was no sooner quashed, than one more dangerous broke out in the country of Murray, under the leading of Gildo, who not only laid waste the adjacent countries, but slew the king's heralds that were sent to him. To suppress this dangerous rebellion, Gilchrist was sent against the rebels at the head of a considerable army; but having had the misfortune to be beaten, Malcolm, at the head of a body of choice troops, made haste to reinforce Gilchrist; Gildo thereupon retreating northwards, was overtaken at the mouth of the river Spey, where a battle ensuing, and no quarter given, the rebels with their leader were all cut off.

The late rebel, Sumerled, taking advantage of these commotions, landed from Ireland in the river Clyde with a band of desperate robbers, but being surprized in the neighbourhood of Renfrew, were totally defeated, and their leader, with his son, killed in the engagement: but, according to Boece, Sumerled was taken and hanged.

Malcolm having now peace on all sides, disposed of his two sisters Margaret and Adame in marriage; the former was given to the duke of Bretagne, and the latter to the earl of Holland. And it being by the states of the kingdom judged necessary for Malcolm himself to marry, he was by the bishop of St. Andrew's, in their name, exhorted to take unto him a consort: but the king preferring celibacy to matrimony, could not be prevailed on to enter into that laudable

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
fol. 278.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 123.

Id. ibid.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
fol. 278.

1162.
Id. ibid.

1163.
Ibid. fol. 279.

state: but applying himself to acts of piety, as he imagined, founded and endowed the abbey of St. Rule, in the city of St. Andrews, for the reception of monks; as he also did the abbey of Coupar in Angus, for the entertainment of friars. Then, being seized with a lingering disorder, after a troublesome reign of twelve years, he died at Jedburgh, and was buried at Dumfermling, anno 1165.

1165.
Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 13.
fol. 279.

WILLIAM.

Ibid. fol. 280.

To Malcolm William his brother, surnamed the lion, succeeded, in the year 1165. The first step he took after his accession, was, by his ambassadors, to demand the restitution of the county of Northumberland from the king of England. Henry gave fair words, and desired that William, according to custom, should come to London, and do fealty for the countries of Cumberland and Huntingdon. William, in obedience to Henry's summons, repaired to London, and did homage to Henry for the said countries, and strenuously insisted on the restoration of Northumberland. Henry, unwilling to exasperate William, or to do him justice, told him, that as Northumberland was re-annexed to the crown of England, it could not be alienated but by the consent of parliament; wherefore he advised him to come to the next convention of the states of the kingdom, by whom he might expect justice would be done him.

Chron. Mel-
roff. ad an.
1166.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
fol. 280.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 125.

William, seemingly satisfied with this advice, at Henry's desire, accompanied him in his French war; wherein having distinguished himself in a very gallant manner in divers martial achievements, he returned to Scotland; where after having cut off several bands of robbers, for the safety and welfare of his people, he sent ambassadors to London peremptorily to demand of Henry the restitution of Northumberland, and in case of a refusal, to defy him, and declare war against England. Henry, being embarrassed with other affairs, rather than drive things to extremity by a refusal, complied with William's demand so far, as to deliver up to him that part of Northumberland which had been held by Malcolm Canmore his great grandfather; of which William took possession, on this express condition, that his claim to the whole should not in the least be thereby diminished.

1174.
Id. ibid.

But the English being displeased at Henry's giving up so great a part of their country, made frequent incursions into Scotland, and, by refusing to make satisfaction, gave occasion for a new war, which William was forced to make in defence of his own people; and having entered England at the head of a powerful army, the English, in absence of the king, being unable to withstand them, sent messengers to desire a cessation of arms, which was granted in consideration of a certain sum of money. The English, during the truce, not only employed themselves in making preparations for a war, but, under a specious pretence of peace, plied William with messengers, whose real business was to discover the situation of the Scots, and the condition they were in. The Scots, in confidence of the truce, imagining themselves secure, were not only remiss in their duty, but had sent out the greatest part of their army in quest of forage and other provisions. On receipt of this intelligence the English, unwilling to lose so great an advantage, sent by night a detachment of four hundred light horse under Scottish arms and ensigns, who, arriving in the neighbourhood of the camp before sun-rising, had the good fortune to discover the king, with a guard of only sixty horsemen, riding out

on the 13th of July to take the air; him they surprized and took prisoner, before he could discover whether they were friends or enemies; and being conducted under a strong guard to Henry in France, was by him committed to the castle of Falaise, in Normandy.

The English, elated with this success, invaded Cumberland, but being sharply repulsed by the Scottish generals Gilchrist and Roland, a truce was made on the following terms, viz. Northumberland to remain in the hands of the English during the captivity of king William, and the counties of Cumberland and Huntingdon to continue in possession of the Scots.

At this unhappy juncture, David earl of Huntingdon and Garioch, brother to William, then an officer in Henry's army in England, by licence from his prince returned to Scotland, to govern as regent during his brother's captivity. David, soon after his arrival, sent commissioners to Normandy, to treat concerning the king's liberty, which, according to some of our writers, was agreed to on the following terms, viz. That the sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling be paid for king William's ransom, one half down, and as a security for the payment of the other moiety, the castles of Edinburgh, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Sterling, were surrendered to the two English kings father and son, together with fifteen hostages. After accomplishing the treaty, William being returned to Scotland, was soon after summoned by Henry to a convention at the city of York, wherein he surrendered all his dominions to the two kings, and did them homage for the kingdom of Scotland; and the nobility and chief part of his subjects, both laity and clergy, swore allegiance to them.

This is the relation of our writers concerning the war between William and Henry, with the reasons which occasioned it; but as the same is differently related by English historians, it is but reasonable to hear what they say on that subject.

We are told by Benedict abbot of Peterborough, in his manuscript history of Henry II. king of England, in the Cottonian library, that William king of Scotland, in the year 1172, taking advantage of Henry's being engaged in a war against France, resolved to be revenged for his having refused to deliver up the county of Northumberland to him. To which end having assembled a great army of Scots and Gallovegians, he marched into England, spoiled the bishoprick of Durham, and laid it waste with fire and sword, and carried many of the people prisoners into Scotland.

To divert this invasion, Richard de Lucy justiciary of England, and Humphry de Bohun constable of the kingdom, marched into Scotland, burnt the town of Berwick, and plundered the adjacent country. But, receiving intelligence of the earl of Leicester's approach with a considerable army, made a truce with the king of Scots till the feast of St. Hilary, and for the performance of these articles, took and gave hostages. At the expiration of this cessation of arms, the truce was renewed with William by Hugh bishop of Durham, at Revedale, 'till the close of Easter, at the expence of three hundred marks of silver, to be levied from the lands of the Northumbrian barons.

The second truce was no sooner expired, than William entered Northumberland, and committed the most dreadful ravages, sparing neither age nor sex; and, in the interim, sent his brother David to relieve

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 125.

Id. ibid.
Major Hist.
Scot. lib. 4.
c. 5.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
fol. 282.

1172.
Bened Peterb.
Hist. Hen. II.
ad an. 1172.

Rog. Hoved.
ad an. 1173.

Bened. Peterb. Hist.
Hen. II. &
Rog. Hoved.
ad an. 1174.

relieve the town of Leicester, which was taken by Richard de Lucy before his arrival; and William, with part of his army, having invested the city and castle of Carlisle, and with the rest entering those parts of Northumberland hitherto untouched, spoiled wherever he came; and having taken the royal fortresses of Burgh, Apelby, Werkworth and Gerby, returned to the siege of Carlisle, which being reduced to great necessity for want of provisions, Robert de Vans, the governor, agreed to surrender both the town and castle at Michaelmas following, provided he was not relieved by that time; and not only gave hostages, but swore to the performance of articles. After blocking up the place, William, with part of his army, marched and laid siege to Proudhon castle, belonging to Odonel de Umphraville; but receiving advice of a great army's marching against him from Yorkshire, under the command of Robert de Stuteville, he left Carlisle, and marching again into Northumberland, invested Alnwick, and sent the earls Duncan and Angus with the greatest part of his army, to harrafs and destroy the neighbouring country, which they executed in the most cruel and barbarous manner.

1174.
Gerv. Cantuar. Chron.
in x Script.
Bened. Peterbor. ad an.
1174.

Rog. Hoved.
ad an. 1174.

Chron. Mel.
ad an. 1174.

1175.
Bened. Peterbor. Hist.
Hen. II. &
Rog. Hoved.
ad ann. 1175.

Stuteville having received advice that the king of Scots had sent away the greatest part of his army, and continued with the rest before Alnwick, Robert de Stuteville and Ranulph de Glanville, at the head of a chosen party of light horse, marched thither by night with great expedition to surprize the king in his quarters, and arriving in the neighbourhood of Alnwick by sun-rising, perceived his majesty taking the air, attended with a guard of about sixty. On William's discovering the English, he took them for that part of his own army commanded by earl Duncan; but his small guard being surrounded and attacked by Stuteville, after a gallant defence wherein his horse was killed under him, he, with divers of his nobility, were taken prisoners on the 13th of July, anno 1174. Hence he was hurried to Richmond, and committed prisoner to the castle by Henry's order, and from thence, in the most ignominious and disgraceful manner, with his legs tied under the horse's belly, was carried to Northampton and presented to Henry, and from that town was sent to the castle of Falaise in Normandy, where he continued in dures till ransomed.

William, after he concluded the treaty with Henry at Falaise for his redemption, returned to Scotland in the month of August following. The two Henries being come to the city of York, were met by William, and David his brother, together with all the bishops, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants of Scotland, to renew and confirm the treaty of Falaise, which was ratified by king William in the presence of the two kings, Roger archbishop of York, Hugh bishop of Durham, and most of the earls and barons of England, and the states of Scotland abovementioned; wherein is set forth,

Id. ibid.

1. That William, king of Scotland, and David his brother, did homage to king Henry for all their dominions, namely, Scotland and Galloway, and swore fealty and allegiance to him against all men; as they likewise did to Henry his son, saving the allegiance and fealty they bore to his father: as also did Richard bishop of St. Andrews, Jocelin bishop of Glasgow, with all the rest of the bishops and abbots of Scotland, swear fealty and allegiance to both kings of England and their heirs for ever.

2. The

2. The bishops farther swore, that if king William observed not this agreement with king Henry, they would put him and his land under an interdict till he performed the same, and that they would continue to the church of England the subjection practised by their predecessors, or that which was due to it.

3. The earls and barons of Scotland did likewise, by command of king William, do homage, and swore fealty and allegiance to both kings against all men: and likewise swore, that if king William should recede from this agreement, they would assist the king of England against him, 'till he made satisfaction for the breach thereof.

But lest the treaty of Falaise (of which the above is a compendium) should not prove sufficient to oblige the king of Scots to perform the conditions therein stipulated, Henry, as an additional security, compelled him to give his brother David, earl Duncan, and divers others of the Scottish nobility as hostages, for his delivering up to him the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Sterling; which being performed, they were to be set at liberty on each of them giving his eldest son or nephew as an hostage in his stead. These castles, as stipulated, were to be maintained by a proportionable balance out of the royal revenues of Scotland, by assignment of Henry.

Before I leave this head, I think it will not be amiss to observe, that as our writers are all silent in respect to the encouragement king William had to engage in a war against king Henry for recovering his English dominions, I shall supply that defect from English and other historians, as followeth.

William, wanting a favourable opportunity to recover Northumberland, unjustly detained from him by his powerful neighbour Henry king of England, one at this time offered, than which, if prudently managed, a better could never have happened, which was occasioned thus:

King Henry considering that there was no law in England, whereby the crown was entailed on the presumptive heir, or next of blood; and although he had caused the states of the kingdom to swear to maintain the succession in his eldest son Henry, he nevertheless considered how that of his mother Matilda the empress was set aside, notwithstanding the people, both clergy and laity, had sworn fealty to her, as heiress to the crown; to prevent the like to his son, on the 14th of June, anno 1170, by consent of the states of the kingdom then assembled, he caused his son prince Henry to be solemnly crowned king at Westminster, and made him copartner with him in the government, thereby to secure the crown of England in his own family.

But the young king, notwithstanding the great honour conferred, and trust reposed in him by his father, made a most ungrateful and ungenerous return, at the instigation of Lewis king of France, his father-in-law, who (in a visit made him by young Henry, and Margaret his consort, daughter to the said Lewis) by his wicked insinuations, alienated the affections of Henry from his father, and prevailed on him to join him and his allies in a war against his father, in which he was unnaturally encouraged by his mother Eleanor, and joined by his brethren Richard and Geoffrey; and the greatest part of the nobility of England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou and Bretagne having taken

1175.
Bened. Peter-
bor. Hist.
Hen. II. &
Rog. Hoved.
ann. 1175.

Rog. Hoved.
ad ann. 1170.

Bened. Peter-
bor. Hist. p.
304.

arms in his behalf, he had homage done him by the earls of Flanders, Boloign, and Blois.

Bened. Peter-
bor. Hist.
P. 304.

Pere d'Or-
leans, liv. xi.
p. 185.

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. ii.
b. 5. p. 386.

Ibid. p. 396.

Hoved. An-
nal. ad an.
1175.

Id. ibid.

And king William having entered into this grand alliance against old king Henry, the young king, in consideration thereof, granted him the county of Northumberland; and on David earl of Huntingdon, his brother, he conferred the county of Cambridge; both to be held in fealty of him. And by a certain French writer we are told, that William went to France to negotiate the confederacy with the king of France and young Henry. By virtue of this formidable alliance, old king Henry's dominions were attacked both at home and abroad, in a very furious and destructive manner; insomuch that any prince, beside himself, must have sunk with grief and despair under the weight of such dreadful calamities. But, instead of that, he, with the most amazing application and intrepidity, overcame all his enemies, and forced them to accept of his own terms.

Upon the whole, a modern English historian observes, that the surprise of William king of Scots could not have happened during the truce, as asserted by our writers: but that he was taken unawares, is acknowledged by all, who say, it was a very great oversight in so warlike a prince not to have had scouts abroad, to watch the enemy's motions. And the same author has the candour to acknowledge, that the charter given by William to Henry, at his releasement from dures, "is the first wherein we find expressly mentioned, that the king of Scots did homage to the king of England for all Scotland, and not for those earldoms or counties which were held of him before."

Scotish writers say, that as this homage for Scotland was extorted from William in dures, when he was not master of his own person, it was not only contrary to law and justice, but cruel, to compel an unfortunate captive prince to dishonour his country, by acknowledging his enemy to be its superiour, which, being obtained by force, could neither oblige him nor his successors to keep the compact.

King Henry having summoned the states of the kingdom to meet at Northampton, William king of Scotland repaired thither, attended by the bishop of St. Andrews, with the rest of the Scotish bishops, abbots, and priors; who were by Henry required to acknowledge their subjection to the church of England, as they did in the times of his predecessors. They returned for answer, That neither their predecessors nor themselves ever acknowledged any subjection to the church of England. To which Roger, archbishop of York, replied, That the Scotish bishops, in the times of his predecessors, had expressly subjected themselves to the metropolitan see of York: which was not only positively denied by the Scotish prelates, but the bishop of Glasgow produced a bull to the contrary. Whereupon a great dispute arose between the archbishops of York and Canterbury, touching this imaginary subjection, each challenging it to belong to his diocese; which not being decided, the convention broke up, and William with his clergy returned to Scotland: and, to prevent their being imposed upon by the English in time coming, applied to pope Alexander to take them into his protection, and defend them against the unjust subjection demanded of them by the church of England.

Soon after, William, suspecting some farther trouble from Henry and the archbishop of York, concerning the subjection, sent ambassadors to the pope, to entreat his holiness to send a legate to compromise the

the difference between the churches of Scotland and England. In compliance with William's request, Alexander sent one Vivian, a cardinal, legate to Scotland; who, in his way thither, landing in England without the king's permission, Henry sent the bishops of Winchester and Ely to let him know, that, if he did not comply with the king's will, he should proceed no farther. Intimidated at this message, Vivian swore, that, during his legatine power, he would do nothing to the prejudice of king Henry or his kingdom; whereupon he was honourably received, and conducted to Scotland: where, instead of doing any thing in the affair he was sent about, he exerted himself in extorting great sums of money from the clergy, and then returned to Rome. But Buchanan tells us, that the abovementioned convention was held at Norham upon the river Tweed, in Northumberland: adding, that the Scottish church, by decree of the holy see, was freed from the English yoke intended to be imposed on them.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 126.

In the absence or captivity of king William in England, Gilbert and Uctred, sons of Fergus, (by English writers called prince of Galloway) broke out in rebellion, seized all places of strength, and drove the king's officers out of the country. But Gilbert, having barbarously murdered his brother Uctred, assumed the title of king, and having invaded Scotland, offered to Henry, king of England, for his protection, an annual tribute of two thousand marks of silver, five hundred cows, and as many swine, to secure him from Scottish servitude. But Henry, having learnt that Gilbert had murdered his brother, would not be concerned with him; which gave William an opportunity, by leave from Henry, to reduce the rebels by his celebrated general Gilchrist, who gave them a signal overthrow.

1175.
Bened Peter-
bor. Hist.
Hen. II. &
Gerv. Can-
tuar. Chron.
Major. Hist.
Scot. lib. 4.
c. 5. p. 135.
Brady, Hist.
Engl. p. 318.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 13.
fol. 282.

REMARK. Some of our writers are of opinion, that the English historians, who call Fergus prince of Galloway, are mistaken: but that they are not, I think, will in some measure appear by the following reasons: 1. That Galloway, in the eighth century, belonged to England is manifest, by Bede's telling us that Candida Casa, or Whitehearn, in that country, was then one of the four Northumbrian bishopricks. 2. By Gilbert, then intitled prince of Galloway, repairing to England under the safe conduct of the king of Scots, and doing homage and swearing fealty to king Henry, against all men; and, for being restored to his favour, gave him one thousand marks of silver, and Duncan his son an hostage for his future quiet and loyal behaviour.

Rog. Hoved.
Annual. p. 317.

Now, 'as this homage and fealty were performed the year after that done by William and the states of Scotland, it may be presumed, that, had Galloway been then held of Scotland, Gilbert would have done homage to Henry with them, as one of the states of the kingdom, and not singly at this time as prince of Galloway. And that the Galwegians were a nation different from the Scots, is evident by the battle of the Standard, wherein they had a certain post assigned them, by the epithet of Galweienfis. Besides, by a tradition still in the country, they seem to have anciently been an independent people, which may be owing to the mountainous country they inhabit not being accessible to the Scots, at the time of their conquest of the other Picts in the year 839.

King Henry at this time, assuming the office of a mediator, endeavoured to reconcile king William to the bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, who, by a difference between them and William, were obliged

1181.
Ibid. p. 350.

obliged to leave the kingdom. But neither Henry nor the pope being able to bring about an accommodation, Alexis, the pope's legate, assisted by Roger archbishop of York, and Hugh bishop of Durham, excommunicated William, and put his kingdom under an interdict.

1188.
Major. Hist.
Scot. lib. 4.
c. 5. p. 136.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 126.

The rebellion in Galloway was no sooner quashed, than Donald Bane, a powerful man in the island, who derived his descent from our kings, assumed the title of king; and having raised a considerable body of troops, and fitted out a fleet, made divers hostile descents on Scotland, over-run and plundered the counties of Ross and Caithness; but entering the country of Murray, was met by king William, who routed his army, killed him, and placed his head on a pole for a public spectacle.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
fol. 283.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 126.

To William, on his return from his northern expedition against Bane, occurred a very moving scene; for the cause of which we must look some years backwards. Gilchrist, earl of Angus, for the great services performed by him to the crown and nation in this and the former reign, had the king's sister given him in marriage, [this lady must have been Matilda, prince Henry's youngest daughter, unaccounted for, as abovementioned] who abusing his bed, he caused her to be slain. This murder so enraged the king against him, that, forgetting former services, he demolished his castles, confiscated his estate, and banished him the kingdom; whereupon he retired to England. But in the treaty between William and Henry it being stipulated that neither of the contracting powers shall shelter their respective enemies, Gilchrist was obliged to leave England; and returning to Scotland with his two sons, shifted from place to place, passing their time in great misery and want: but being seen by the king on the road in the neighbourhood of Perth, in the disguise of farmers, by their mien they discovered themselves to be above that station; and on William's approach, left the way, to prevent a discovery. This shyness raising William's curiosity, he had them brought before him; when inquiring who they were, Gilchrist, kneeling, in a very moving speech acquainted him with their lamentable condition, wherewith the king was so sensibly touched, that he not only raised him from the ground, but restored him to his former honours, favour, and estate. From Gilchrist, or, according to Boece, Bredus his brother, to whom he gave the lands of Ogilvie in the county of Angus, is descended the noble family and name of Ogilvie.

1189.

Hoved. Ann.
ad an. 1189.
p. 377.

Rym. Fœd.
Act. Pub.
tom. 1. p. 64.

After a long course of adversity, fortune began to smile again on king William; for king Henry, the author of all his sufferings, dying at this time, he was succeeded by his son Richard; who, having resolved to join in the holy war against the Saracens, judged it good policy to provide for the security of his own dominions during his absence, by making peace with all his neighbours. Pursuant to which, he invited William to an interview at Canterbury, in the month of December; and commanded Geoffrey, archbishop of York elect, and the barons and sheriff of Yorkshire, to receive him at the river Tweed, and conduct him thither: where being arrived, Richard considering the great hardships put upon him by Henry his father, by extorting from him, when in durance, a resignation of his kingdom of Scotland, and a charter whereby he obliged himself and successors to do homage to the king of England for the kingdom of Scotland, he not only generously acquitted him and his successors from all fealty and allegiance to him

him and his successors for the kingdom of Scotland, but likewise gave up to him the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, those of Edinburgh and Stirling being delivered up before: in consideration of this, William not only paid to Richard the sum of ten thousand marks sterling, but sent his brother David with five thousand men to assist him in his expedition to Palestine. And, according to English writers, in Richard's greatest troubles, he religiously kept the treaty concluded with him, to his and his country's honour: for his brother John, at the instigation of Philip king of France, intending to usurp the crown in his absence abroad, William, in justice and gratitude to his worthy friend and ally, (unjustly kept in prison by the sordid, mercenary, and iniquitous emperor Henry V.) entered into measures with the chancellor of England, to defeat those taken by John and Philip, contrary to their oaths to Richard; and, in case of the king's death, to exclude John, and promote the right and lawful heir, Arthur duke of Bretagne, son to Geoffrey, John's elder brother. And so zealous was William in Richard's interest, that his old ally the French king could not prevail on him to desert it, or hinder him from sending a body of auxiliaries, under the command of his brother David, to join the loyal English, who had taken arms in defence of their captive sovereign; by whose assistance they not only reduced John's castles, but defeated all the measures taken by him to support his rebellion.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
fol. 285.

Hoved. Ann.
ad an. 1194.

King Richard, being discharged from his captivity in Germany, returned to England at this time; of which king William no sooner received advice, than he with his brother David repaired to London, to congratulate him; and considering the low condition of his finances, occasioned by the excessive ransom paid to the emperor and duke of Austria for his liberty, he presented him with the sum of two thousand marks sterling. Soon after Richard and William meeting at Chipstow in Hampshire, the Scottish king demanded the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancaster, (what right he had to the latter, I cannot learn, this being the first time I find Lancaster mentioned in regard to the king of Scotland) enjoyed by his predecessors, to be restored to him. Richard, having consulted his nobility with respect to this demand, returned for answer, That it was not a proper time to demand Northumberland, when all the princes of France were become his enemies; for, if it were now granted, 'twould be thought to be done out of fear, and not affection. Besides, it appears that Northumberland at this time belonged to Hugh bishop of Durham, who, by command of Richard, delivered it, with its castles, to Hugh Bardolf; whereupon William offered the sum of fifteen thousand marks for both: Richard offered him the country without the fortresses for that sum, which William would not accept of.

Major, Hist.
Scot. lib. 4.
c. 6. p. 137.

Hoved. Ann.
ad an. 1194.

But that the king of Scots should not depart discontented, Richard granted him and his successors for ever, that whenever the king of Scots was summoned to the court of England, the bishop of Durham and sheriff of Northumberland should receive him at the river Tweed, and conduct him through that county and the bishoprick of Durham to the river Teise, the northern boundary of Yorkshire; where the archbishop of York and sheriff of Yorkshire should attend and convoy him to the southern border of that county, and thence forward the bishop of each diocese, with the sheriff of the county through which he passed, should conduct him through their respective jurisdictions,

Ibid. p. 420.

1124.

till he arrived at the king's court; and, from the time he entered England, should receive out of the king's privy purse a daily allowance of one hundred shillings for his expences; and after he came to court, and during his residence there, should have an appointment of thirty shillings per day in money, twelve of the king's fine loaves, twelve of his biscuits or semnells made of the finest wheat, four gallons of the king's best wine, and eight gallons of his common sort; of his pepper and cinnamon, two pounds of each; two cakes of his wax, of eight or twelve pounds weight each; four large waxen candles, forty long candles, and eighty of the common sort: and to be reconducted, on his return homewards, by the bishops and sheriffs aforesaid, with the allowance of one hundred shillings in money, whilst on the road: whereupon, in certain towns, houses were erected for his accommodation. That at London was erected near the royal palace at Westminster, the site whereof is still denominated Scotland-yard.

REMARK. In the above charter, which was delivered to William at the town of Northampton in England, on the 12th of April, anno 1124, are divers things remarkable; for by it we learn the daily expence of a king and his attendants in travelling, and the amount of each day's charge, while at court. The former, as above set forth, being one hundred shillings sterling; and the latter, in money, one pound ten shillings; and for provisions, as above specified, four pounds ten shillings of the same money; whereby may be calculated the great value of money at that time.

Craig on Homage, c. 24. p. 306.

Major, Hist. Scot. lib. 4. c. 6. p. 137.

Hoved. Ann. ad an. 1124. p. 420.

Now as some are of opinion, that it was inconsistent with the honour of our king to be maintained on such occasions, it is necessary to acquaint those that think so, that as the kings of Scotland were vassals to the English kings, and as such peers of England, they were occasionally obliged to appear at the English court, without the bounds of their respective fees. This occasioned frequent disputes, the decision whereof, according to a late writer, was left to certain judges, whose award, by the civil law, was, That a vassal is not obliged to appear in the court of his lord without the bounds of his fee, but at his lord's expence. Wherefore, as it was judged reasonable that the king of Scotland should not spend his own revenues in a foreign country, it was agreed, as aforesaid, that as often as the king of Scots came to the court of England, his expences should be defrayed: as, no doubt, those of the king of England were, when he repaired to his lord the king of France's court. And as the king of Scotland was, for divers centuries before William's time, a feudatory to the king of England for the county of Cumberland, I take the above charter, instead of being a new concession, to have been only the renewal of a former grant. Be that as it will, this is certain, that the love and affection of the English and Scottish monarchs at this time for each other, excelled all that ever was between Scottish and English kings; which has occasioned a certain writer to compare it to that of David and Jonathan. But to return to our history.

King Richard, on his return to England, lest his people should think that his long imprisonment, and surrender of his crown to the emperor, had weakened his royal title and authority, caused himself to be crowned anew at Winchester, in the same pompous manner as at first. In the procession, William king of Scots, as earl of Huntingdon, carried the first sword of state; and the other two were carried by Hamelin

Hamelin earl Warren on the right, and Ranulph earl of Chester on his left hand.

As David earl of Huntingdon, the king's brother, had shared in king Richard's successes abroad, so did he in his misfortunes at his return from the holy war; for his ship being drove on the coast of Egypt, he was taken, imprisoned, and put in chains at Alexandria; and, not having discovered himself, was bought by certain Venetian merchants at an easy rate, who carrying him to Venice, he was purchased by some English merchants, and by them brought to Flanders; where taking shipping for Scotland, he was overtaken by a violent storm; and having narrowly escaped shipwreck, landed at Alectum, which, on this occasion, was changed to Dei-donum, that is, God's gift! A strange alteration for an inconsiderable event! But, instead of Dei-donum, Buchanan, with more reason, takes it to be a corruption of Taodunum, that is, the hill of Tay, so called from the river Tay and a neighbouring hill, in the Gaelick or Highland language denominated Dun. The appellations of Alectum and Dei-donum seem to call in question the truth of David's misfortunes; for the ancient and proper name of the town is Dundee.

In this year king William repaired to the city of York in England, where he was met by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, to treat of a marriage between his daughter Margaret, and Otho duke of Saxony, Richard's nephew, by his sister Matilda and Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, predecessor to his present Britannick majesty George II. whereby William was to have the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, for the benefit of the young princes and their heirs. But the queen of Scots proving with child soon after, put an end to the contract.

At this time Jourdan de Courcie, brother to John de Courcie, prince or earl of Ulster in Ireland, being murdered by one of his domesticks, at the instigation of certain petty kings of that island, the earl, in revenge of this barbarous cruelty, commenced war against these kings; and having put them to flight, expelled them their country, and conferred their dominions on Duncan the son of Gilbert, a Scottish prince, who came over to his assistance. That this Duncan was son to Gilbert prince of Galloway, who, in the year 1176, did homage to Henry II. king of England, and to whom he gave his son an hostage or pledge for his peaceable and loyal behaviour, I think, will not be controverted. But here ariseth a difficulty not easily to be overcome, viz. Whether Galloway at or about this time belonged to Scotland. For the solving of which, it is necessary to trace this affair to its origin.

1. We are told by a celebrated writer, that, in the year 731, Candida Casa, or Whitehearn in Galloway, was one of the four English bishopricks belonging to the Saxon kingdom of Northumberland.

2. Gilbert son of Fergus, prince or earl of Galloway, had no sooner heard of William king of Scotland's being taken prisoner by the English, in the year 1174, than he took up arms against him, drove out his officers, destroyed his castles and garrisons, and, as an aggravation of his crime, murdered his brother Uctred for opposing his iniquitous proceedings. William, by the surrender of his kingdom, having obtained his liberty of Henry, with leave to invade Galloway, and reduce Gilbert, this, according to our writers, was performed by Roland and

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
fol. 286.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 126.

1174.
Hoved. Ann.
p. 432.

1197:

Ibid. p. 439.

Bed. Hist. Ec-
cles. Angl. ad
an. 731.

Major, Hist.
Scot. lib. 4.
c. 5.
Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 13.
fol. 282.

Hoved. Ann.
ad an. 1176.

Brad. Hist.
Engl. p. 322.

and Gilchrist; and, as a reward for that eminent service, the former had the counties of Galloway and Carrick. This is contradicted by English writers, who tell us, that the said Gilbert, prince of Galloway, in the month of October, anno 1176, came into England, (under the safe conduct of the king of Scots) did homage to king Henry, and swore fealty to him against all men; and to be restored to his favour, lost by the murder of his brother Uctred, gave him one thousand marks of silver, and his son Duncan an hostage for his loyal and peaceable behaviour, as aforesaid. And by another writer of the same nation we are told, that Gilbert and the Gallowegians offered king Henry an annual tribute of two thousand marks of silver, and cows and swine five hundred of each, provided he would take them into his protection, and secure them from Scottish bondage.

REMARK. By what we are told by Bede it is evident, that about the beginning of the eighth century, Galloway belonged to England; but how, or at what time, it came into possession of the Scots, I cannot learn: nor do I know whether it was held by our predecessors in fee of the king of England, or that it became ours by conquest; and whether it was sequestered by Henry on William's misfortunes, I am also in the dark. Be these things as they will, this is certain, that Galloway, before William's captivity, belonged to Scotland, (but whether in fee or property, I cannot learn) which I think is evident by English writers, who tell us, that king David, by assistance of the English, quashed a rebellion in that country; as it also is by Henry's giving leave to William to march into Galloway, to reduce the said Gilbert. Wherefore I think it may not improbably be conjectured, that Galloway was anciently held by the kings of Scotland of the kings of England; and on William's misfortunes sequestered, and the fee transferred from William to Gilbert, prince of that country, who did homage and fealty for the same to Henry II. king of England, against all men, the king of Scots not excepted: which plainly shews, that Galloway then was independent on Scotland.

And that the inhabitants of Galloway, by foreigners anciently called Picts, and by themselves Gael or Gallowegians, were not Scots, is demonstrated by their desiring the king of England's protection, to secure them from Scottish servitude.

1199.
Hoved. Ann.
p. 449.

At this time Richard king of England, king William's great friend and benefactor, dying of a wound he received before the castle of Chaluz in Aquitain, he was succeeded by his brother John; of whom king William, by his ambassadors, demanded the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland to be given up to him, promising, on his behalf, that he should do homage for the same, and swear fealty to him against all men. John (whose affairs, in respect to his succession, were not as yet settled) being then abroad in Normandy, Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, William earl Marshal, and Geoffrey Fitz-peter, regents, or in trust for the management of the king's affairs during his absence, wisely considering that a denial, at this time, might prove of a dangerous consequence, prevailed on the ambassadors not to go to Normandy; and assured them that the king, at his return to England, would do their master justice in respect to his demands. John, to confirm what his ministers had said, by a message sent by Eustace de Vescey, promised, that on his arrival in England he would in all things comply

comply with his desires, provided he kept the peace concluded with his late brother Richard.

John arrived in England soon after, without shewing the least regard to his promise; which giving some uneasiness to William, he renewed his demands by his ambassadors: to whom John returned a flattering answer, viz. That when his dear cousin, their master, came to him, he would do him justice in that and all other respects. And having sent Roger bishop of St. Andrews, and Hugh de Maleville, to invite William to his court, and appointed Philip bishop of Durham to attend him in his journey, he repaired to Nottingham himself to meet him. But, instead of William's coming, he sent ambassadors to renew his demands for the said counties; and to acquaint John, that if he did not give him satisfaction, in respect to Northumberland and Cumberland, within the space of forty days, he would endeavour to recover by force, what he could not in a just and amicable way obtain. Whereupon John, having committed the said counties with their castles to the keeping of William Stuteville, returned to the southern parts of England; and went the spring following to the city of York, to have an interview with William: but being again disappointed, after keeping his Easter at Worcester, he set out for Normandy.

William having at last agreed to meet John at the city of Lincoln, the latter sent a number of his principal nobility to receive him on the borders of England, and attend him to his court at Lincoln: where arriving on the 21st of November, a treaty was entered into by them; at which time William did homage to John, and swore fealty to him on the cross of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, viz. "To preserve John's life, limbs, and temporal honour, against all men; and to keep peace with him and his kingdom, saving his own right." The homage was no sooner performed, than William again demanded the said counties of Northumberland and Cumberland to be delivered up to him; but John, after a long conference, having desired time to consider thereof till the approaching Whitsunday, William, in great discontent, set out on the 23d of the same month, on his return to Scotland.

This is denied by our own writers, who tell us, that the homage performed on this occasion was for the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Huntingdon; and that the difference between the two kings was owing to William's refusing to accompany John in his war against his old friend and ally, Philip king of France.

In answer to this the English historians say, that although king Richard appears to have been a great friend and benefactor to king William, he would not restore to him the county of Northumberland; therefore as William could not be possessed of it in the first year of king John, the homage was not for it, but for lands elsewhere. And as to John's having asked William to accompany him in his French war, they say that could not be; for a peace having been concluded just before between England and France, there was no war then between John and Philip.

King John soon after, to provoke the Scots to war, began to erect a fort before the town of Berwick upon Tweed; which William no sooner received advice of, than, by his ambassadors, he remonstrated to John the great dishonour and injustice done him. But an evasive

1197.
Hoved. Ann.
p. 451.

1200.
Ibid. p. 454.

Ibid. p. 461.

Belland. edit.
Boet. b. 13.
c. 9.

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. ii.
b. 7. p. 711.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
fol. 287.

answer being returned to his remonstrance, he demolished the fort; which being highly resented by John, he marched with a powerful army to the confines of Scotland, where being met by William with a great force, both being apprehensive of the consequences, in case of a defeat, shewed no inclination to fight: wherefore a mediation was proposed, and accepted of; and a truce being agreed on, both armies were disbanded: and the two kings repairing to York, matters were accommodated on the following terms, viz. That William's two daughters, Isabel and Margaret, shall be espoused to Henry and Richard, sons of John; and the demolished fort never to be rebuilt.

Belland. edit.
Boet. b. 13.
c. 9.

At this convention, according to my author, William gave up to John the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Huntingdon, to be by him conferred on Alexander prince of Scotland, his son, to be held by him of John and his successors, and homage to be done for the same by William and his successors to the kings of England, according to ancient custom.

1209.
Mat. Paris.
Hist. Major.
p. 228.

The difference between king John and king William, which occasioned the aforesaid expedition against Scotland, is differently related by English historians, who tell us it was owing to William's receiving and protecting divers outlawed English rebels, and for marrying his daughter to the earl of Buloigne, without his consent. And when John arrived with a great army at Norham, on the frontiers of Scotland, William, dreading the consequence of a battle, applied for peace. Upon which, a treaty was concluded on the following terms, viz. That the king of Scots should pay to king John the sum of eleven thousand marks in silver, and to give his two daughters as hostages for his keeping the peace.

REMARK. As the transactions of those times are greatly controverted by ours and the English historians, I think it will not be amiss to make a few observations thereon. 1. As king William's not meeting king John at the places abovementioned, must have been the effect of resentment, by his deferring to deliver up to him the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, he must now by his coming, I imagine, have had reason to believe that John would give up to him the lands in dispute; or by a promise of a new concession, or renewal of an ancient grant, have prevailed on him to repair to the city of Lincoln. 2. That this was the case, I think does in some sort appear; for by a treaty's being entered into by the two kings at that place, something must have been done for William: for, by the homage performed by him, it plainly appears that it was not for the kingdom of Scotland, by the words, "saving our own right," being expressly mentioned therein. 3. And as it is evident that neither Northumberland nor Cumberland were then in our possession, the fealty must have been done either for the county of Huntingdon, or a new concession or renewal of an old grant; for by William's having so often disappointed John in not meeting him, it may be presumed that he expected something else besides the county of Huntingdon.

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. ii.
b. 7. p. 712.

But that the aforesaid homage was done for Huntingdon is denied by a certain English writer, who says it could not be for that county, seeing it was then in possession of David, king William's brother, who, as earl thereof, was to do homage for it to king John. That this is a mistake is manifest, by our historians telling us, that the kings

of Scotland, as feoffees of the lands held in England, did homage to the English kings for the same; and, by virtue thereof, could grant them to such persons as they thought proper. Now, as there appears no new concession to have been made to William on this occasion, it may not improperly be supposed, that, to prevail on him to repair to the English court, as the country of Galloway was given in fee by Henry II. king of England, to Gilbert, prince of that country, king John may have re-granted the same to William and his successors, to make them some amends for the loss of Northumberland and Cumberland.

And although we are told by Boece, that Northumberland at this time belonged to Scotland; yet, through great incogitancy, he has, as it were, demonstrated that it did not, by saying that king John, to provoke the Scots to war, began to erect a castle before the fortress of Berwick upon Tweed: which, I think, is not in the least probable; for had Northumberland then belonged to William, 'tis not to be imagined that John would have passed by all the fortresses therein unregarded, and marched through that country for the space of fifty miles, to have erected a fort on the northern side of the river Tweed, in the kingdom of Scotland. Be these things as they will, this is certain, that Northumberland was surrendered by king Malcolm IV. brother and predecessor to king William, to Henry II. king of England, and never since belonged to Scotland.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13,
fol. 287.

And as to William's having received and protected English outlaws, and married his daughter without John's consent, by English writers assigned as the cause of the difference betwixt the two kings, I think these are not reasons sufficient to ground a war on, especially considering that such trifles might, without doubt, have been amicably accommodated, without plunging the nations into a war. And as to the reason given for the war by the marriage of William's daughter, it is the most trifling; for it no where appears, that I can learn, that ever a king of England had the wardship of the king of Scotland's children; nor, indeed, is it so much as pretended by any English writer that they ever had.

As to what is said of William's daughters being given as hostages for the conservation of peace, that seems to be a-kin to the rest; for in all the wars between England and Scotland, and treaties made betwixt their kings, I do not remember to have read of a female's ever having been demanded or given as an hostage. Indeed, it were highly unreasonable they should; for, being the most harmless and inoffensive part of the people, they are seldom concerned in war: wherefore, it would not only have shewn the greatest meanness of spirit, but an act of injustice, to make them suffer for the faults of the males, who, as the authors of war, are the fittest to be given as hostages for the maintenance of peace.

Wherefore I think 'tis more reasonable to believe, what we are told by our own writers, that one of the articles of the treaty was the double match between John's sons and William's daughters. And that a good harmony reigned between the two kings ever after, is evident by William's having, some time after, sent his only son and heir Alexander to the court of England; where in London, at a solemn feast at Clerkenwell, he was knighted by king John: and his deport-

Mat. Par. Hist.
Major, ad an.
1211.

ment

1212.

ment was such, that he returned home laden with honour and large promises, with the congratulations and applause of both nations. And as a further testimony of their reciprocal amity, William soon after advised John, by letter, of a conspiracy formed against him; which was soon confirmed by another from the princess of Wales, John's natural daughter. Yet notwithstanding of the great friendship between William and John, the former received into his protection Eustace de Vescie from England, though accused of treason, without being censured by John. This, in some measure, refutes the story of John's having declared war against William, for his protecting certain outlaws from England.

Major. Hist.
Scot. lib. 4.
c. 6.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
fol. 284.

Scotland having for some time enjoyed a happy state of tranquillity, one Gothred, son of the infamous robber Macwilliam, broke out in rebellion in the county of Caithness; and being joined by numerous bands of free-booters from the neighbouring counties of Ross, Lothian, and the Isles, committed great ravages in the neighbouring countries. For the repressing of whom, the king sent the earl of Fife at the head of six thousand men; who routed the rebel army, and took their chief and many of his principal abettors prisoners; and having caused Gothred and his companions to be executed, he put an end to their ravages with their lives. This being the last action in William's long reign of forty-nine years, he ended the same with his life in the castle of Stirling, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, anno 1214, and was buried before the high altar in the abbey-church of Aberbrothock, of his own erection.

1214.

*K. William's
character.*

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 13.
fol. 280.

How king William, according to our historians, came to be dignified with the surname of Lion, I cannot learn: for the reason assigned by Boece for this epithet, from his having been a lover of justice, does not answer. The appellation Lion, which is only due to very brave men, William seems not to have had the least right to, never having performed a gallant action, that I can discover; and instead of having been of a brave spirit, or doing any thing for the honour and interest of his country, he acted the very reverse, by basely enslaving it, and sacrificing its independency: for, with a meanness of spirit, unworthy a king, he became a vassal to Henry II. king of England, for his kingdom of Scotland; which shews him to have been a person of a servile disposition, and no way deserving the noble epithet of Lion. But as William seems to have been a dupe to the monks, who were the historians of those times, by founding and endowing monasteries for their reception and entertainment, it is not to be wondered at, that, in return for his favours, they conferred on him the title of Lion, the distinguishing badge of fortitude.

Major. Hist.
Scot. lib. 4.
c. 5.

That William was a weak and impolitical prince is manifest, by suffering himself to be cajoled by king John of England, during his long wars, both at home and abroad; insomuch that he neglected so fair an opportunity to recover the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, the possessions of his predecessors. To make amends for this, he is said to have been a great lover of justice; and so very religious, according to the religion of the times, that, anno 1176, he founded and endowed a spacious and magnificent abbey for Benedictine monks at the town of Aberbrothock, in the county of Angus. Some time after, David earl of Huntingdon the king's brother, founded and endowed

dowed a priory at Lundores, near Newburgh, in the county of Fife ; as did their mother Ada, a priory at Haddington in the county of East Lothian, for Bernardine nuns.

He was twice married ; but of what family his first consort was, I have not been able to discover. His second queen was Emengard, daughter of Richard viscount Beaumont, grandson to Henry I. king of England, and cousin to Henry II. The marriage was solemnized in the royal chapel at Woodstock, in presence of king Henry, who kept the wedding in the most sumptuous manner for the space of four days. Henry having restored to William the castle of Edinburgh, he bestowed it on his consort as an augmentation to her jointure ; to which he added an annuity of one hundred pounds, and the service of forty knights, which was a great revenue at that time.

By Emengard he had three children, viz. Alexander, who succeeded him, and married Johanna, daughter of John, and sister to Henry III. kings of England ; and two daughters, Marjory and Isabel, who were married in England, the former to the famous Hubert de Burgh, justiciary of England, and the latter to Gilbert, earl marshal of that kingdom. King Henry being greatly enamoured with Isabel, would fain have married her, but was dissuaded therefrom by his nobility, as inconsistent with his honour to marry the youngest, when his subject the justiciary had married the eldest sister.

ALEXANDER II.

The first action of Alexander, after his accession to the crown, was to confirm the transactions of his late father touching the public welfare. John king of England having, in the preceding year, resigned his kingdoms of England and Ireland to pope Innocent, to be held of him and his successors in fee ; and as a proof of his vassalage, agreed to pay to Innocent and his successors an annual tribute of one thousand marks, viz. seven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland ; and continuing to oppress his people in the most cruel and grievous manner, neither contracts or oaths obliging him to do justice ; the barons flew to arms in their own defence, and compelled him to grant to them the great charter of liberties commonly called Magna Charta, and that of the forests ; and they not judging it safe to trust to bare concessions, obliged John to deliver up to them the city and tower of London, for the performance of articles.

John, whom neither honour or justice could bind, repenting of what he had done, applied to the pope, to disannul by his apostolic authority the late grants. Innocent, whose business it was to support his royal vassal in his iniquitous practices against his people, annulled and made void the aforesaid charters, and commanded the barons to renounce those illegal and unjust contracts, which they, through force and fear, had extorted from their king ; and to make satisfaction to him and his adherents, for the injury done them, under the pain of excommunication : which they not in the least regarding, appointed governors to the several counties in their possession, who likewise, for the good of the people, were authorized to act as justiciaries in the respective provinces.

But a great number of foreign mercenaries arriving to John's assistance, proved of much greater service to him than the pope's excommunication ; for by them he was not only enabled to garrison his own castles, but to destroy those belonging to the barons, and mercilessly ravage their lands wherever they came ; which occasioned my author

King William's consorts and progeny.
Major. Hist. Scot. lib. 4. c. 5.
Rog. Hoved. Annal. p. 360.

Mat. Par. Hist. p. 313.

Ibid. 370.

1214.
Boet. Scot. Hist. lib. 13. fol. 289.
Mat. Par. Hist. p. 323.

1215.

Ibid. p. 264.

Ibid. p. 275.

to call those cruel and barbarous mercenaries, Satan's guards and ministers of the devil; and king John their leader, by another writer, is termed a devil incarnate. The former tells us, they spared neither age nor sex, taking priests with the consecrated hosts in their hands from the altars, whom they wounded, racked, and robbed; and to extort money, hung up some by the middle, others by their feet, hands, and thumbs, squirting salt mixed with vinegar into their eyes; whilst others were laid on gridirons over the fire, and thence put under ice to cool their broiled bodies; so that no commerce was carried on, or markets held, but amongst the tombs and cemeteries of the dead.

1216.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 7.
p. 127.

Chron. Mel-
ross. ad an.
1216.

In these dreadful circumstances, the barons having applied to Alexander king of Scots for assistance, he marched to their relief, took Norham castle, and proceeding farther into the country, did all the mischief he could to king John's adherents; and having received homage from the Northumbrian nobility, (whose country on this occasion was made over to him by the barons) he returned to Scotland; whither he was followed by king John, at the head of a powerful army, before whom the Yorkshire barons, who had confederated against him, fled into Scotland for refuge, and did homage to Alexander at Melross. This homage I take to have been done by the nobility of Yorkshire, inhabiting that country on the northern side of the Recrofs, which formerly belonged to Scotland. Be that as it will, John, in revenge of their revolt, laid their country waste with fire and sword; marching into Northumberland, he burnt the towns of Morpeth, Alnwick, and Werk; and entering Scotland, ravaged the counties of Teviotdale, Merse, and Lothian, burnt the towns of Roxburgh, Dunbar, and Haddington, with the monastery of Coldingham; and having taken the strong town and castle of Berwick, burnt them, John encouraging his men, by setting fire to the house wherein he quartered with his own hand.

Id. ibid.

Alexander, to avenge himself on John for the great depredations and cruelties committed by him, raised an army with the utmost expedition, and marched against him: but John, dreading his approach, retreated to England, and Alexander, in pursuit of him, ravaged the lands of his adherents as far as Carlisle, and continuing his march to Richmond in Yorkshire, without being able to come up with him, returned through Westmorland to Scotland, and finished his expedition with no small honour.

Mat. Par. Hist.
p. 278.

The barons being at last reduced to the greatest streights and desperation, began to think of chusing a foreign prince for their king; and as none was so powerful as the French, from whom John received his supplies which enslaved them, they thought that if they could deprive him of that, he would as it were be left to their mercy: wherefore they agreed to chuse Lewis, eldest son of Philip king of France, for their sovereign; pursuant to which, they by their messengers sent letters to Philip and Lewis to acquaint them therewith. This resolution was very acceptable both to father and son, who having received twenty-four of the principal barons as hostages for the prince's security, great preparations were made for his expedition to England; but requiring some time before it could be got ready, a number of troops were sent before to encourage the barons, who arriving at London were received both by the barons and citizens with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

The

The pope, greatly interested in king John's affairs, sent Wallo his legate with letters to the king of France, to prevent Lewis's expedition to England; setting forth, that as John was a vassal of the Roman church, and his dominions fiefs of it, he ought rather to defend him and them, than endeavour to depose him. To this Philip and his advocate returned for answer, 1. That John, for endeavouring to depose his brother king Richard, was convicted and condemned as a traitor. Besides, being an usurper, he could not give away the kingdom that did not belong to him. 2. Had he been a lawful king, his condemnation by the parliament of Paris for the murder of his nephew prince Arthur, lawful heir to the crown, was sufficient to divest him of his royalty. 3. He was deposed by the barons, for the numerous murders and other enormities committed by him. 4. That even a lawful king could not dispose of his kingdom, without consent of the states of the nation, who are bound to defend it. 5. Supposing he had given away the crown of England without consent of the barons, he no sooner resigned his right, than he unkinged himself, and the throne thereby becoming vacant, could not be filled without consent of the barons; who have chosen prince Lewis in right of his consort, whose mother (the queen of Castile) since the deposition of king John, is the only surviving child of the late Henry II. king of England; and she having resigned her right to Lewis, he, as lawful heir to the crown, is chosen king in her stead.

Mat. Par. Hist.
p. 280.

Lewis soon after arriving on the coast of England with a fleet of six hundred and eighty vessels, landed at Stanhock in the isle of Thanet with a great army without opposition, and subduing all the county of Kent, except Dover castle, marched to London, where he was received by the barons and citizens with great demonstrations of joy, who at the same time did him homage, and swore fealty to him against all men. He likewise swore to them, that he would restore good laws and their sequestered estates to them.

Ibid. p. 282.

Lewis, on his great success, summoned the king of Scotland, and all the great men of the kingdom, vassals to the crown, to come and do him homage forthwith, or depart the kingdom. This had so good an effect, that many of the nobility not only left John, but a number of his mercenaries deserted him; some joined Lewis, and others returned to their own countries.

Id. ibid.

Lewis's success still increasing, Alexander king of Scots invaded England in his favour, and having taken Carlisle, marched into Northumberland, and reduced it again to his obedience: hence, marching at the head of his army through England, he arrived at Dover, in the county of Kent, and did homage to Lewis for the lands he held in England, in the same manner as the English barons had done for their lands; and Lewis, by his letters patent, not only confirmed Alexander's title to the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, but he also swore, as did all the barons, that they would never make peace with king John without his consent. But to this oath, according to a certain English writer, they were no slaves; for Lewis's army being soon after routed and almost cut off at Lincoln, his fleet overcome at sea, and himself pent up in the city of London, he concluded a treaty with king Henry, renounced all claim to the crown of England, and obliged himself forthwith to depart the kingdom. The king of Scots was provisionally comprehended in this treaty, if he thought proper to accept

Chron. Mel.
adan. 1216.

Append. Anderf. Hist. Ess.
No. 26.

1217.
Rym. Fœd.
Angl. Tom.
1. p. 221.

accept of the terms, which were no ways agreeable to those he had reason to expect from the oaths of Lewis and the barons: for by the articles of that treaty, he was obliged to give up all the lands, castles, and prisoners taken by him during the war, as Henry on his part was to do the like to him.

Alexander being thus deserted by Lewis and the barons, from whom he deserved better treatment, it does not appear that I can learn, that he obtained any other advantage or favour from the said treaty of peace, than he and his kingdom's being released from the pope's thunderbolts of interdiction, which he incurred by having joined Lewis and the barons against king John. By our own writers we are told, that by a peace concluded between Alexander and Henry, Carlisle was given up to the English, and Berwick to the Scots, with the county of Cumberland and half of Northumberland.

Boet. Hist.
lib. 13. fol.
291.

Mat. Par.
Hist. p. 429.

1217.

Rym. Fœd.
Angl. p. 374.
&c.

Mat. Par.
Hist. p. 370.

Ibid. p. 289.

REMARK. What is said concerning the giving up of Cumberland and Northumberland at this time, seems to be a mistake; for it cannot reasonably be presumed, that the English would have made such concessions to Alexander in his unfortunate state, when his friends and allies, Lewis and the barons, were obliged to accept of such terms as Henry was pleased to give them: and that Northumberland was not then given up to Alexander, in some measure appears by English writers, who tell us, that the king of Scots in the year 1235, in a convention of the states of England at London, by his messengers demanded of king Henry the restitution of his rights which belonged to him by charter, and the testimony of great men. But nothing being done therein, he repaired to the city of York the year following, where meeting Henry, he renewed his demands of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland as his inheritance; likewise satisfaction for the sum of fifteen thousand marks, paid by his father king William to king John, on certain conditions hitherto unperformed; and also for executing the contracts of marriage agreed on at the same time between Henry and Richard, John's sons, and Marjory and Isabel, his sisters: the last of these demands effectually demonstrates, that these princesses were not, according to certain English writers, given as hostages to king John, but as royal brides to his sons, and the fifteen thousand marks were their portions in view of their future marriages, being then both very young. But reasons of state prevented consummation: Alexander by a new treaty consented that his sisters might be given in marriage to others. Pursuant to which king Henry bestowed them on two of the chief men of his kingdom, Marjory the eldest to Hubert de Burgh, justiciary of England, and Isabel, to Gilbert, hereditary marshal of the kingdom. But to return to our history.

On the demise of John king of England, his son Henry, succeeding to the crown, he was not only joined by most of the English nation, but by the pope, who empowered his legate Wallo to compel all prelates and ecclesiastics, under pain of excommunication, to return to their duty to the young king; and to put all the countries that owed prince Lewis under an interdict, which was soon after done, and sentence of excommunication pronounced against all his adherents. By the pope's thunderbolt, and defection of the nobility, Lewis's affairs began greatly to decline, and those of Henry much to advance. A potent army was raised by the latter to relieve the castle and city of

Lincoln,

Lincoln, then besieged by Lewis, which they effectually did, by destroying and taking most of the French army prisoners. This fatal blow being soon followed by another at sea, his measure were thereby so much disconcerted, that he proposed entering into a treaty for an accommodation, which being accomplished, Lewis agreed to depart England forthwith; to submit himself to the church in respect to the excommunication; and that he would endeavour to prevail on his father, Philip, to restore to Henry all his lands and rights beyond sea; which if he refused, he promised to do the same himself as soon as he came to the crown.

Alexander, being thus deserted, was obliged to accept of such terms as Henry thought proper to allow him, which were, to give up all the lands, castles, and prisoners taken by him during the war; with a specious provision on the other side, that Henry should do the like to him, though I cannot learn of any of his captures. Be that as it will, upon Alexander's complying with the terms prescribed, he was absolved from his excommunication by the archbishop of York and Chron. Mel-
bishop of Durham. After which, the archbishop repaired to Carlisle, roff.
and took possession of it for king Henry. King Alexander in the interim arriving at Northampton, was received by Henry and the pope's legate with all the honour and respect imaginable; and on the Saturday preceding Christmas, did homage to Henry for the county of Huntingdon, and other lands held by his predecessors of the crown of England.

Some years after, in an interview between the two kings at York, a match was agreed on betwixt king Alexander, and Joan king Henry's eldest sister, which was consummated at this time; and soon after Marjory, Alexander's eldest sister, was given in marriage to the famous Hubert de Burgh, justiciary of England, by the consent of both kings, and advice of both nations, according to the chronicle of Melrofs.

Tho' all appearances of war between Scotland and England were removed, and a peace established betwixt the two nations, yet the country did not long continue in a state of tranquillity. For one Gillespy, a noted free-booter in the county of Ross, took arms and committed great ravages in Murray and other neighbouring parts, by murdering and plundering the people, and burning their towns, amongst which was that of Inverness; but Cumin earl of Buchan being sent against him with a considerable force, expelled his rebellious followers from their fastnesses in woods, rocks, and subterraneous caverns, apprehended him and his two sons, caused them to be decollated, and sent their heads to the king.

Soon after, the populace in the county of Caithness, being greatly irritated by Adam the bishop of Orkney's officers, who collected the tithes and other revenues of that bishoprick in a very rigorous and oppressive manner, (imagining it to be done by the bishop's order) seized him in his palace, dragged him to the kitchen, and burnt him to ashes. This, according to Boece, was done by the people, in revenge for Adam's having anathematized them for not paying their tithes. Boet. Hist.
The king, then at Jedburgh, no sooner received advice of this barbarous Scot. lib. 13.
cruelty, than at the head of a considerable force he marched against fol. 293.
the murderers, and having seized about four hundred, caused them all forthwith to be hanged. The earl of Caithness having on this occasion absconded, was suspected of being an abettor in the bishop's murder; but having, after a long concealment, thrown himself at the

king's feet, and in the most solemn manner declared his innocence; the king was pleased to pardon him. But the earl, some years after, having abused his domesticks in a very gross manner, they murdered him, and, to conceal it, set fire to his house and burnt the corps.

Sympf. Life
of Walt. high
steward Scotl.

About the same time Alan de Galweya, lord or prince of Galloway, high constable of Scotland, the most potent man in the kingdom, died: his death occasioned great commotions in Scotland, for leaving three daughters, his large dominions were divided amongst them; Helen, the eldest, was married to Roger de Quincy earl of Winchester; Dervegild, to John Baliol lord of Castle-Bernard; and Christian, to William earl of Albemarle. Besides these daughters, Alan had a natural son, called Thomas Macdualan, who being encouraged by Olave king in Man, his father-in-law, and by his late father's vassals, put in for his large territories: probably alledging, that it was inconsistent with the honour of Scotland, and interest of the Gallovegians, to have their country divided and cantoned out amongst foreigners, subjects of England; whereby the power of Scotland would be greatly enervated, and that of their most dangerous enemies the English much augmented. Be this as it will, Thomas took up arms and possessed himself of the country of Galloway. To repress the bold encroacher, and do justice to the coheiresses of Alan and their husbands, the king marched with a considerable force in quest of Macdualan, who being at the head of ten thousand men, was ready to oppose the royal army, which being superior in number to that of Thomas, the king charged them in front, whilst his generals, Walter lord high steward, Mackinlagart earl of Ross, and Sir Archibald Douglas attacked his rear, and a rout soon following, half Thomas's army was cut off, and the rest throwing themselves at the king's feet, obtained mercy. Macdualan and Gildroth, who escaped to Ireland, being joined by the son of a petty Irish prince, and other auxiliaries, returned to Galloway; but the people being not unmindful of their late disaster, few joined Macdualan, and those that did, quickly deserted and returned to their duty. Thus abandoned, Thomas and Gildroth in great distress threw themselves on the king's mercy, who, after a long confinement, graciously pardoned them. Sumerled of Argyle is also said to have made an insurrection in aid of Macdualan, but it was soon quelled, and he restored to favour.

Orm. dans
la Vie d' Ale-
xandr. II.

1236.
Mat. Par. Hist.
P. 432.

In a convention of the states of England held at London this year, king Alexander, by his ambassadors, demanded of king Henry such rights as belonged to him by charter and the testimony of great men: but nothing being then done therein, Henry, by advice of his council, repaired to the city of York, to have an interview with the king of Scots, when Alexander declared, that he had not only a charter, but the testimony of divers of the most illustrious men in England of king John's charter of the county of Northumberland to him, upon the marriage of Joan his daughter: adding, that if he did not restore it to him in a quiet and peaceable manner, he would endeavour to recover it by force. This being taken into consideration, Henry, for the conservation of peace, offered in lieu thereof an annuity of eighty marks out of other lands, which was by all approved of; but wanting time to settle the same, the treaty was dissolved.

REMARK. That the offer of an annuity of eighty marks was approved of by all, is certainly a mistake; for had Alexander approved of it, he would not have renewed his demands for satisfaction so soon after,

after, as it appears he did in the following year, when the two kings meeting again at York, concluded a treaty, whereby Alexander, in lieu of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, was to have granted him lands to the amount of two hundred pounds per annum in the said counties, for which he and his successors were to do homage to the king of England; and by the said treaty it was expressly stipulated, that no castle or place of strength should be erected on the said lands.

1237.
Rot. Pat. 21.
Hen. III. m. 8.

Alexander, in consideration of the above grant, having quitted all right and claim to the counties aforesaid, an end was put to the dispute which had subsisted for ages between the two nations concerning the same: and to render the friendship and amity between the two kings complete, a new alliance was agreed on, and a contract of marriage concluded between Alexander prince of Scotland, an infant, and Margaret, daughter of Henry. And the king of England, to shew the great confidence he had in the honour and integrity of Alexander, committed the care of the northern borders of England to him during his absence in France.

1242.
Mat. Par.
Hist. p. 582.

Although by the good harmony established betwixt the two kings, all things tending to discord were seemingly removed; yet at this time a very great difference happened between them, for which divers reasons are assigned; one is, that Alexander gave Henry to understand, that he neither did, would, nor ought to hold any part of his kingdom of Scotland of him. If this declaration was occasioned by Henry's demanding homage for Scotland, which it seems to have been, Alexander had good reason to be provoked; for 'tis certain that homage never was done by any of our kings, to the king of England for the kingdom of Scotland, but by king William, from whom it was extorted when in duress by king Henry II. The consideration whereof induced king Richard, soon after his accession to the crown, to acquit king William and his successors from all fealty and vassalage to the crown of England for the kingdom of Scotland. The reason assigned by another English writer for the difference between the two kings, is, that Alexander had publicly declared, that he would not hold the least bit of ground of the king of England; adding, that ever since the marriage of the king of Scotland to the daughter of Engelram de Cussey, a powerful French nobleman, and mortal enemy to king Henry, the good harmony between the two crowns was much abated.

1244.
Brad. Hist.
Engl. p. 590.

Mat. Par.
Hist. p. 644

REMARK. Though the former has some probability in it, the latter I think has none: for Alexander, the prince who was affianced to Margaret of England about two years before, was the grandson of Engelam, by his daughter consort of Alexander. Besides, as already mentioned, had the king of Scots designed to renounce the fealty sworn by him for his English lands, he might with great advantage have done it when in possession of the northern parts of England: but his honour restraining him from such an ungenerous action, he chose rather to declare his resolution after he gave up his trust: wherefore I think 'tis more probable, that the breach between him and Henry was owing to the latter's demanding homage of him for the kingdom of Scotland.

Be that as it will, this is certain, that a war did break out, which being likely to prove very bloody, the dread and apprehensions were so great, that king Henry summoned all the great men of England, both

Rot. Cl. 28
Hen. III. m.
8. Dorf.

both clergy and laity, who held of him in capite, to meet him at Newcastle upon Tine, on the 5th day of August, completely armed, to compel the king of Scots to make satisfaction, or bring him to terms. These assembling at the time and place appointed, a treaty was proposed and entered upon; and by the mediation of Richard, (king Henry's brother) and other great men, a peace was concluded on the following terms, viz. That the king of Scots and his successors shall keep perpetual faith and friendship with his liege lord king Henry, and his successors; so intitled from the new grant of lands abovementioned, of the yearly rent of 200*l.* held by Alexander in fee of Henry: that Alexander make no alliance with Henry's enemies: that the treaty concluded between the two kings at York, and the agreement for a contract of marriage between Alexander, prince of Scotland, and Margaret, daughter of England, be both confirmed; as specified in king Alexander's charter, at large in Matthew Paris's history.

Before I proceed farther in the civil history of this reign, 'tis necessary to say something concerning ecclesiastical affairs; of which, that the reader may have a fuller knowledge, it is necessary to go back a little.

Extr. Chron.
Scotiae in Bibl.
Jur. Edin.

The archbishops of England having often endeavoured to subject the bishops of Scotland to their jurisdiction, Roger archbishop of York at this time prevailed on pope Alexander III. to appoint him his legate in Scotland; by virtue of which he summoned the said bishops to appear before him at the town of Norham, in the county of Northumberland: to which place he repaired in great state, and imperiously demanded of those that were present, how they durst presume to disobey him and the see of Rome. The prelates, instead of complying with the archbishop's summons, sent Ingelram, Salmon, and Walter, their deputies, to oppose his demands, and to appeal from the legate to the pope for redress. Being arrived at Norham, they upbraided Roger to his face for his insolence and assurance in imposing on his holiness, by unjustly procuring, under false pretences, a power so derogatory to the honour and rights of the church of Scotland. And in pursuance of their appeal, having repaired to Rome, they acquainted the pope how basely he had been imposed on by Roger his legate. This information had so good an effect, that Alexander, by his bull, divested the archbishop of his legatine commission, and declared the church of Scotland independent of all jurisdiction, other than that of the apostolick see: and, as an instance thereof, not only constituted Ingelram bishop of Glasgow, but by his bull to the dean and chapter of Glasgow, in the year 1172, ascertained the independency of their church on any bishop but its own and the pope.

Excerpt. Reg.
Glasg.

Notwithstanding the abovementioned disappointment, the archbishop at last succeeded, by a grievous and very unlucky accident, which had like to have proved fatal both to the Scottish church and state, occasioned by king William's being taken prisoner by the English at Alnwick in Northumberland; who, being fonder of his own liberty than that of his country, dishonourably enslaved the latter to procure the former, by subjecting both the kingdom and church of Scotland to those of England; or at least promised, on his being set at liberty, to bring the Scottish bishops to a conference with the archbishop of York, and to compel them to do him justice. And, according to English writers, William, in a letter to the pope, owned the subjection

Dalrymple,
P. 323.

of the church of Scotland to that of York to be of an ancient date, although interrupted by his predecessors; and now having settled matters with his lord the king of England, he was, both by oath and duty, bound to restore the archbishop of York to his right.

Granting the abovementioned letter to be genuine, it is not to be wondered at, that William, who, out of a meanness of spirit, sacrificed the liberty of his country to his love of personal freedom, should subject that of the church to oblige king Henry II. in whose power he was. This compulsory and arbitrary act of the king, without consent of the church, is not to be regarded as binding; more especially after the sovereignty and independency of the crown and kingdom of Scotland were restored by Richard I. king of England. But as neither restorations, resignations, nor honour, could oblige the archbishop of York to recede from his unjust pretensions of superiority over the Scottish bishops, for which he had no other reason, that I can learn, than some of them having, either through a vulgar mistake, or pride of being consecrated by an archbishop, been hallowed by his predecessors, the archbishops of York.

However, though William is said to have subjected the church of Scotland to that of York, yet he strenuously opposed the pope in the election of a bishop to the see of St. Andrew's, for which he and divers of his ministers were excommunicated by his holiness: and William, by way of reprisal, banished all those who adhered to the pope in that affair, with their children and relations. This affair was not fully settled till the year 1188, when William obtained from pope Clement III. a bull of exemption; whereby the church of Scotland is declared to be, and always to have been, a daughter of that of Rome. And, some time after, William obtained of the popes Celestine III. and Innocent III. three bulls, in confirmation of the rights and privileges of the church of Scotland, which were then not inferior to those of any other national church.

King Henry III. having approved of an appeal which the archbishop of York was to make to pope Gregory, to prevent the king of Scotland's being crowned, in prejudice of the royal dignity of the king of England, and that of his own see; to give a sanction to this proceeding, Henry complained to the pope, that the king of Scotland, notwithstanding his being a vassal to the crown of England, and as such had sworn fealty to himself, yet ceased not to affront his superior, by doing divers things to his prejudice, and the diminution of his honour; which he endeavours to prove by allegations entirely groundless, viz. that his father, king John, was comprehended in the agreement of subjection extorted from king William by Henry II. and wrongfully asserts, that king William, in pursuance of the said treaty, did homage to king John; and that the present king, Alexander, had done the like both to king John and himself.

Alexander, to cut off all the pretensions and unjust claims of superiority by the English archbishops over the Scottish prelates, obtained from pope Honorius III. a confirmation of all the grants of his predecessors, in favour of the church of Scotland: amongst which is a strict prohibition, that no person presume to lay an interdict upon the kingdom of Scotland, nor to excommunicate any person within the same, at the pope and his legate à latere; that none but Scotsmen assume the title of legates of Scotland, without express order from his holiness;

Dalrymple;
P. 325, &c.

Hoved. Ann.
fol. 371.

Rym. Fœd.
Angl. vol. i.
P. 335, &c.

Id. ibid.
P. 227.

nor any person to draw causes ecclesiastical out of the kingdom, but by appeal to Rome. And the same pope, by a bull extant in the chartulary of Aberdeen, empowers and commands the Scottish prelates to hold convocations or general assemblies annually, and to chuse a moderator to preside, in place of a metropolitan or archbishop, no such dignity being then in Scotland.

A treaty of peace being concluded at the city of York, between the kings of Scotland and England, in the year 1237, by the pope's mediation, his legate thought he had now a good opportunity to obtain leave to go to Scotland to fleece the Scots, as he had done the English for many years; wherefore he signified his inclinations to king Alexander of going thither, under pretence of regulating church affairs in his country, as he had done those in England. Alexander, not approving of his design, nor willing to endanger his kingdom's being brought under a foreign yoke, nor to see it impoverished by popish exactions, told the legate, "That he did not remember a legate's being in his kingdom, and thanked God there was no need of one at present; and that, as neither his father nor any of his ancestors had suffered any to enter Scotland, he would likewise take care to prevent the same; and advised him not to venture, for he had an ungovernable people, whose violence and fury would not be restrained." The legate, on this declaration, not thinking it safe to expose his person amongst such desperate people, kept close to the king of England, whom he found very obsequious in all things: which occasioned a certain English writer to say, that the difference between the tempers of the two princes was such, that one did all he could to enslave his people to the pope, while the other endeavoured to keep his free.

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. ii.
p. 898.

Mat. Paris.
Hist. p. 498.

The legate, it seems, having recovered his fright, set out the year after, under a strong English guard, for Scotland. Alexander, receiving intelligence of his approach, repaired to the frontiers, where he plainly told him, That as there never had been a legate in Scotland, there was no occasion for one at present; for Christianity never was more flourishing in his kingdom than at present. Words multiplying, the legate insisted on the respect due to his character: when the king, being about to forbid him entrance, was prevailed on, at the intercession of the English nobility, to admit him, upon his giving an obligation under his hand and seal, that his admission should in no time coming serve as a precedent for other legates to be sent to Scotland. The legate thereupon, according to the chronicle of Melros, having entered Scotland, held a synod at Edinburgh; and having amassed what money he could in that city, returned to England, without venturing farther into the country.

1244.
Forf. Rer. Or.
cad. edit.
Hafn. 1697.
p. 163.

King Alexander, according to a certain Norwegian writer, having by his ambassadors demanded restitution of the western isles of Scotland from Haco king of Norway, and this not being complied with, raised a powerful army some years after, and threatened that he would not lay down his arms till he came to Thurfaker, or the Giants Rock, on the eastern side of the Shetland islands. The better to accomplish his design, he sent for Jones, king of the Isles, (to whom he gave hostages for his security, during his stay at the Scottish court) and offered him large possessions in Scotland, provided he would give up to him the castle of Biarnaburgh, and three others belonging to Haco;

but Jones's fidelity being above temptation, Alexander's offer was rejected. This repulse occasioned the king to invade the islands; and while he lay in Hialarsund, he had a very extraordinary dream, which, though consisting of the most ridiculous things that can be imagined, occasioned him to lay aside his expedition, and return home. But as this affair is not mentioned by any of our own writers, it is not to be depended on. Besides, as this transaction is said to have happened in the last year of Alexander's life and reign, I think 'tis not probable that he would have begun a war, when he might reasonably expect, from the diseased state of his body, to be summoned by death every moment; and considering the infancy of his son, in whose tender years a foreign war might have proved of the most dangerous consequence.

Be that as it will, Alexander, after a glorious reign of thirty-five years, in the fifty-first of his age, died on the 8th of July, anno 1249. As to his character, he appears, by his actions, much better to have deserved the surname of Lion, than his father William did: for that he was valiant, wise, and resolute, is evident by the many wars carried on by him, his prudent management of affairs, and the numerous attacks he bravely withstood in defence of the honour and independency of Scotland. That he was a virtuous prince, is manifest by his never having been charged with any kind of vice: as a proof of which, we need only mention his character given by English writers, who say that he was a wise, virtuous, just, pious, and a bountiful prince, deservedly beloved by the English as well as by his own people, the Scots. He was twice married: his first consort was Joan, daughter of John king of England, who, dying soon after marriage, had no children. His second queen was Mary, daughter to Engelram de Cussey, a potent French nobleman, by whom he had Alexander, who succeeded both to his crown and noble qualifications.

1249.

Alexander's character.

Mat. Par. Hist. ad an. 1249.

ALEXANDER III.

Alexander, an infant in the ninth year of his age, succeeded his father, and was crowned at Scone on the 15th day of August, anno 1249. As to the story by Boece said to have been rehearsed by a highlander at the coronation, of his genealogy, deduced in a regular succession from Gathelus, that such a relation might have been given on that solemn occasion, is not to be doubted; but as to the fact, it is as false as the story of Gathelus, his renowned consort Scota, and many of their fabulous successors, as I have already demonstrated.

Boet. in Vit. Alexand.

Divers domestick broils happened during Alexander's minority, occasioned by the exorbitant power of the Cumins, the chief being Walter earl of Monteith, and Alexander earl of Buchan. They lorded it over both the nobility and commonalty in such an intolerable manner, that many of the former, by false accusations, were condemned, their estates forfeited, and, being brought into the exchequer, were appropriated by the wicked contrivers to their own use. This the neglected nobility and mal-treated gentry could not bear: therefore a convention was summoned to deliberate on the state of the nation; and being met, the first thing resolved on was to accommodate matters with England, to prevent Henry III. from taking advantage of their unhappy divisions. For the better accomplishing of which, 'twas resolved to hasten the marriage agreed on in the year 1242, by Alexander II. and Henry III. of England, between prince Alexander his son and the princess Margaret, eldest daughter to Henry.

Buchan. in Vit. Alex.

Mat. Par. Hist. p. 582.

1252.
Mat. Par. Hist.
p. 829.

Ibid. ad an.
1252.

Nen. Hist.
Brit. c. 37.
Bed. Hist.
Eccles. lib. 4.
c. 20.

Sim. Dunelm.
in Vit. St.
Cuth.

Pursuant to this resolution, Alexander, with a pompous retinue, set out for the city of York in England, in the year 1252, where being met by the king and queen of England, he was there knighted by Henry on Christmas-day; and the morning after, the royal nuptials were solemnized in the most splendid and magnificent manner, in presence of a great number of the Scottish and English nobility and clergy, and some persons of distinction from France. At the same time Alexander did homage to Henry his father-in-law, for the lands he held in England, and in particular for those of Lothian.

REMARK. Abercromby, in his life of Alexander, takes great pains to shew that Mathew Paris's Laudianum, for which Alexander did homage to Henry, was not the county of Lothian in Scotland, on the northern side of the river Tweed, which seems then to have extended from the German ocean on the east to the river Esk in the county of Roxburgh on the west. And the chief reasons assigned by Anderson and him for this assertion is, that William Newbrigs, and others, long before that time, tell us, that the river Tweed was reckoned the boundary of the two kingdoms. That it was so since the conquest of England by the Normans, is not to be controverted: but had our author consulted Nennius, the British historian, he would have found that Octa and Eubisa, two Saxon generals, in the year 452, possessed themselves of all the country now called Lothian; of which we find, by Bede, that their posterity the English were in possession till the year 655, when Ecgfrid, king of Northumberland, invaded Pictland; and a battle ensuing, he with the greatest part of his army were cut off, by virtue whereof the Picts repossessed themselves of that part of their ancient dominions, which composed the northern part of the kingdom of Northumberland. And that we may not mistake the country here mentioned, our author tells us, that amongst the great number of English who left the country on this melancholy occasion, the reverend Trumwin with his people withdrew from the monastery of Ebercurnig, situate in the country of the English, on the arm of the sea which parts the lands of the English from those of the Picts. This place at present is denominated Abercorn, seated on the southern bank of the frith of Forth, and eastern side of the Curnig-burn, to which it owes its name; for Abercurnig, being a Gaelick and Saxon compound, signifies the mouth of the Curnig burn or brook, and gave name to the monastery, as it did to the late castle and present seat of Hopeton of that name, about eight miles to the westward of Edinburgh.

The Picts, after the expulsion of the English, quietly possessed their newly recovered dominions till the year 839, when the whole Pictish nation was subdued by Kenneth Macalpine, king of Scotland. But by the great indolence and indiscretion of Donald, his successor, the said countries were soon after recovered by Osbert and Ella, kings of Northumberland; in the possession of whose successors they were in anno 854, as is manifest by an ancient writer, who tells us, that besides the town of Edwinburgh in Lothian, all the lands belonging to the monastery of Balthere, or Tiningham, in the said county, extending from Lomberemore, or Lammermore, to Eskmuth, or Inveresk, belonged to the church of Lindesfarne, or Holy Island, in Northumberland; together with all the lands on the northern side of the river Tweed, from the source of the river Edra to its influx into the said river Tweed; with all the lands lying between the said river Edra and the river

river Leder, in the shire of Berwick; as did also the towns of Melroß and Coldingham, in the said country: which puts it beyond dispute that these lands and towns at that time belonged to England; for had they been then in Scotland, 'tis not to be presumed that they would have been subject to a church in a kingdom with whom we were at continual war.

But these countries being again reduced by Gregory the Great, in the year 880, they continued in possession of the Scots till recovered by king Athelstan, together with the counties of Northumberland and Westmorland, in the year 930. But after the demise of Althelstan, the Danes renewing their attempts against England, Edmund his successor restored Cumberland to Malcolm I. to assist him against the said Danes both by sea and land. And as we are told in an abstract from old Scottish histories, quoted by Camden, and published by Innes, that, in the reign of Indulphus, the town of Edinburgh was given up to the Scots; now, as the said Indulphus came to the crown in the year 952, and was killed anno 961, I suppose Edinburgh to have been given up about the middle of his reign, in the year 956, which is near eight hundred years since.

Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1127.

Camd. Brit.
Append. Innes
Crit. Essay,
p. 787.

Now as Edinaburgh, by our own historians, appears to have been delivered up to us about that time, it is not to be questioned but the country of Lothian, wherein it is situated, was restored at the same time; for to give up a castle or town, without the country wherein it stands, would have been of no service to the people to whom it was given: for, being surrounded by an enemy's country, in time of war it would have been of no advantage to the Scots; for, wanting a communication with it, it would have become an easy prey to the English.

But to say as some of our own writers do, viz. sir James Dalrymple, and Abercromby, that by Lothian must be understood the town of Leeds in Yorkshire, this is an allegation so very vague and mean, that it reflects great dishonour upon Alexander, by making him do homage for such a pitiful place as the town or village of Leeds may then be presumed to have been, before the woollen manufacture was introduced there; nay, before it was brought into England: which insinuation Abercromby seems to be ashamed of, by telling us, "For which, whether king Malcolm or any other Scottish king did homage to the kings of England, no Scotsman is concerned to inquire." As if it were not the business of every candid writer to inquire into the truth of historical transactions!

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
Scots, vol. i.
p. 370.

Now as it does not appear that there ever was a country in that part of South Britain, at present called England, mentioned either by their or our historians, by the name of Lothian, for which homage was done by our kings, this of ours, by English writers called Scottish Lothian, I take to be the very country for which Alexander did homage to Henry his father-in-law: which probably was reserved in fee by Edred king of England, who delivered it up to Indulph; which might have been held in fee by our kings, till the treaty concluded between king Robert Bruce and king Edward III. of England, wherein it is specified, "That the kingdom of Scotland shall remain entire, free, and quiet, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatever. And whatever right we or our predecessors did in times by-past ask or pretend to in the kingdom of Scotland, we hereby renounce and give up for us, our heirs, and successors, to the said

Mat. Par.
Hist. ad an.
1173.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p.
337.

“ king of Scotland : as also all obligations, agreements, or compacts,
 “ made by or with any of our predecessors at any time, concerning
 “ the subjection of the kingdom of Scotland, or its people, both of the
 “ clergy and laity ; and if any letters or charters, instruments or docu-
 “ ments, concerning these obligations, agreements, and compacts,
 “ shall be found, we will that, for the future, they be accounted as
 “ null, void, and of no value. In testimony whereof, &c.”

All the original instruments of homage from the crown of Scotland to that of England, being on this occasion either lost or destroyed, except that of John Baliol in the tower of London, no man can prove, but by the testimony of historians, that there ever had been any such made. And by the above specified one of king Edward III. Scotland is restored to the same state of independency it was in before the usurped pretensions of superiority, by the kings of England over those of Scotland. But to return ;

1252.

Rog. Hoved.
 Annal. p. 377.

Mat. Par. Hist.
 p. 829.

Buchan. in
 Vit. Alex.

Rym. Fœd.
 p. 561, 562.

Mat. Par. Hist.
 p. 908.

Henry of England, it seems, not judging the homage done by Alexander for Lothian sufficient, revived the extorted homage by king William to king Henry II. of England, for the kingdom of Scotland, although it was discharged for a sum of money by his late uncle, the magnanimous king Richard. But Alexander, though very young, instead of complying with his father-in-law's unjust demand, wisely answered, That he came at the king's invitation, and by the marriage of his daughter more closely to unite himself to him, but was not prepared to answer such hard questions ; for he had not consulted his nobility touching so difficult an affair. With this prudent and modest answer, Henry seemed well satisfied.

All things concerning the marriage were no sooner dispatched, and the nuptial rites celebrated, than Henry, to remove all jealousies in the Scottish nobility, assured them, that thenceforth he would not attempt any thing to the detriment of their king or country. Upon this declaration the confidence of the Scottish nobility became so great in Henry, that they desired he would act as guardian to their sovereign, during his minority ; which being accepted, divers members of Alexander's council were removed, and others appointed in their stead : which being highly resented, the degraded persons, at their return to Scotland, failed not to insinuate, that Henry having got into the management of Scottish affairs, he might at his pleasure endanger the liberty and independency of Scotland. To quash these groundless rumours, Henry, instead of acting contrary to the interest of Scotland, by his charter obliged himself, with all his power, inviolably to support and defend the honour of the king, and the liberties of the kingdom of Scotland ; which he faithfully fulfilled. Nevertheless, certain of Alexander's ministers continuing to behave undutifully, both to himself and his queen, she acquainted her father how basely she had been treated ; nay, 'tis said he was made to believe, that his daughter was not only kept a prisoner, but the king was debarred from her embraces. Henry, in order to inquire into the truth of this affair, set out for Scotland, accompanied by his consort, and attended by the nobility and chief courtiers. Being arrived at Wark-castle, on the borders of Scotland, he sent Richard earl of Gloucester, and John Mansel his clerk, to inquire into the complaint made against sir Robert de Ros and sir John Baliol, who with others had been appointed governors of the king, queen, and kingdom. On their arrival at Edinburgh, Ros withdrew ; but appear-

ing soon after with Baliol, they submitted to a fine for their misgovernment: and all things being restored to their former state, the king and queen lived together in the greatest love and unanimity. Whereupon Henry, with his court, returned to London with great satisfaction.

But, if Buchanan may be believed, matters were not so easily accommodated: it will therefore not be amiss to hear what he says concerning this affair, which is, that Walter Cumin, earl of Monteith, governor of Edinburgh-castle, resolved, as he said, in defiance of English influence, to defend it to the last. But Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, being joined by some English auxiliaries, soon compelled him to surrender. This action, instead of allaying the ferment, rather inflamed the nation. But the court resolving to proceed in its measures, issued proclamations, commanding the earls of Monteith, Buchan, Athol, and Mar, the lord Strathbogy, Hugh Abernethy, and others, to surrender and take their trials; but refusing to obey, they were proclaimed rebels: and that they might be so indeed, they resolved upon one of the most bold and desperate attempts, that frenzy and daring insolence could devise.

1255.
Buchan. in
Vit. Alex. III.

They assembled, under the cover of night, a number of their desperate followers, attacked the court at Kinross, seized the king, and carried him prisoner to Stirling-castle; assumed the government of the kingdom, turned out the ministry, and, borrowing the king's name to palliate their rebellion, ruled in the most arbitrary and despotical manner. Their tyrannical government did not last long; for Walter Cumin, earl of Monteith, chief of the conspirators, dying soon after, 'twas said that his lady, an Englishwoman, had dispatched him by poison. What gave credit to the report was, that many of the young nobility, on account of her agreeable person and great fortune, made their addresses to her in a matrimonial way; but rejecting their suits, she declared herself to be the wife of one John Russel, her countryman, both of a mean fortune and family. Mrs. Russel, some time after, being taken up on suspicion of murdering her husband, and committed to prison, she purchased her liberty with money; and obtained letters from the pope, for her present husband and herself to prosecute their adversaries before his legate: but then there being no legate in Scotland, they pleaded, that Scotsmen, by an ancient privilege, were exempt from pleading in foreign courts.

1256.
Id. *ibid.*

Though this affair proved very unlucky for Mrs. Russel, it was very fortunate for the king; for by it he not only regained his liberty, but was freed from the usurped power of insolent rebels: and, as if the death of one had expiated the crimes of the rest, he judged proper to pardon the other conspirators, not thinking it safe at that juncture to provoke so powerful a body as the numerous families of the Cumins then were.

1257.
Id. *ibid.*

On the demise of Malcolm III. Donald his brother had usurped the crown, in prejudice of his brother's children; and, to secure the crown in his family, had perfidiously betrayed his country, by giving up to the king of Norway the *Æbuda*, or western islands of Scotland, for his assistance in support of his iniquitous cause. But the kings of Norway, it seems, after they had been in possession of these isles for a great number of years, did not think them sufficient to glut their avarice and ambition. Acho, king of Norway, laid claim to the islands of Bute, Arran, and the two Cumbras, which, being in the frith of Clyde, did

did not belong to the Æbudæ. It was enough that they were Scottish islands; for he only wanted a pretence for a war, in which had he proved successful, 'tis to be presumed he would not have stopped there, but probably would have insisted upon all the other isles belonging to Scotland; nay, perhaps on the whole kingdom.

Buchan. in
Vit. Alex. III.
1263.

Be that as it will, Acho arrived before the town of Air, in the county of Kyle, on the first day of August anno 1263, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships; from on board of which he landed twenty thousand men in the isles of Arran and Bute, and subdued them without opposition: whence removing with his army to the town of Ayr, he took its castle, after a vigorous resistance.

Boet. in Vit.
Alex. III.

Buchan. in
Vit. Alex. III.

Alexander, on this unexpected surprize and imminent danger, endeavouring to gain time, by way of remonstrance, dispatched ambassadors to Acho; who, being flushed with victory, gave ear neither to their reasonings nor threats. Alexander, to rescue his country from the impending danger, raised an army with the utmost expedition, marched against Acho, and coming up with him in the county of Cunningham, he ranged his army in order of battle. The right wing was commanded by Alexander, lord high steward of Scotland, great grand-father to Robert II. the first of the family of the Stuarts that swayed the Scottish sceptre; under whose command were the men of Argyle, Athol, Lenox, and Galloway. The left was commanded by Patrick Dunbar, earl of March; under whom were the people of Lothian, Fife, Merse, Berwick and Stirling. The centre was under the king, who was guarded by the men of Perthshire, Angus, Merns, Mar, Murray, Ross, and Caithness. Acho was not wanting, on his side, to do all required of a brave and skilful commander.

1264.
Boet. &
Buchan. in
Vit. Alex. III.

Thus prepared, Alexander attacked Acho at the Largs. The battle was fought with great bravery on both sides, and victory was doubtful, till by a violent assault, given by Alexander the high steward, both on the front and flank of the Norwegians, they were broken, and put into such confusion that a rout immediately followed. Now a dreadful scene appeared, the Scots crying out, "Remember the blood-thirsty Norwegians and Danes, and the horrid depredations so often committed by them in Scotland:" and many of the conquered, in the agonies of death, calling to their friends and acquaintance to dispatch them, and put them out of their misery. The smallest number computed to have been killed of the Norwegians is sixteen thousand, and of the Scots five thousand; which was the last carnage occasioned by the Norwegian or Danish invasions in Britain.

Boet. &
Buchan. in
Vit. Alex. III.

This great loss by land did not happen alone; for the night after the battle, their fleet, by a violent storm, was almost destroyed, inso-much that there was scarce a number of ships left sufficient to carry their king and the small remains of his army to the isles of Orkney. But Acho having had the good fortune to get to the town of Ayr, he embarked, and got safe to Orkney, where he soon after died of grief.

Id. ibid.

Magnus, the eldest son of Acho, who arrived in Scotland before the demise of his father, perceiving his affairs in a desperate situation, knew that assistance could not be had from Norway before the approaching spring: and finding the minds of the islanders alienated from him, by learning that Alexander had recovered the isle of Man on the following terms, viz. That the king thereof, as often as there shall be occasion, shall send ten galleys to the assistance of the Scots;

and the king of Scotland shall defend him against foreign foes; and observing that the other islands were ready to copy after those of Man, he sent ambassadors to treat of peace; which Alexander refused to enter into, till the Æbudæ were restored: which being at last agreed to, Alexander promised to pay to Magnus the sum of one thousand marks of silver, and a quit-rent of one hundred marks yearly. And for the better establishing the peace and tranquillity betwixt the two nations, Margaret, Alexander's daughter, an infant about four years old, was to be given in marriage to Eric, eldest son of Magnus, likewise an infant, (by Scottish authors called Hanygo and Hanganon) and the matrimonial contract being ratified, Eric was by proxy married to Margaret at Roxburgh, on the 15th day of July, in the year 1281.

In the battle of Largs, Colin Fitzgerald, son to the first earl of Desmond in Ireland, behaved in a very gallant manner; for which Alexander gratefully conferred on him the lands of Kintoril, and from him is descended the noble family of Seaforth. Chart. penes
Com. de Sea-
forth.

Scotland, by this honourable and advantageous peace, being secured from danger from abroad, and enjoying a happy tranquillity at home, Alexander resolved to comply with the generous invitation of himself and his consort to the court of England by Henry his father-in-law, who, on that occasion, ordered them the use of his houses, forests, Rym. Fœd.
P. 713. and warrens on the road, and to be entertained in the most magnificent manner. But the queen being with child, the Scottish nobility were somewhat uneasy, lest, on this occasion, something should be desired of their king to the dishonour of Scotland. Henry, to remove all suspicion in that respect, granted them divers instruments; in the first whereof he declared, that Alexander should not be desired to treat Ibid. p. 714. of any affairs relating to himself, counsellors, or kingdom. And in the second, Henry obliged himself on oath, that Alexander should have liberty to carry back his queen whenever he thought proper; that in case she should happen to be delivered in England, he might dispose of her and the child at his pleasure; and if Alexander in the meantime should die, the child shall be delivered to and remain at the disposal of the Scottish nobility.

Thus secured, Alexander with his consort and court set out for England, and were met at Woodstock by Henry and his consort with great solemnity. We are told by a certain English historian, that Alexander did not go to England solely with a view of making a visit, Mat. Westm.
Flor. Hist. but to appear and act as earl of Huntingdon, to demand the sum of four thousand marks, the remaining part of his queen's fortune, and to renew his demands for the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland.

The multitude of people at Woodstock on this occasion was very great; nor indeed could it be otherwise, seeing it consisted of three courts, viz. that of Scotland, England, and the king of the Romans: from thence having set out for London, they were obliged to take different routs, for the greater convenience in travelling; and being arrived in London, were royally entertained. We are told by Matthew of West- Id. ibid.minster, that Alexander, during his stay in England, had an allowance of five pounds daily, which he claimed as his right; and not, as by some insinuated, of the king's bounty. However, it was then of more value than fifty pounds a day at present.

The queen of Scotland advancing happily in her pregnancy, 'twas judged more proper and safe for her to lye-in in England, than to risk the hazard of travelling.

Rym. Fœd.
P. 715.

1264.
Buchan. in
Vit. Alex. III.

Chron. Tho.
Wikes.

Buchan. &
Boet. in Vit.
Alex. III.

Buchan. in
Vit. Alex. III.

The Scots, to obviate all inconveniences that queen Margaret's being brought to-bed in England might be attended with, obtained of Henry a new deed, fuller than the former, with the following proviso, viz. That if in the mean time Alexander should happen to die, the child, without any dispute or contest, shall be delivered to certain noblemen therein mentioned. And, as an additional security, not only Henry and his brother, king of the Romans, but divers of the English nobility, swore to the performance of this deed: nay, Henry engaged to cause his eldest son Edward, the archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to do the like.

King Henry being deeply engaged in a war against his subjects in England, Alexander sent him a supply of five thousand men, under the command of Robert Bruce and Alexander Cumin. That these troops were in the battle of Lewes, is without dispute; for we are told by our author, that the greatest part of them were slain, and Cumin, with king Henry and prince Edward his son, with many of the English nobility, were taken prisoners. Now that Lewes was the place where this great event happened, is manifest, by its being the town where the king and prince were made prisoners: and as Bruce seems to have escaped with the small remainder of his troops, it may be presumed they were not long in recruiting, and probably considerably reinforced; for we read that, in the same year, all parts of England were brought in subjection to the earl of Leicester, except the northern, which, being defended by the king of Scots and John Baliol, were held out against him.

Alexander was much shagreened at the arrogance of the priests and monks in his kingdom, who, being enriched by former kings, vied in state and grandeur with the nobility. The young nobility, irritated at their insolence, used them with derision and contempt; whereof complaint being made to the king, he imagined the injuries done them were not so great as represented, or else they suffered deservedly, and therefore neglected to redress their grievances. The priests, enraged to the last degree, in great ire excommunicated all the nobility, and resolved to go to Rome to seek redress: but Alexander remembering the dismal catastrophe that befel England, by the imperious deportment of that haughty prelate Thomas Becket, the chief promoter of ecclesiastical ambition, prevented their journey, by causing the nobility to satisfy not only their avarice, but their arrogance.

The clergy, on this occasion, were the more willing to comply on Alexander's account, because of the great service done them, by taking them into his protection, against the avaricious practices of the pope and his ministers: for, some time before, Ottobon, the pope's legate, came into England, with a view to compose civil differences; but not being able to accomplish the same, he omitted the care of the publick, and, studying his own interest, indicted an ecclesiastical convention in England, and proctors from Scotland were summoned to attend it. He in the interim endeavoured to exact four marks of silver from every parish in Scotland, and six marks from every cathedral church, for the expence of procuration.

This intended imposition was scarce rejected, when news was brought of another legate's being arrived in England; he intending to set out for Scotland, under pretence of collecting money for the holy war, besides the money raised by indulgences, endeavoured to extort from the several bishops, abbots, priors, and parish-priests, tithes of their respective revenues, with this pretence, that Edward and Edmond, sons to the king of England, might repair to the war in Palestine in great state and magnificence.

The Scots judged this tax too grievous and unjust, while the English were as forward in granting it as if Scotland depended entirely upon them; and suspecting that the legate might mis-spend the money designed to be raised for this war, as was done some time before on the like occasion, they forbade him to enter their borders; and sent him word, that they, without his presence, would collect money for, and send troops to, the war in Syria. They were as good as their word; for they sent forces, under the conduct of the earls of Carrick and Athol, to join Lewis king of France: and that the pope might have no reason to complain of his being neglected, they sent him one thousand marks of silver.

Buchan. in
Vit. Alex. III.

1270.

Being come to the period when the Scotch guard, in the service of France, is said to have been augmented, I think it will not be amiss to give some account of it, for the information of the reader.

This guard, according to Lessly, was at first constituted to attend on the persons of the French kings, about the year 883: it consisted at first only of twenty men, and is supposed to have been the first regular body of troops in that kingdom. Be that as it will, Alexander and Lewis agreed to augment it to the number of one hundred men. This corps was so much honoured and trusted in France, that it became a proverb there, That when a man spoke in praise of a man of honour and probity, 'twas said that he was *fidelle comme un Ecoffois*; that is, as faithful as a Scot. This guard was the only one belonging to the French king, till the reign of Charles VII. who added some companies of French to it; yet so as to continue to the Scots the honour and degree of precedence.

Less. in Vit.
Greg.

Abercromb.
Márt. Arch.
vol. i. p. 334.
335.

For instance: the captain of the Scots guard, (of what county soever) till of late, was always a Scotchman; and is, by way of pre-eminence, stiled the first captain of the French king's guards. He begins his attendance every first day of the year, and serves the first quarter, according to their manner of reckoning: nay, when others are on duty, he may, if he please, assume the first rank, and officiate accordingly. When the king is anointed or crowned, the captain of the Scots guard stands by him; and, when the ceremony is over, takes the royal robes as his due. When the keys of a town or fortress are given up, or presented to the king, he delivers them to the captain of the Scots guard. Twenty-five of this guard wear always, in testimony of their unspotted fidelity, white coats of a peculiar fashion, trimmed with silver lace; and six of these men stand next to the king's person at all times and seasons, (whether the rest of the guard be on duty or not) either in the palace, church, parliament-house, or courts of justice; as also at the reception of foreign ministers, and generally on all publick and solemn occasions whatever.

'Tis the right of the said twenty-five gentlemen to carry the corpse of the deceased king from the capital city of the kingdom to the royal sepulchre in the city of St. Dennis. In a word, that troop of guards has, ever since the days of St. Lewis, been in possession of all the honour and trust the kings of France could bestow on their greatest confidants, and most faithful friends.

And, says the translator of monsieur Beagne's history of the Scots war in the years 1548 and 1549, it would be very strange and amazing in France, to see the brave and fierce Ecoffois (so they generally are called) sit down, and be contented with the finistre. The same writer takes notice of the great honour and advantage that accrued to the kingdom of Scotland, before the union of the crowns of Scotland and England, from the guard: for, he says, "By this means
 " our gentry were taught at once the rules of civility and art of war;
 " and we were possessed of an inexhaustible stock of brave officers,
 " fit to discipline and to command our armies at home, and sure to
 " keep up that respect which was deservedly paid to the Scots name
 " and nation abroad. Nor could younger brothers repine at the law's
 " being partial in favour of the first-born, when they had an open
 " door to preferments great as their wishes; and they might abandon
 " with joy the rural manners of their fathers, when they were to be
 " educated at the most splendid court in Christendom."

The above account of the Scots guard, I think, may safely be depended on, seeing we are told by its author, Patrick Abercromby, M. D. that he spent the greatest part of his youth in foreign countries, and had been much more conversant with Roman and French writers than with our own. But, to resume the thread of our history:

King Edward I. having succeeded to Henry III. king of England, his father, on his return from his expedition to Palestine, commonly called the holy war, Alexander king of Scotland made him a visit, and assisted at his coronation: but that this step might be no ways prejudicial to his successors, he obtained of Edward an instrument, setting forth, that his presence at that solemnity should be no ways disadvantageous to him or his kingdom. We are told by a certain English writer, that Alexander, the day after the coronation, did homage to Edward; but for what is not mentioned. This seems to be a mistake; for we are told by our own writers, that homage was not done till four years after, when it was performed at Westminster in the following manner, viz.

Extract. de
Chron. Scot.
fol. 128.

Chron. Tho.
Wikes.

1278.
Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. i. p. 337.

" I become your liegeman (said Alexander to Edward) for the
 " lands I hold of you in the kingdom of England; and for these I do
 " homage, my own kingdom being always understood to be free and
 " independent:" [so I humbly conceive these words, *salvo regno meo*,
 must be translated.] " But, said the bishop of Norwich, if the
 " king of England has any right to the homage of Scotland, let it
 " stand in its full force." To which king Alexander replied, " None
 " but God alone has right to the homage of my kingdom of Scotland,
 " nor do I hold of any but God." Then Robert de Bruce, earl of
 Carrick, swore fealty in the name of the king his master to the
 king of England, viz. " My sovereign lord the king of Scotland,
 " who is here present, shall be faithful to you with his life, bodily
 " members, and earthly honour, and he shall keep secret your counsels:
 " so help me God and the grace of Christ." " In the sense already
 " mentioned,

"mentioned, added king Alexander; that is, I do homage for the
"lands I hold of you in England, and for these (my own kingdom
"being still free) I will perform the due and usual services."

Hence 'tis evident, that this homage was not for Scotland, though Edward since in a letter to the pope asserted the contrary; which shews, that every thing gives way to ambition. Chart. Dunferml. in Bibl. Jurisc. Edin.

The last war Alexander was concerned in, was his assisting Edward I. against the Welsh, by which he was enabled to subdue them to his obedience. On this, as well as on all other occasions, Alexander acted with great prudence and precaution for the honour of his country, by obliging Edward to grant him a deed, acknowledging, that the assistance given him against the Welsh, was not by way of duty or service, but purely a special act of friendship. Walsing. Hist. p. 48.

Alexander having had the misfortune to lose all his children, the only remaining branch of the family being Margaret princess of Norway, his grand-daughter; he endeavoured to repair the loss, by marrying Jolet daughter of the earl of Dreux, a French lady: but before she conceived, he had the misfortune to be run away with by a vicious horse, who running over a vast precipice of about two hundred feet in perpendicular height, on the western side of Kinghorn, in the county of Fife, called the Black Rocks, they were both dashed in pieces, on the 19th day of March, anno 1285, in the 45th year of his age, and 37th of his reign, to the great loss of his people, and almost the destruction of the kingdom; and was buried in the abbey of Dunfermling, in the county of Fife. Mat. West. p. 435. 1285. Boet. Hist. lib. 13.

Thus died the great and good Alexander, the joy and delight of his people; who was not only generally lamented for his great accomplishments, good qualities, and eminent virtues, but much bewailed by judicious men, who foresaw the great calamities that would befall the kingdom by this fatal accident. As his chief delight was in doing justice to his people, he divided the kingdom into four circuits, and traversed the same almost yearly; and staying about three months in each division, hearing the complaints of the people, he redressed their grievances: and to prevent their being burdened with a number of lordly and needy courtiers, who usually attend the king in his progress, he commanded the sheriffs of the several counties to attend him, with a certain number of men, within their respective jurisdictions; whereby he became acquainted with the nobility and gentry of the several shires, and master of their respective inclinations: further, for the better preventing indolence and laziness, which are the basis of wickedness and vice, he strictly enjoined all magistrates effectually to punish idleness in all persons, who had no visible way of getting their bread either by trade or an estate. And to save the nobility from ruin, and the corn of the land from being unnecessarily consumed, which often occasioned a great scarcity and dearth, he wisely reduced the train horses kept by each of the said nobility, to a certain number; which proved of great service both to them and the country. Alexander's character.

Great losses having happened at sea, whereby the gild or company of merchants were almost undone by unskilful navigators, shipwrecks, and piracies; Alexander imagining this to be owing to the avarice of merchants, endeavoured to provide a remedy against the like contingencies for the future, which was by prohibiting all trade and commerce

merce by sea : but the remedy proving worse than the disease, it was soon after disannulled ; whereupon such great quantities of merchandize were brought in from all parts, that abundance of them were bought up in a wholesale way by gentlemen, to the great detriment of petty merchants or retailers. To prevent the like thereafter, and for the encouragement of commerce, Alexander strictly enjoined, that none but the gild, or merchant company, should be allowed to buy goods by wholesale, and from whom the people were to supply themselves.

*Alexander's
queen and issue.*

Alexander's first consort was Margaret daughter to Henry III. king of England, by Eleanor, second daughter of Raymond earl of Provence, by whom he had three children, viz. Alexander, David, and Margaret. Alexander, the eldest, was married to a daughter of the earl of Flanders, in the twentieth year of his age, but dying soon after, left no issue. David died under age, unmarried : and Margaret was married to Eric eldest son of Magnus king of Norway, (by our own writers called Hanygo, and Hanganon) but dying soon after, left only one child, named Margaret, who died before marriage. Margaret his consort dying in the year 1275, Alexander, to repair the loss of his family, married Jolet, the French lady abovementioned, but by his untimely death left no issue by her.

MARGARET.

We are now come to a period of time, of which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to speak to the satisfaction of both nations : the transactions of those times have irritated both the Scots and English against each other to a great degree, and both have affirmed and denied facts, as would best suit their respective interests. Care must therefore be taken with the strictest impartiality to put the transactions of those times in the best light we can ; therefore I shall extract this part of our history chiefly from English records.

To prevent a chasm in the reigns of our kings, I have inserted the name of our young queen Margaret, who, though acknowledged by all our historians to have indubitably been our right and lawful sovereign, they have nevertheless omitted to insert her name in our list of monarchs. However, although she did not live to arrive in Scotland, I shall nevertheless give an account of the several transactions, as if she had actually been seated on the throne, and governed with the states of the kingdom.

Alexander, eldest son of king Alexander, being dead without issue ; and Margaret his sister, consort to Eric king of Norway, dying soon after she was brought to-bed of Margaret her first child ; and as this infant was the only remaining branch of Alexander's family, and heiress-apparent to the crown of Scotland, he resolved to settle the succession, according to the marriage contract agreed on in the year 1281, between his daughter Margaret and Eric the said king of Norway : wherein amongst other things it was concluded, that if prince Alexander died without issue, and the king his father without heirs male, his daughter Margaret, and the heirs of her body, should succeed to the crown of Scotland. Pursuant to which, he caused all the nobility of Scotland, both spiritual and temporal, to swear, that in case he died without heirs male, they would acknowledge Margaret princess of Norway for their queen. Alexander dying about two years after, the nobility met at Scone in Perthshire, and chose regents to rule the kingdom during the nonage of queen Margaret, according to their oaths.

1286.

Buchanan

Buchanan having said that this convention was held to create a king, and settle the state of the nation, which imports no more than that they were to chuse a husband for their young queen Margaret, as will quickly appear; for this he is furiously attacked by Abercromby.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.

vol. i. p. 455.

Upon the unfortunate death of Alexander, his grand-daughter Margaret princess of Norway, an infant about two years of age, succeeded to the crown: on which occasion, as aforesaid, the states of the kingdom met at Scone, where they chose six regents to govern the kingdom during her minority, who were Duncan Macduff earl of Fife, John Cumin earl of Buchan, William Frazer bishop of St. Andrews; Robert bishop of Glasgow, John Cumin, and James Stewart. Their jurisdictions were separated by the frith of Forth, on the northern side of which the three former ruled, and on the southern side the three latter.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

All our historians, both Scottish and English, are silent in respect to the Scots not demanding their queen in less than three or four years, or why Eric her father neglected to send her over during that space of time.

REMARK. Now, to indulge a conjecture, it may be presumed to have been either owing to publick troubles, or to the tender age of the queen, whose health and life the regents were unwilling to expose, in her weak infant state, to the danger of the sea and inclemency of the weather, which, according to certain writers, proved fatal to her at last. Besides, as that great and potent prince Edward I. king of England was her grand uncle, the regents, and Eric her father, might be loth to incur the displeasure of so near and powerful a relation, who having been abroad for the space of three years and three months, they had not an opportunity conveniently to consult him in this affair. But Eric was no sooner advised of Edward's arrival in England, than he dispatched ambassadors to him in the year 1289, (near four years after Alexander's demise) to desire his advice and assistance to place his daughter Margaret on the Scottish throne.

Soon after the arrival of this embassy, Edward wrote on the 6th of November, from Clarendon, to the regents of Scotland, earnestly recommending the interests of their young queen; and acquainted them, that he designed to send ambassadors to settle with them certain affairs concerning the welfare and tranquillity of Scotland: but the regents deemed it more proper to send plenipotentiaries into England, to adjust with the Norwegian ambassadors, in the presence of Edward, whatever concerned the interests of Scotland. The Scottish commissioners on this occasion, were Robert Bruce lord of Anandale, John Comyn, and the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow; and to prevent their being imposed upon, or doing any thing to the dishonour of their country, it was carefully inserted in their instructions, "Saving the honour and liberty of the kingdom."

1289.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii. p. 445.

Ibid. p. 448.

Although we are left in the dark by our historians, in respect to the difficulties of bringing Margaret into Scotland; yet that they were very great is manifest, by Eric her father's asking advice and assistance of Edward to place the young queen on the throne of Scotland, from the long lapse of time since the demise of Alexander her grandfather, as well as by the precaution taken to hold a congress at Salisbury, of the Scottish, English, and Norwegian plenipotentiaries, to settle what-

ever

ever might relate to the reception of the young princess and state of her kingdom. The articles agreed upon at this congress were as followeth :

Rot. Par. Ed.
I. mem. 3, 4.
Rym. Foed.
tom. ii. p. 448.

1. That the young queen should be sent into England or Scotland before the feast of All Saints, if there was no reasonable excuse to the contrary, free from any contract of marriage ; for which the ambassadors of Norway did undertake.

2. If she came into England, Edward engaged, that as soon as Scotland was settled in peace and tranquillity, she might repair thither ; and, if the Scots required it, he would send her thither free of all contracts of marriage ; provided the Scots, before they received her, gave security to him and the king of Norway that they would not marry her without their consents.

3. The Scottish commissioners likewise promised for themselves and nation, that they would secure the peace of the nation before she arrived, whither she might come and remain safely in her kingdom, as lady, queen, and heiress of Scotland ; and concerning the premises, were willing to give such security as the Norwegian commissioners should require.

4. That if any of the regents or officers of state in Scotland were suspected in their allegiance, they should be removed, and others appointed in their stead by the commissioners of Scotland and Norway, and such commissioners as the king of England should appoint for that purpose : and if the Norwegians and Scots could not agree, the English commissioners should decide therein ; and not only in this, but in all matters that should be brought before them, relating to the state and reformation of Scotland.

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 58.

To this agreement, consisting of three parts, viz. two in French, for the Scottish and English commissioners, and the third in Latin for those of Norway, the respective commissioners put their seals at Salisbury, the 6th of November, anno 1289.

Rot. Par. 17
Ed. I. memb.
3, 4.

For the performance of the above stipulations it was agreed, that there should be a convention of the Scots and English held in Midlent, at or near Roxburgh, where the Scots were to give security to perform the above articles, before such commissioners as Edward should appoint.

1289.
Rym. Foed.
tom. ii. p. 450.

REMARK. In the above articles are some things worthy of observation. 1. It is not to be wondered, that Edward caused the article to be inserted, that he would not suffer Margaret to be contracted in marriage, unless the Scots would give security to him and the king of Norway, that they would not marry her without their consents : for ever since the demise of Alexander her grandfather, Edward had been forming a project to unite the kingdoms of England and Scotland, by a marriage between prince Edward his eldest son, and Margaret the young queen of Scotland. Nay, he had proceeded so far therein, that he had obtained a dispensation from the pope for the proximity of blood : but matters as yet not being ripe for a discovery, he thought it proper to conceal his design. At length, the marriage was proposed to the Scottish regents, and examined in a convention of the nobility, who unanimously agreed to it, on certain conditions to be laid before the parliament of England. Pursuant to this resolution, commissioners were appointed by both kingdoms, who meeting at Bigham, on the 18th of July, agreed on certain articles, which are the sequel of a treaty of marriage formed the preceding year, between prince Edward

Ibid. p. 471.

and the young queen of Scotland; for the speedy conclusion of which, a convention of the guardians, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, and the whole community of Scotland, being met at Edinburgh, king Edward confirmed to them the said articles, which are as follows:

1. That they should have and use all their laws, liberties, and customs they heretofore enjoyed. 1290.
Rym. Foeder:
tom. ii. p. 482.
Rot. Par. 18
Ed. I. memb.

2. That if Edward and Margaret should die without issue, whereby the kingdom of Scotland shall revert to the next heir, it shall be restored to the people of Scotland, free, independent, and without any subjection; saving the rights of the king of England to the crown of Scotland, in case it devolved to him or his heirs by a lawful succession. 8, 9.

3. That the kingdom of Scotland shall remain separated, divided, and free in itself, without any subjection to, or dependence on England; saving to the king of England and his successors, his right to certain lands in the frontiers, or elsewhere, before the time of this agreement, or any right he should lawfully acquire hereafter.

4. No person holding lands in fee of the king of Scotland, shall be obliged to prosecute any suit out of the kingdom, according to the custom hitherto observed.

5. That all the subjects of the crown of Scotland shall enjoy the same privilege, according to antient custom.

6. That all records, charters, and privileges, or memorials concerning the royal dignity and the kingdom of Scotland, shall be deposited in a place of safety, and not carried out of the realm, under the seals of certain lords, till the queen shall come into the kingdom and have children.

7. That there shall be no subjection made, alienation, or obligation of any thing relating to the kingdom of Scotland, till the queen shall be there in person, and have children alive.

8. That no parliament shall be held out of the kingdom.

To the observation of these articles the king was to swear; and the English commissioners in his name farther engaged, that he should oblige himself and his heirs in a bond of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, to make restitution of the kingdoms in the case aforesaid; and the forfeiture, if incurred, to be paid to the church in aid of the holy war; besides, he consented, that the pope should constrain him and his heirs, by excommunicating them, and interdicting the kingdom of England, as well to the restitution, as payment of the money, if he did not observe it. And it was further agreed, that Edward at his own expence should procure the pope's ratification of the said articles, within the space of one year after the solemnization of the marriage between Edward and Margaret; and, within the same time, the bull was to be delivered to the community of Scotland. The above articles were sealed by the commissioners on the 18th of July, anno 1290; and ratified by king Edward at Northampton, on the 28th of August following. Id. ibid.

On the same day Edward, by the advice of the guardians, nobility, and chief men of Scotland, according to the laws and customs of the kingdom, did, for the peace and good government of the nation, appoint by his commission the bishop of Durham to be lieutenant in Scotland for Margaret and Edward her designed husband: and the said guardians and nobility, together with the commanders of the fe-

veral castles and fortresses of the kingdom, obliged themselves in writing to deliver up the said castles and forts to their queen, and her husband, at their arrival in Scotland.

The whole transactions of this time plainly shew the great care taken by the regents and nobility of Scotland, to prevent their being imposed on, and their country from being enslaved by the English; and hence is evidently shewn, that the kingdom of Scotland was not in the least dependent on that of England.

This was the first scheme for uniting the kingdoms of Scotland and England agreed on by both nations, so reasonably calculated for their good, that had it taken effect, happy would it have been for both kingdoms; but, instead of that, a dreadful war soon after happened, almost to the destruction of both nations, concerning the succession to the crown of Scotland, when the competitors regarding their separate interests more than that of the kingdom, Scotland became the seat of war, and a scene of blood and misery scarce to be paralleled in history.

Rym. Fæder.
tom. ii. p.
1090, 1091.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

However, all things being prepared for the quiet and honourable reception of Margaret the young queen, Sir Michael Scot, and Sir David Weems were, by the regents, appointed ambassadors to Norway, to conduct her hither; and by a letter from the bishop of St. Andrews to king Edward we learn, that he, accompanied by the English ambassadors and many of the nobility, were setting out to receive the queen in Orkney; when, to the inexpressible grief of the people, report was spread of her being dead, which unluckily proving true, it may be presumed to have in some measure been owing to a violent storm which happened; for being then but seven years of age, it might have affected her tender person to such a degree, as to occasion her death, about Michaelmas, in one of the isles of Orkney, into which she was drove by stress of weather, as appears by divers English writers, although Boece and Buchanan say she died in Norway. However, the infant-queen dying in the eighth year of her age, and sixth of her reign, she may be said to have had the crown in view without enjoying it, whereby I am deprived of an opportunity of giving her a character.

INTERREGNUM.

Being now to treat of some of the most destructive and bloody wars that ever happened between Scotland and England, which almost terminated in the destruction of both nations, 'tis necessary to have recourse to the best authorities, to discover the causes thereof. But being unjustly deprived of our own records by Edward I. king of England, who either destroyed them or carried them off, our historians could not have the use of them, therefore could not supply us with any tolerable accounts of the publick affairs then. Wherefore I am obliged to make the English records supply this defect, in which luckily the whole transactions of those times are fully set forth.

Rym. Fæder.
tom. ii. p.
1090.

King Edward, as already hinted, having received advice from the bishop of St. Andrews of a report of queen Margaret's death, and that divers of the Scots nobility began to stir in prosecution of their pretended rights to the crown of Scotland; the bishop entreated him to come to the frontiers, to prevent by his presence the commotions which the queen's death, if true, would occasion in the kingdom.

The

The rumour, which proved too true, no sooner reached Scotland, than it occasioned such commotions as threw the kingdom into a worse condition than ever. For Alexander the late king, though he took care to make the nobility swear to acknowledge Margaret princess of Norway for their queen, yet neglected to settle the succession, in case the princess died without heirs. This greatly embarrassed the choice of a successor, which increasing every day, by the factions formed in favour of the competitors, never was an union amongst the grandees more necessary, nor more impracticable, than at this juncture. For private interest prevailing above that of the country, the partizans, encouraged by the strength they had severally acquired, whether by family ties or otherwise, and without troubling themselves to inquire precisely who had right on his side, proceeded to raise troops in defence of the different pretensions.

The competitors who on this occasion laid claim to the crown, were Eric king of Norway, who demanded it as heir to his daughter the late infant-queen; Florence earl of Holland, Patrick de Dunbar earl of March, William de Vesey, William de Ross, Robert de Pinckney, Nicholas de Soules, Patrick Galightly, Roger de Mandevile, John Comyn, John de Hastings, John de Baliol, and Robert de Bruce. But as to discuss the pretensions of the several claimers would have occasioned a great loss of time, to the manifest danger of the kingdom, it was ordered by the consent of all the competitors, and agreed to by the nobility and prelates of both kingdoms, then present, that the titles of John Baliol and Robert de Bruce should, previous to all the others, be first examined; and afterwards all those of the others, if they thought proper to prosecute their respective claims. Bruce and Baliol, being two of principal families, had besides large possessions abroad, the former having a great estate in England, the latter large domains in France; and both being very powerful in Scotland, their numerous alliances procured them great credit, insomuch that the suffrages of almost the whole kingdom were divided between them.

Rot. Superior. in Reg. Scot. 18 Ed. I. Tur. Lond.

Having thus brought into the field the competitors for the crown of Scotland, for the better understanding the grounds of their titles, 'tis necessary to give some account of the royal family from which they deduce their respective pretensions. Besides, as Baliol and Bruce were the principal candidates, whose claims were judged preferable to those of the rest, most of whom appeared to have been mere pretenders, I shall only speak of those two, and shew whereon they founded their respective demands.

David I. king of Scotland, had but one son, named Henry, who, dying before his father, left three sons, viz. Malcolm IV. his eldest son, surnamed the Maiden, so called from his aversion to matrimony, who died without issue; William, called the Lyon; and David, earl of Huntingdon. William had but one son, namely, Alexander II. who being father to Alexander III. he had by his consort Margaret (daughter to king Henry III. of England, and sister to Edward I.) two sons and one daughter: the sons, Alexander and David, died young, without issue; and Margaret, the daughter, was married to Eric king of Norway; but dying in childbed of her first-born, had only Margaret the late queen, who dying an infant, the race of king William became extinct in her. I must therefore go back to David earl of Huntingdon,

third

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

third son of prince Henry, who, dying without issue male, left three daughters, viz. Margaret, Isabel, and Ada. Margaret, the eldest, was married to Alan, lord of Galloway; Isabel to Robert Bruce, lord of Anandale; and Ada to Henry Hastings, an English lord, from whom all the earls of Huntingdon of that name are descended. Margaret left only two daughters, namely, Devergula or Deverguld, (by Scottish writers called Dornadilla) and Marjory: Deverguld was married to John Baliol, by whom he had a son of his own name, one of the candidates for the crown; and Marjory, who was married to John Comyn, died without issue. Isabel, David's second daughter, who was married to Robert Bruce, had by him a son named Robert, the other candidate for the crown. And Ada, the third daughter, being married to Henry Hastings, had a son by him, named John Hastings, who was likewise a candidate; but being the grandson of earl David's youngest daughter, a title not to be brought in competition with those of Baliol or Bruce, he only put in for a third part of the kingdom, which was rejected.

Here 'tis to be observed, that at the time of queen Margaret's death, the three daughters of David earl of Huntingdon were also deceased; but Deverguld, daughter to Margaret the eldest sister, was still alive, who resigning her right and title to John Baliol her son, he, as descendant from David's eldest daughter, claimed a right to the crown, preferable to all the other candidates. Robert Bruce, on the other hand, being born of Isabel, David's second daughter, alledged, that he was one degree nearer in blood than Baliol, since he was grandson to David; whereas his rival was but grandson to the eldest daughter of the said prince. To which it was answered, That Deverguld, being in the same degree of consanguinity, had a right to succeed, since she was daughter to the eldest sister; whereas Bruce was only son to David's second daughter. To which it was replied, That where the degree in blood is the same, the males ought to be preferred to the females; that this was the law and custom of other nations, for which he brought divers precedents from the histories of other countries. Thus stood the case, which could not be decided without displeasing one half of the kingdom. But, before I proceed, it will not be amiss to subjoin the remarks of a learned and judicious English historian on the transactions of those times, viz.

Ibid.
Rapin, Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 366.

" Here it is that we begin to find disagreement between the English
" and Scotch historians. The latter affirm things were in such a state,
" that it was impossible to find in Scotland impartial judges." And
" adds, " that, supposing such could have been found, it would have
" been very difficult to execute their sentence, by reason of the equa-
" lity of credit and power in both parties. Baliol was lord of the
" county of Galloway, one of the most considerable in the kingdom;
" he was likewise supported by the Comyns, a family of great power
" and interest. Robert Bruce held in England the earldom of Cleve-
" land, and in Scotland those of Anandale and Garioch; moreover,
" by means of his son Robert, who had with his wife the earldom of
" Carrick, he was allied to the most powerful families in Scotland. So
" that, to avoid a civil war, which could not fail to be kindled, both
" parties agreed to refer the decision of this important affair to the
" king of England.

" It was believed all good offices might be expected from him, as
 " well because of the good understanding which had long subsisted 1290.
 " between the two nations, as in return for their ready consent to the
 " marriage of the prince his son with their queen. He was entreated
 " therefore to be judge of this dispute, and to assist the person he
 " should think proper to place on the throne. They add, that Ed- Rym. Fœd.
 " ward accepted the mediation, and came to Norham, where he sum- tom. ii.
 " moned the states of Scotland, protesting, he assembled them not as P. 528, 529.
 " sovereign, but as a friend, that desired them to meet the arbitrator
 " chosen by themselves. But this is a fact denied by the English:
 " they affirm that Edward summoned the states of Scotland to Nor-
 " ham, not as a friend and umpire, but by virtue of his right of so-
 " vereignty over Scotland. They add, the bare consideration of the
 " situation of Norham, a town in England, plainly enough shows,
 " that Edward exercised an act of sovereignty, in assembling the states
 " of Scotland in his own kingdom. The Scots reply, this proof can-
 " not take place, since, upon this very occasion, Edward granted them
 " letters patents, which entirely destroys it. His words are:

" " That he did not intend that the coming of the Scots on this side Id. ibid.
 " the Tweed, should be any prejudice to them; or that, for the fu-
 " ture, upon any account whatever, they should be obliged to come
 " and treat with him on this side the river."

" So express a declaration, which seems to prove that Edward pre-
 " tended not to the sovereignty of Scotland, is indeed only an evidence
 " of his policy or dissimulation, since he certainly designed then to
 " establish the right of sovereignty. Accordingly, when it was once
 " established, he stiled his letters patents a pure concession, which
 " might be, and were actually revoked. In the view this monarch
 " had of causing his sovereignty to be acknowledged by the states of
 " Scotland, as will be seen hereafter, it was by no means proper to
 " alarm the Scots by an act of absolute authority, before the states
 " were assembled. Such a step might have led them to take mea-
 " sures destructive of his designs. It was much more natural, and
 " more advantageous for him, to convene the states first, and
 " lead them by degrees to the acknowledgment he wanted to extort
 " from them: so that probably, when he summoned the states to
 " Norham, he made use of ambiguous and cautious expressions, pro-
 " per to hide his real intention. It was not his interest then to disco-
 " ver it, though he intended to use this same assembly to strengthen
 " his right.

" Buchanan pretends, that, immediately after the young queen's Buchan. Rer.
 " death, Edward formed a project of becoming master of Scotland. Scot. lib. 8.
 " Perhaps he goes too far. It is much more likely his first view was
 " only to cause himself to be acknowledged for sovereign of that
 " kingdom, whether he imagined it his due, or had a mind to im-
 " prove the favourable opportunity of firmly establishing this pretended
 " right. The better to accomplish his design, continues the same
 " historian, he persuaded eight other persons, besides the two above-
 " mentioned, to claim the crown. His intent was, according to this
 " historian, to perplex the affair, that the two chief candidates might
 " see he should not want means to render their titles dubious, in case
 " they were not pliant to his will."

It is now time to come to the decision of this famous process: but, before I proceed, it is requisite to observe, that this affair consists of two heads, viz. the right of succession to the crown of Scotland, and the right of sovereignty claimed by Edward over the kingdom. The former being the most important, as the latter seems to be only an incidental question arising from the other; but by its fatal consequences becoming the main point at last, I shall endeavour to explain it. Besides, 'tis remarkable that the particulars I am going to relate are taken from a journal, or verbal process, inserted amongst the publick transactions of the English nation, which was made by John de Cadam, one of Edward's clerks or notaries. Whatever appears to be much in favour of the king of England, in regard to his claim to the sovereignty of Scotland, must be read with caution.

1291.
Rot. de Superioritate Regis in Scotiam,
18 Ed. I. in
Tur. Lond.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii.
p. 542.

King Edward, having resolved to determine the great controversy concerning the succession to the crown of Scotland, called a parliament to meet at Norham, a small town on the English border, consisting of the nobility, bishops, knights, and other persons of distinction of both kingdoms; who being assembled on the 10th of May, anno 1291, Roger Brabazon, justiciary of England, by order and in presence of Edward told them, That the king of England, considering the great confusion and unsettled state of Scotland, since the death of Alexander their late king, and his children, had required the states to assemble in that place, to lay before them certain matters tending to the welfare and tranquillity of the kingdom: that he intended not to usurp the rights of any one, nor stop the course of justice, nor to infringe the liberties of the Scottish nation; but, as sovereign lord of that kingdom, he was come to do justice to all; and that this should be done with the more ease, as what he claimed could not justly be disputed. He demanded, as his manifest right, that the states would assent to and recognize his superiority and direct dominion over Scotland: and that thereafter he would make use of their counsels, and do what justice and reason required.

The states, extremely surprized at this amazing proposal, required time to consult their absent friends, the barons and bishops, in an affair of that importance. Edward seemed surprized that the states should require time to give in their answer, and said, he had reason to believe they were come prepared for that purpose, since they were not ignorant of his intention; and gave them only the rest of that day to consider of his demand. The day following the states insisted upon a longer time, when Edward granted them three weeks, reckoning from the 10th of May; in which time they were to prepare whatever they had to object to his pretensions, and all the acts and monuments whereby they might think to invalidate his demand to the superiority over Scotland; protesting, he was willing to do them justice, according to law.

And that the states might the better understand the king's title, Edward appointed the bishop of Durham to set it forth to them. The declaration which he made being wholly historical, it was deduced from the chronicles of Marianus Scotus, William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Roger de Hoveden, Henry of Huntingdon, Ralph de Diceto, and Matthew Paris, of the following purport, viz. That the Scots had been conquered by divers of the Saxon kings, to whom many Scottish kings had sworn fealty, done homage, and received

ceived the crown and kingdom from them; and that the Scots had submitted to and been governed by such kings as the Anglo-Saxon monarchs had put over them. That since the conquest the same things had been done, submitted to, and complied with, viz. in the reigns of William I. and II. Henry I. Stephen, Henry II. Richard I. John, and Henry III. On which Tyrrel, in his general history of England, has made the following remark.

“ This is the substance of that declaration, which you may find more at large in the histories of Matthew Westminster, and Thomas Walsingham, which the king then caused to be set forth, to satisfy the clergy and nobility of Scotland. But to speak the truth, though the matters of fact, which are therein, are rightly enough set down; yet there is no mention made of any homage or fealty done by the Scottish kings for the whole kingdom of Scotland, properly so called, which (as I have already shewn) extended anciently no farther than the bridge of Stirling, and which, in the time of king Edgar, was the boundary between the Scottish and Northumbrian kingdoms. But I shall defer saying more upon this subject, having already said so much of it in my Introduction: only this is observable, that whatever authorities are found in our historians against this homage now claimed, there was no notice taken of them in this declaration of king Edward; and there was very good reason for it, because, had they been mentioned, they might have served to ruin the king's pretences to any superiority over that kingdom.”

Tyr. Gen.
Hist. Engl.
vol. iii. p. 63.

And farther, to shew how greatly we are indebted to the great candour of Mr. Tyrrel, who has freed our nation from divers spurious charters still preserved in boxes, kept in a large chest entitled Scotia, amongst the archives in the chapter-house at Westminster, that seem to acknowledge the superiority of the kings of England over Scotland, and the homage due to them on that account; his accounts thereof are as follows:

“ The first of them is a pretended grant or confirmation from David II. king of Scots, to the lords and noblemen of Scotland, of several rights and privileges, with a clause of saving the right of the superiority of the king of England over that kingdom. This bears date in the first year of this David's reign, at a time when there was open war between England and Scotland, and when that king utterly disclaimed any such superiority: so there needs no other proof to demonstrate the forgery of this charter.”

Tyr. Introd.
Hist. Engl.
p. 9.

“ The second instrument is of another like ratification from king Robert I. to the same noblemen, and of the like privileges too; in which is also recited at length a pretended charter of homage, supposed to have been made by Alexander king of Scots to Henry III. of England. This bears date in the first year of king Robert, at a time when the two kingdoms were in perfect peace, and is certainly a forgery.

“ The third is a charter of king Robert II. as is supposed, to the great chamberlain of Scotland; reciting, that whereas he had lately received the homage of the earls and barons of his kingdom, yet it was to be with a salvo of the fealty and homage which they owed the king of England, as superior lord of Scotland. But since neither this king, nor his predecessors of the family of the Bruces, ever acknowledged any such superiority, nor did any such homage,

“ there

Tyr. Introd.
Hist. Engl.
p. 10.

“ there needs no further confutation of this instrument, any more than
“ of the rest. And whereas Dr. Brady, in his history, transcribed a
“ charter of homage, pretended to be made by king David II. to our
“ Edward III. in the ninth year of his reign; since I have in the
“ ensuing volume sufficiently confuted and exposed the spuriousness of
“ that instrument, I shall say no more in this place.

“ But perhaps it may be here inquired, who it was that was so bold
“ as to forge these charters. As for the last mentioned, I cannot just-
“ ly say, only that it was made after that king's time, and perhaps by
“ the same person who forged all the rest. For by an ancient book, in
“ the keeping of the king's remembrancer of the exchequer, there
“ is entered a memorandam, that all the three charters beforemen-
“ tioned were delivered into the exchequer, by indenture between
“ John earl of Shrewsbury, then lord treasurer of England, and John
“ Harding, gentleman, in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of king
“ Henry VI. This Harding was a poet and an historian, and had
“ been sent, not many years before, by that king into Scotland; and
“ had king Robert's letters of safe-conduct for that purpose. And
“ Pitzens tells us, it was in this journey that he pretended to have
“ made himself master of those rare charters, by finding means to
“ steal them away from the place wherein they were kept.

“ This will also serve to confute that false relation in Hall's chro-
“ nicle, concerning the homage done by king James I. to our Henry
“ VI. in the second year of his reign, which that author has set
“ down at large. For though this homage is also recited in the de-
“ claration of war by king Henry VIII. against his nephew James
“ VI. [it should be IV.] of Scotland, printed in the same chronicle, yet
“ it is certainly a forged piece; because, had any such homage been
“ made, there would surely have been some instrument or memoran-
“ dum of it left upon record, concerning so remarkable an action:
“ whereas there is no such thing to be met with; or if there had, it
“ must still have been a forgery, because this king always refused to
“ do any homage to king Henry V. and it is not likely he would do
“ that to his son, then an infant, which he had refused to the father,
“ who was one of the greatest and most warlike princes of his time:
“ nor would the Scots have easily received this king to reign over
“ them, had he done so mean a thing, in their opinion, as to subject
“ the crown of Scotland to that of England, by this supposed
“ homage.

“ And it further appears, that neither king Edward IV. nor Richard
“ III. nor Henry VII. upon the several truces and final peace made
“ with that kingdom, did ever demand or insist upon any such homage.
“ For when king Henry concluded a match between his eldest daugh-
“ ter Margaret and James IV. and also when Henry VIII. made a de-
“ fensive war by his lieutenant the earl of Surrey against that prince,
“ who was slain at Flodden-field, I do not find any homage ever to
“ have been demanded by him, before this declaration of war above-
“ mentioned against king James V. which was in the latter end of
“ Henry's reign.”

Though, according to the time appointed by the king, the next
meeting was to have been held on the first of June; however, I find by
the journal, which I take for my guide, that the bishop of Bath and
Wells, chancellor of England, by the king's order, recited what had
been

been done in the two late assemblies; adding, that the three weeks granted to the states being expired, and that they had neither produced nor alledged any thing to invalidate his right, his intention was to act by virtue of acknowledged sovereignty over the kingdom of Scotland, and as sovereign to do justice to the candidates.

As the above relations require some observations to be made thereon, those of English historians will undoubtedly be of more weight with the reader than my own, by there not being the least room to suspect them of partiality in favour of the Scottish nation; which therefore please to take as followeth:

REMARK. "How good an opinion soever a man may have of the faithfulness of Edward, and the notary that drew up the journal from whence what I have related is taken, he cannot help perceiving there is something wanting here. In the two preceding assemblies, Edward produced his pretensions to the sovereignty of Scotland. The states, far from immediately owning his sovereignty, require time to consult together upon so nice a point. The king grants them three weeks, and that time being expired, in the first meeting, mentioned in the journal, the chancellor of England begins with saying, the states had produced or alledged nothing against the king's pretensions. Ought he not rather to begin with calling upon the states for their answer, which the journal should mention, either by relating their objections or assent, or at least by declaring they had returned no answer, and then the chancellor's speech would come to the purpose?"

Rapin, Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 367.

"But, instead of this, he begins with declaring, that the states having nothing to say against the king's pretensions, and that Edward was resolved to make use of his right. This makes it suspicious either that the account of what passed that day is curtailed, or that the day before there was another assembly, where the states had produced their proofs, but which the author of the journal did not think proper to mention: for it was before observed, that, according to the time fixed by the king, there was to have been an assembly on the first of June; whereas this was not till the second. But I offer this only as a conjecture, on which I do not pretend to establish any thing. The grand difficulty lies in that, after three weeks consultation, it is strange the states of Scotland should have nothing to answer or object to Edward's pretension. It is certain, that hitherto the sovereignty of the crown of England over Scotland had never been so generally acknowledged, that the publick evidence could silence the states. Of this there needs no other proof than the marriage-articles beforementioned, where the Scots had taken so great care to maintain their independence.

"In the second place, the time they took to consult about the king's demand, plainly shows they were not fully persuaded of their subjection to the crown of England. In short, Edward's very precaution in requiring this acknowledgment, testifies that the thing was at least doubtful. It is not customary to act in such a manner, when a man has a known and undeniable right. If it be true then, that the states returned no answer to the king's demand, it must be thought that either they were over-awed, or the two principal candidates united, who prevailed with the states, by secret practices, not to oppose the pretensions of the king of England. Probably they

"were afraid, by this incident, of retarding the decision of the main
"affair."

1292.
Rym. Fœd.
vol. ii. p. 455.

The chancellor having spoken as related in the journal, and taking his master's right for granted, addressed himself to Robert de Bruce, and demanded of him, in presence of the states, whether he would acknowledge the king of England for superior of Scotland, and from him receive justice as such. The journal adds, that the said Robert de Bruce answered openly and expressly, that he acknowledged the king of England for sovereign and direct lord of the kingdom of Scotland; and as superior thereof, would, before and from him, answer and receive judgment, such as he should think proper to pronounce.

The same question being put to Florence earl of Holland, and the lord John Hastings, both made the same answer. After which, Patrick de Dunbar earl of March, William de Ros, Walter de Huntercumbe, William Vesey by his proctor, Robert de Pynkeny, and Nicholas Soules, appeared and demanded to be admitted separately, to prove that the crown of Scotland was devolved to them by right of succession; and the same question being put to them as to the three first, concerning right of superiority, and they having returned the same answer, their petition was admitted. But John Baliol being absent, his gentleman alledging some excuse for his absence, demanded in his name that he might be heard the next day, which was granted. Baliol appearing the next day, was asked the same question as the rest of the candidates, to which he returned the same answer. Then the chancellor in the king's name protested aloud,

"That although the king of England acted on this occasion as sovereign lord of Scotland, he did not intend thereby to depart from
"the hereditary right he might have to the crown of that kingdom
"or to exclude himself as to the property. That he expressly reserved to himself the liberty to prosecute his right, as the rest of
"the candidates, when and how he pleased."

Ibid. p. 546.

The chancellor had no sooner done speaking, than the king repeated the protestation word by word. Then John Comyn lord of Badenoch, asked leave to prove his right to the crown, which being granted, he, like the rest, acknowledged the king of England's superiority over the kingdom of Scotland. Now what concerned Edward being thus settled, the candidates drew up an instrument whereby they acknowledged him sovereign lord of Scotland; of which the following is a copy.

Ibid. p. 555.

"To all those who shall see or hear this present letter. We Florence earl of Holland, Robert de Bruce lord of Anandale, John Baliol lord of Galloway, John Hastings lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn lord of Badenoch, Patrick de Dunbar earl of March, John de Vesey for his father, Nicholas Soules, and William de Ros, greeting in the Lord: Whereas we intend to pursue our right to the kingdom of Scotland, and to declare, challenge, and aver the same before him that has most power, jurisdiction, and reason to try it; and the noble prince Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. having informed us by good and sufficient reasons, that to him belongs the superiority of the kingdom; We therefore promise, that we will hold firm and stable his act or sentence; and that he shall enjoy the realm, to whom it shall be adjudged by him. In witness whereof we have set our seals to this writing, made and granted

“ granted at Norham, the Tuesday after the Ascension, in the year of
“ grace 1291.”

To this I shall add, what the English historians of those times say, concerning the methods used to obtain of the states of Scotland an acknowledgment of the king of England's superiority over their country, viz. upon a recital of the authorities extracted from the chronicles, charters, and papal bulls, there was a certain day fixed for them to return their answer on; and when they seemed dissatisfied and unwilling to comply with the king's demands, he was so enraged, that he swore by St. Edward (the greatest oath he used) that he would lose his life in the prosecution of his just rights; and had all the militia of England then ready to have fallen upon them, and to compel them, if they had denied what he demanded. So that it was no wonder if not only the states of Scotland, but all the competitors for the crown, either through hope or fear, made the abovementioned recognition of king Edward's right to the superiority over Scotland.

Chron. Abing.
Chron. Welt.
Heming.

1292.
Tyrr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 65.

REMARK. Although Robert Bruce appears to have been the first of the candidates that was interrogated concerning the superiority, he nevertheless, without the least hesitation, sacrificed the honour and interest of his country, by acknowledging the king of England for superior of it. This shews what we are told by Buchanan to be false, viz. that Bruce declared, “ He was not so desirous of a crown as to accept it, by abridging the liberties his ancestors had left him;” and therefore his pretensions were set aside by the commissioners appointed to inquire into the titles of the respective competitors. And, on the breach between the two kings, Edward and Baliol, Bruce offered to accept of the crown of Scotland, and to hold it of Edward on the same terms as Baliol had done, as hereafter will appear, but was rejected a second time; and although Bruce, by his first petition, demanded the whole kingdom of Scotland as an indivisible inheritance, yet, with a meanness of spirit scarce to be paralleled, he now petitioned for a third part of the kingdom as his share, by dividing it amongst the three immediate descendants of David earl of Huntingdon's three daughters. But this was likewise justly over-ruled.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

Rym. Foed.
vol. ii. p. 587.

However, though Robert Bruce the father, on this occasion appears to have acted very dishonourably, yet his son Robert Bruce, who afterwards became king of Scotland, made amends for his father's behaviour, by doing all that a great hero and a good man could do for the honour and welfare of his country: and although at that time Scotland was reduced to a very low degree, and her sons, on all sides hemmed in by the mighty power of Edward, durst not maintain her right, yet many English writers sympathizing with us, have transmitted to us the methods used by Edward to enslave the Scottish nation.

This affair being dispatched, the king represented to the competitors, that, by the letters of recognition, he was not sufficiently impowered to put his sentence in execution, to whomsoever the kingdom should be adjudged, unless he himself were in actual possession of it; wherefore he demanded immediate possession, that he might be enabled to deliver it to the person that should be declared king. To which the candidates readily assenting, they, accompanied by many of the states of both kingdoms, attended the king, and gave him possession of the kingdom and castles of Scotland, by a proper instrument, which being somewhat prolix, we shall only give an abstract of it. That “ whereas
“ they

Rym. Foed.
vol. ii. p. 529

“ they had with one assent already granted, that king Edward, as superior lord of Scotland, should give sentence as to their several rights and titles to the crown of Scotland, &c. But as the said king of England cannot put his judgment in full execution to answer effectually, without the possession or seisin of the said country and its castles, we will, grant, and assent, that he, as sovereign lord thereof, to perform the things aforesaid, shall have seisin of all the lands and castles in Scotland, until right be done to the demandants; upon condition that before he be put in possession, he shall give sufficient security to the demandants, and to the guardians and community of the kingdom of Scotland, to restore both it and its castles, with all the royalties, dignities, lordships, franchises, customs, rights, laws, usages, and possessions, with their appurtenances, in the same state and condition they were in when he received them; saving to the king of England the homage of him that shall be king; so as they may be restored within two months after the day the rights shall be determined and affirmed: and that the profits of the nation which shall be received in the mean time, shall be kept in the hands of the chamberlain of Scotland, that now is, and one to be joined with him by the king of England; so as the charge of the government, castles, and officers of the realm may be deducted. In witness whereof, we have set our seals to this writing, made and granted at Norham, on Wednesday after Ascension-day, in the year of grace 1291.”

Ibid. p. 531.

What was done in favour of Edward, was chiefly owing to Baliol and Bruce's assent to the superiority, which drew the whole kingdom after them. For in that time of anarchy and confusion, the regents had but little authority, nor durst they do any thing displeasing either to the king or the two principal candidates, one of whom was in all likelihood to be their king. And when Edward perceived that the states shewed no inclination to favour his pretensions as a candidate for the crown, he consulted them no more in that respect. However, as the states were assembled in England, and in the power of Edward, they could not take such measures in defence of the honour of their country, as if they had been free: so the king met with little opposition from them, or from the governors of the castles, when he took possession of the kingdom. William Umfraville governor of the castles of Dundee and Forfar, was the only person that resisted; for having considered the act aforesaid as very irregular, he could not depend upon it as a warrant sufficient to deliver up the fortresses committed to his trust by no power then in being; he therefore judged it necessary for his indemnification, that the regents, candidates, and Edward himself, should oblige themselves by charter to indemnify him, in case he should be called to an account for giving up the said castles.

Whatever the king's pretensions were in respect to the sovereignty of Scotland, it is certain that it never was acknowledged in Scotland; for the Scots in general regarding the transactions both of the candidates and regents to be the effect of force, looked on their assent as a mere prevarication. At that time it was very difficult to act otherwise; for all the great men were either gained by Edward's promises, or awed by his threats: for his troops at Norham, under colour of guarding the states of Scotland, did not a little contribute to fill them with terror, insomuch that almost every thing he pleased was forced to be done.

The regents, in this time of common calamity, judged it necessary to amuse the people, by shewing them that they were not unmindful of their interest, by demanding of Edward letters patent, declaring, that judgment of the process should be given in Scotland; which being considered by the king as a sort of approbation of his sovereignty, he readily agreed to grant their petition, by commanding the said letters patent to be forthwith dispatched.

This done, the king and his council treated with the states and competitors about the properest measures to proceed in, touching the chusing a king, and settling the state of the nation. Pursuant to which it was agreed by the states, that John Baliol and John Comyn should chuse forty fit persons, and Robert Bruce forty more, (they being the principal candidates) whose names were to be delivered to the king within three days; to whom should be added by Edward twenty-four more; and all these together to be impowered to hear and discuss the rights of the several candidates, and to make report thereof to the king, in order to enable him to give sentence therein, whereby they should be all concluded.

The names of the examiners being given into the assembly on the 5th of June, the next day, the king having ordered them to appoint the time and place of meeting for examination, they unanimously agreed upon Berwick, a town on the northern side of the river Tweed in Scotland, to be the place: but as they could not agree as to the time, Edward appointed the 2d of August following.

On the 11th of June an assembly was held at Norham, wherein the regents of Scotland resigned their patents, and the governors of the castles their commissions; which, after being altered by the king, to shew they governed in his name, he returned them: and the same day Edward appointed Alan, bishop of Caithness, chancellor of Scotland; and, as an associate, joined with him Walter de Hermundesham, one of his clerks.

On the 12th of June orders were issued by the king, to all who held offices in Scotland, to swear fealty to him, which was performed the same day by the new chancellor and his associate; and the competitors, and others present, qualified themselves on the day following, when the convention broke up till the day appointed for holding the meeting at Berwick. During this interval, and the month of July, the nobility and clergy, with the citizens and burgeses of the several cities and boroughs throughout Scotland, swore allegiance to king Edward.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii. p. 557,
558.

Although the assembly at Berwick was not to meet till the 2d of August, Edward, arriving a month sooner, made the following protestation on the 3d day of July, viz. "That although he had granted, that the affair of the succession should be tried in the kingdom of Scotland, he did not intend to bind himself to the same condescension, if the same should happen again, or on any other occasion."

Ibid. p. 567.
572.

The 3d day of August being come, the commissioners, appointed to examine the claims of the several competitors, met at Berwick, in presence of the king, and received the petitions of the several candidates in the following order. Their petitions, containing the grounds of their respective pretensions, were founded on the genealogy of the royal family of Scotland; therefore it is necessary to see the said genealogy,

Ibid. p. 575.

alogy, as set forth by the several competitors, before we can form a judgment of their several rights.

3 Aug. 1292.
Rym. Feod.
tom. ii. p. 575.

Florence, earl of Holland, shewed he was descended from Ada, daughter of prince Henry, and sister of the kings Malcolm IV. and William.

Patrick de Dunbar, earl of March, grounded his claim upon his descent from Ilda, daughter of king William, and sister to Alexander II.

Ibid. p. 576.

William de Vescy declared that he was descended of Margaret, daughter of king William.

Robert de Pynkeny deduced his right from Margaret, daughter of prince Henry, and sister to the kings Malcolm and William.

Ibid. p. 577.

Nicholas de Soules founded his right on being grandson of Alexander II. by Marjory, second daughter of that king, and of the race of Margaret, eldest sister to his mother, who being extinct, the crown was devolved on him as next heir.

Patrick Galythly claimed on his being grandson to king William, by Henry, son of that prince, father of Patrick.

Roger de Mandeville declared his right as being son of Alfrica, daughter of king William.

Ibid. p. 578.

John Hastings insisted, that as the kingdom of Scotland was divisible, it ought to be divided amongst the descendants of the three daughters of David earl of Huntingdon, the youngest whereof was his mother.

Ibid. p. 576.

William de Ros said that he was descended of Isabella, eldest daughter of king William, and sister to Alexander II.

Ibid. p. 577.

John Comyn affirmed his right by being descended from Donald, formerly king of Scotland.

Ibid. p. 578.

John Baliol founded his claim as son of Deverguld, eldest daughter of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David earl of Huntingdon; and king William's family being extinct, she was next heir to the crown, being of opinion that Marjory and Isabella died without issue, though Nicholas de Soules called himself son of the former; and without mentioning Henry, Isabella, Ilda, Margaret, and Alfrica, children of king William, from whom Galythly, Ros, Dunbar, Vescy, and Mandeville declared themselves descendants, he proceeded to the family of David, younger brother to king William. His silence in that respect, gives room to suspect that divers of the competitors had falsely set forth their genealogies, or that those from whom they derived their descents were bastards, otherwise they would have had more right to the crown than that of David; which favours what we are told by Buchanan, that Edward trumped up eight other competitors for the crown, besides Baliol and Bruce, to puzzle the cause.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

Rym. Feod.
tom. ii. p. 579.

Robert Bruce alledged he was a degree nearer than Baliol, since he was grandson to David; whereas his rival was only grandson to his eldest daughter Margaret: and though Deverguld was in the same degree of consanguinity with himself, she could not claim the crown, because it was the custom universally to prefer males before females. And to strengthen his title, he added, that Alexander II. declared him his heir, provided he died without issue, and offered to prove it by living witnesses. And further declared, that Alexander III. regarded him as heir apparent, and often declared him such in presence of his familiar friends.

The several petitions being read, the king, says the journal, willing to give the commissioners time to examine them, appointed the 2d of June, in the following year 1292, for another assembly to meet, wherein the candidates might fully argue their respective claims.

In this interval it will not be amiss to examine the grounds and reasons on which Edward founded his right of sovereignty over Scotland, which are fully set forth in a memorial drawn by his order. This memorial is by English writers frequently said to contain proofs sufficient to justify the rights of sovereignty, immemorially enjoyed by England over Scotland: it will therefore not be amiss to give an abstract of that memorial, for the readers satisfaction.

Proofs alledged by Edward I. to establish the right of sovereignty of the kings of England over Scotland.

In the year 901, Edward the Elder, king of England, conquered the kings of the Scots, Humbrians, and Welsh, as appears by the histories of Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden, and William of Malmesbury.

Rym. Foed.
tom. ii. p. 559.
Mat. Westm.
p. 440, &c.

Anno 921, the kings of the Scots, the Danes, and Welsh, with the Northumbrian English, chose Edward the Elder for their father and lord, and made a strict alliance with him. Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden.

In the year 924, the said Edward reigned over all the inhabitants of Great Britain, viz. English, Scots, Cumbrians, Danes and Britons. Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden.

Anno 926, king Athelstan, son of Edward, overcame Constantine king of Scotland, and compelled him to fly. After the victory Constantine swore fealty to him, and concluded an alliance with him on the 4th of July at Emothe. Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden.

We are told by William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Ralph de Diceto, that Athelstan forced Constantine king of Scotland to quit his crown; and afterwards restored it to him, on condition to hold it of the kings of England, saying, it was more glorious to make kings than to be one.

In the year 934, the said Athelstan vanquished Constantine, who had revolted, and ravaged Scotland as far as Dunferd; and a peace being concluded betwixt them, Constantine gave him his son in hostage, with great presents. Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden, Henry de Huntingdon, and Ralph de Diceto.

Anno 937, Eugenius king of Cumberland, and Constantine king of Scotland, met Athelstan at Dacor, and submitted to his mercy. Athelstan commanded Constantine to get his son baptized, to whom he himself stood godfather. William of Malmesbury.

In the year 940, Athelstan was succeeded by Edmund, who reigned four years, during which the Scots revolted not.

Anno 947, Edred, brother and successor to Edmund, having subdued the Northumbrians, invaded Scotland: the Scots, seized with a pannick, submitted without resistance, and swore the fealty that was due to him, and Edred set over the Scots a king named Yric. Marianus Scotus, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon.

In the year 955, Edwy was king of England after Edred, and reigned four years, during which the Scots did not revolt.

Anno

Anno 997, Edgar king of England having summoned to his court Keneth king of Scotland, Malcolm of Cumberland, and six other kings, he made them row in his barge, which he himself steered. It is affirmed that he, on that occasion, said that his successors might boast of their being really kings of England, since they enjoyed so great a prerogative.

At another time the said Edgar, being informed that Keneth had privately aspersed him, sent for him to his court, and walking with him in the fields, offered him his choice of two swords to fight with him; which being refused by Keneth, he cast himself at Edgar's feet, and begged his pardon, which was readily granted. Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Ralph de Diceto.

During the reigns of Edward the Martyr, Ethelred II. and Edmund Ironside, the Scots did not revolt.

In the year 1017, Canute the Great, in the 15th year of his reign, returned from Rome, when Scotland having revolted, he reduced it with ease, and king Malcolm became his subject. Canute was king of England, Denmark, Norway, and Scotland. Marianus Scotus, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Ralph de Diceto.

It does not appear that the Scots revolted during the reigns of Harold II. and Hardicanute.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor, Siward earl of Northumberland subdued Macbeth king of Scotland, and slew him; and by command of king Edward, placed Malcolm, son of the king of Cumberland, on the throne of Scotland. And we are told by William of Malmesbury, that king Edward gave the kingdom of Scotland to Malcolm, son of the king of Cumberland, to be held of the crown of England.

William the Bastard, or Conqueror, having, in the sixth year of his reign, marched into Scotland, Malcolm met him at Aberneth, where he became his man, and did him homage. Chron. St. Albans. We are further told by the same writer, that king William returned into England, after he had received Malcolm's homage and several hostages.

Malcolm king of Scots having revolted, and ravaged Northumberland, William Rufus, accompanied by his brother Robert, invaded Scotland; and soon after concluded a peace with Malcolm, on condition that he should obey him as he obeyed William his father. Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden. And we are told by Henry of Huntingdon, that Malcolm, being seized with fear, became William's man, that is, did him homage.

The said William Rufus deposed David king of Scotland, and placed Edgar, son of Malcolm, in his stead.

On the demise of Edgar, Alexander I. his brother, succeeded him by consent of Henry king of England. Henry of Huntingdon.

King Stephen having demanded homage of David king of Scotland, who excusing himself on his having taken an oath to Matilda, Henry his son did homage to king Stephen. Marianus Scotus, Henry of Huntingdon, and Roger de Hoveden.

William king of Scotland, David his brother, and the earls and barons of Scotland, did homage to Henry II. king of England, and swore fealty to him.

Anno 1174, William king of Scotland ravaging England, was taken prisoner, and being delivered to king Henry II. he set him at liberty, on condition to do him homage for the kingdom of Scotland.

In the reign of king Richard the Scots did not revolt; on the contrary, William king of Scots came to Canterbury, to do homage to Richard.

And the said William did homage to king John at Lincoln, and swore fealty to him upon the cross of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury. Roger de Hoveden.

The said king John would have made war upon William, for having, without his consent, married his daughter to the earl of Boulogne. This is extant in the chronicle of the monastery of Bridlington. It is also said, in the chronicle of the abbey of Kyngeswode, that William gave his two daughters in hostage to king John.

Henry III. in the 35th year of his reign, came to York, to marry his daughter to Alexander king of Scotland, who did homage to the king of England in that city. The guardianship of the young king and regency of the kingdom were conferred on Robert de Ros and John Baliol, by the advice of the great men of both kingdoms. Chron. St. Albans.

To corroborate the above proofs, Edward brought certain passages extracted from divers charters and bulls, and from a book entituled the Life of St. John of Beverley.

Edgar king of Scotland, in a charter granted to the church of Durham, acknowledged that he held the land of Londoney, and the whole kingdom of Scotland, by the grant of William king of England, his lord.

William king of Scotland, in another charter, grants to John king of England, his dear lord, the power of marrying Alexander his son, prince of Scotland, to whom he pleased: besides, he promises to king John, that, whatever happens, he and prince Alexander his son will be true to Henry son of John, as their sovereign lord.

That pope Gregory IX. in a brief to the barons of Scotland, ordered them to join with the king of England against their own prince, in case the latter broke the treaty made with Henry II.

In another brief the said pope commanded the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Carlisle, to persuade the king of Scotland to keep the treaty.

The said pope, in a letter to the king of Scotland, told him, that as he was liegeman to the king of England, and had sworn fealty to him, he ought not to attempt any thing against him.

The bishop of St. Andrews being dispossessed of his see by the king of Scotland, pope Clement wrote to Henry king of England, requiring him to warn, exhort, and, if necessary, to compel that prince, by the power committed to him, to restore the bishop.

The proof taken from the life of St. John of Beverly, though the author be unknown, is as followeth:

King Athelstan, on his invading Scotland, met certain persons on the road, who were just cured of blindness and lameness by the intercession of St. John of Beverly; whereupon Athelstan resolved to pay his devotions in the church wherein the body of the saint was deposited:

fited: and having said his prayers, left his dagger on the altar, as a pledge to perform what he had promised the saint, provided he returned with victory. Then entering Scotland, St. John appeared to him, and assured him of his assistance. On this assurance, Athelstan attacked the Scots, and obtained a signal victory, subdued the whole kingdom, and stayed in it three years. On his return to England, a huge rock standing in his way, he implored God, through the mediation of St. John of Beverly, to grant him a sign, whereby the people might know that the Scots were justly subdued by the English, and that the conquered nation ought for ever to pay tribute to his successors: then drawing his sword, he struck the rock, which yielded like butter, and made a gash in it an ell deep. Whereupon the author adds, this is a manifest sign that Scotland was subdued by the English.

Edward produced other testimonies, but without naming his authors, to shew that the lords of Galloway had done homage to the kings of England.

In the year 1185, Rolland lord of Galloway submitted to the king of England, fearing, as it is presumed, says the author, the power of that monarch, who was advancing with a great army to make war upon him.

Henry II. king of England, having received homage of David, brother to king William, and of Alan of Galloway, returned to his dominions.

In the twenty-second year of Henry II. Gilbert, son of Fergus lord of Galloway, came with the king of Scotland into England, where he became liegeman of Henry the father, and swore fealty to him; and, to gain his good-will, gave him a thousand marks of silver, and his son Duncan in hostage.

The above are the proofs brought by king Edward to justify his right to the sovereignty of Scotland, which though they pass for certain amongst divers English writers, and that Edward by them effectually proved his superiority over the kingdom of Scotland; yet as other English writers are of a different opinion, I shall subjoin the remarks made on the aforesaid proofs by one of the said English writers, which are as followeth:

Rapin, Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
edit. 1732.
p. 370.

“ Certainly there is reason to think it strange, that the Scots should
“ find nothing to object to these proofs, the greatest part whereof are
“ very weak, not to say entirely trifling. But it must be considered
“ they were in England over-awed by the presence of the king; and
“ that Bruce and Baliol, who were in great credit, did all that lay in
“ their power to prevent any incidents that might retard the decision
“ of the main affair. However, since Edward supported his preten-
“ sions by the proofs set forth in the memorial, and the homage re-
“ quired of the kings of Scotland was the sole cause of the war which
“ was afterwards kindled between the two nations, it will not be
“ needless to clear this matter a little, by adding what the Scots might
“ have alledged against the proofs, if powerful motives had not in-
“ duced them to keep silence, and what they actually did object, in
“ more favourable circumstances.

1. “ In the first place, they might say it was necessary to distinguish
“ two things, which Edward affected to confound in this memorial;
“ namely, the superiority of the forces of the kings of England, and
“ their

“ their frequent advantages over the Scots, from the pretended acknowledgment made by the kings of Scotland, that they held their crown of the kings of England. The latter was the main point in dispute, and yet the proofs alledged in the memorial chiefly relate to the former.

2. “ The business was not to prove in general, that the kings of Scotland were frequently constrained to make disadvantageous treaties, and afterwards swear to them: the acts themselves should have been produced, and shewn to contain an express acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the kings of England over Scotland. It was farther necessary to prove the continuation of this acknowledgment, by the homages of the kings of Scotland, upon every new accession to the thrones of both kingdoms, according to the constant custom practised by vassals for many ages since. But this was not done by Edward.

3. “ When Edgar king of Scotland owned, in his charter to the church of Durham, that he held his kingdom of William Rufus, that acknowledgment did not import a confession, that the crown of Scotland depended on that of England: it was only a declaration, that by the assistance of the king of England he had mounted the throne of Scotland, seized by an usurper, as appears in the history.

4. “ This same charter, one of Edward’s principal proofs, is affirmed to be a forgery by Scotch writers; and opposed with such chronological arguments, as seem to demand our assent. Anderson’s Essay, p. 86.

5. “ As to what passed between Henry II. and William king of Scotland, it is very true, William did full homage for his whole kingdom; but it is no less certain it was in consequence of a treaty, where that homage was expressly stipulated for the captive king’s liberty: and therefore it is evident he was not subject to it before, since there was need of binding him to it by a treaty. And this is what would never have been thought of, unless the war had been undertaken on account of that homage, which is not fact. Besides, this homage, which was only a consequence of William’s captivity, was not continued by his successors, since Richard, son of Henry, entirely renounced it, as we have seen in the reign of that prince.

6. “ As for the rest of the proofs, which are much weaker, they are not only taken from English writers, or subjects of England, who, for the most part, lived long after the events they relate, but are founded on certain expressions, which do not bear the sense contended for by Edward.

7. “ Had Edward, no other proofs to alledge, but the testimonies of some partial historians? Why did he not produce the homages of the ancient kings of Scotland, as he did that of William to Henry II.? If the thing had been only to prove the homage for the earldom of Huntingdon, he would have had no occasion to rummage the historians; his own records would have supplied him with proofs. What is the reason then, that it was more difficult to preserve the homages for the kingdom of Scotland? If the king of France could have proved his sovereignty over Guienne, and the earldom of Ponthieu, only by passages taken from French authors, there is room to question whether Edward would have submitted to do him homage for these two provinces.

8. “ The Scots might alledge, that when Henry III. demanded the king of Scotland’s assistance against the earl of Leicester, he owned,

“ in exprefs terms, that the affiftance was given him out of friend-
 “ fhip, and not out of duty.

9. “ The fame Henry would have Alexander III. his fon-in-law,
 “ do homage for the kingdom of Scotland; but Alexander refufed it,
 “ and would only do it for the lands he held in England.

10. “ Edward himfelf, being defirous that the fame Alexander III.
 “ his brother-in-law, fhould affift at his coronation, gave him letters
 “ patent, acknowledging that the prefence of that prince was not of
 “ duty, and that he affifted at the folemnity only out of friendfhip,
 “ and to do him honour, without being any ways obliged thereto.”

11. “ When the fame Alexander did homage to Edward, he made
 “ an authentick declaration, that he did not mean to do homage for
 “ the kingdom of Scotland, but only for the lands he held in Eng-
 “ land; and his homage was received with that limitation.

12. “ The Scots might fay farther, their homage done for the lands
 “ in England, though paid by a Scotch king, had no manner of rela-
 “ tion to the kingdom of Scotland. In like manner the king of Eng-
 “ land, in doing homage to the king of France, did not intend to
 “ make the kingdom of England depend on the crown of France, but
 “ only to acknowledge the dependency of the lands they held in that
 “ kingdom.

13. “ Laftly, homage was frequently paid for penfions: for in-
 “ ftance, the earls of Flanders did it to the kings of England upon that
 “ account; as did the earl of Savoy for a penfion of two hundred
 “ marks. So that barely to fhew that the kings of Scotland did
 “ homage to the kings of England, was no proof of the point in quef-
 “ tion. It fhould have been proved that thofe homages were for the
 “ kingdom of Scotland, either by letters patent of the kings of Scot-
 “ land themfelves, or by the instruments of the homages, well attested,
 “ according to the ufual cuftom. But Edward produced no other act
 “ but that of William’s forced homage, renounced by Richard.

“ As to the paffages extracted from the papal bulls, they could
 “ amount to no proof, fince the Scots did not deny that their kings
 “ were vaffals to England for the earldom of Huntingdon, and other
 “ lands on the frontiers; but they denied them to be fo for the king-
 “ dom of Scotland, which the bulls did not affirm.

“ I fay nothing of the extract taken from the life of St. John of
 “ Beverly, fince there is reason to doubt that Edward ferioufly in-
 “ tended to draw a proof from fo ill attested, or rather fo ridiculous
 “ a miracle, and from a hiftory whose author is unknown.”

The above judicious remarks, I think, are fufficient to demonftrate
 that Scotland never was in vaffalage to the crown of England.

Although the ftates were filently obliged to fubmit to the ambitious
 views of Edward, who, at the expence of honour and truth, obtained
 his ends of a helpless nation, involved in mifery and diftrefs; yet the
 iniquitous proceedings of Edward did not go long unpunifhed, but were
 foon after retaliated on his fon Edward II. and his countrymen, at the
 battle of Banockburn, where the king narrowly efaped, and moft of
 his nobility were either killed or taken prifoners, befides fifty thoufand
 private men flain, and a vaft number taken prifoners.

Let us return to our hiftory, and decifion of the fucceffion. The
 12th of June, the day appointed by Edward, being come, all the com-
 petitors, with the eighty examiners, met at Berwick on the river
 Tweed,

Boet. Hift.
 Scot. lib. 14.

1292.
 Rym. Fæd:
 tom. ii.
 p. 580, 581.

Tweed, in presence of Edward. In the first meeting, Eric king of Norway's ambassadors demanded the crown for their master, as heir to his daughter Margaret, the late queen. After the ambassadors had recognized the king of England's superiority and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, their petition was read, with those of the rest of the candidates. The commissioners began to examine them; but Edward, says the journal, considering that the examination of all would be very tedious, and consequently prejudicial to Scotland, moved, that the rights and titles of the principal competitors, John Baliol and Robert Bruce, should first be discussed; which being approved, the first question was, by what law or custom judgment was to be given? The king, willing to have the previous advice of the delegates, these, after considering it, could not agree in deciding the point; and, after long debates, told Edward they could not advise him, without further deliberation, and desired him to add the twenty-four English commissioners, according to agreement. However, this expedient not promoting the decision, the English commissioners acquainted the king, that the Scots were divided in opinion concerning their own laws, and that it was a very difficult matter to settle this affair; adding, they durst not themselves, for that reason, advise him upon so nice a query. These considerations induced Edward to grant them a longer time, and to appoint the 14th day of October for the next assembly; and told them, that he would summon some of the wisest and discreetest men in England to be present; and that, in the interim, he would dispatch messengers to the most learned men abroad, for their advice in this affair.

Rym. Fœder.
tom. ii. p. 581.
Octob. 13, 14.

The commissioners meeting on the day appointed, Edward put to them the following queries: 1. "By what laws and customs judgment was to be given?" 2. "How he should proceed, in case the customs of England and Scotland prove uncertain or opposite?" 3. "Whether judgment was to be given concerning the kingdom of Scotland, otherwise than concerning earldoms, baronies, and other fees held of the crown of England?"

The time granted by the king had given new light to the auditors; for although they could not agree upon the first question in the month of August, they were unanimous therein in the month of October following. To the first question they answered, "That were there any laws or customs in Edward's dominions, he ought to proceed by them." To the second, "That in his territories there was no certain law touching the matter in dispute, he might therefore make one." And to the third, "The king of Scotland was to be judged in the same manner as other indivisible fees." By these preliminary queries, 'tis no difficult matter to see that they only tended, as is plain from the answers, to establish Edward's right of sovereignty; a right he constantly supposed, without admitting a contradiction.

Upon these decisions the king ordered Bruce and Baliol to be called, and asked them, whether they had any thing farther to say, to corroborate the reasons set forth by them in their several petitions. They replied, they had some things by word of mouth to add, concerning the same, and Robert Bruce began as followeth: 1. "That the succession of a crown ought to be settled by the right whereby kings reign, and not by the laws common to subjects; and according to natural right, the nearest ought to succeed. 2. That for the same reasons,

“ reasons, although private inheritances are divisible, and the eldest
 “ had some privileges by the laws observed amongst subjects; yet it
 “ was not so in respect to a kingdom, to which the next heir ought to
 “ succeed, without a division. 3. He maintained, that in Scotland
 “ the crown had been adjudged to the collateral branch, preferably to
 “ the direct, and the succession in the family of the eldest was not
 “ established so as to be prejudicial to him, since in that very kingdom
 “ brothers had been preferred to sons. 4. He took it for granted,
 “ that though he was in the same degree with Deverguld, he ought
 “ nevertheless to succeed, as being the next male heir.”

Rym. Fœd.
 tom. ii.
 p. 583.

John Baliol, answering in his turn, grounded his right on the genealogy of the royal family, by shewing, “ That he was descended
 “ from the eldest daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, whereas
 “ Robert Bruce only came from the second.” And, in replying to the reasons of his competitor, he asserted, “ That the custom of England, as well as that of Scotland, was, that the descendant of the
 “ eldest daughter, though more remote, was preferable to the nearer
 “ coming from the younger.” And to what Bruce said as to natural right, and the right of kings, he answered, “ It belonged to the king
 “ of England to decide that, as immemorial sovereign and direct lord
 “ of the kingdom of Scotland.” And as to the instances produced by Robert of brethren being preferred to sons, he affirmed, “ It was
 “ never done in Scotland, but in times of usurpation and violence:
 “ that when such things happened, the kings of England, as sovereigns, rectified it, by placing the son on the throne.” And to prove his assertion, alledged the example of Edgar, whom William Rufus put in possession of the crown usurped by Donald. Lastly, he maintained, “ That, supposing what Robert advanced was true, it
 “ could be no advantage to him, though it appeared that sometimes
 “ the nearer was excluded, to make room for a brother, instead of a
 “ son.” But as it would be too tedious to recite the arguments, answers, and replies on both sides, this will suffice to shew the grounds of their several pretensions to the crown of Scotland.

Ibid. p. 586.

The affair thus cleared, and the reasons of the principal candidates examined by the auditors, Edward put the following queries to the commissioners: 1. “ Whether the more remote by one degree in succession, coming from the eldest sister, ought, according to the laws
 “ and customs of both kingdoms, to exclude the nearer by one degree
 “ coming from the second sister? 2. Or whether the nearer by one
 “ degree, descending from the second sister, ought, by the laws and
 “ customs of these kingdoms, to exclude the more remote by a degree
 “ coming from the eldest sister?” To these queries the auditors unanimously answered, “ That, according to the laws and customs of
 “ both kingdoms, the descendants of the eldest daughter were to be
 “ preferred.” Wherefore it may justly be asked, to what purpose was the discussion of the preliminary queries, since the laws of both kingdoms were so expressly in favour of the principal candidates, if, as has been already observed, they had not been subservient to Edward's private interests? So, notwithstanding the delegates formal decision, the king, to shew that he acted without passion or partiality, caused the same question to be debated over again in his presence, and appointed the 6th day of November following to pronounce sentence in that affair.

The day appointed being come, Edward solemnly pronounced, That Robert Bruce's pretensions being ill grounded, he had not a legal title to the crown of Scotland: but as the exclusion of Bruce did not imply the admission of Baliol, since there were other competitors, the king ordered the commissioners to hear the other candidates. Bruce, finding himself excluded by Edward's sentence, declared he had another right to prosecute, which being his pretensions to part of the kingdom, he presented his petition for that end.

The affair between Baliol and Bruce being ended, John Hastings asserted, that Scotland, being a fee of England, has no more privileges than other fees which are divisible; from which he inferred, that the kingdom of Scotland ought to be divided amongst the three daughters of David earl of Huntingdon, the youngest of whom was his mother. In this he was seconded by Robert Bruce, although he had formerly acknowledged its indivisibility. Upon this, Edward put the following queries to the auditors: 1. "Whether the kingdom of Scotland was a divisible fee? 2. If not, whether the escheats and acquisitions made by the kings of Scotland were to follow the law of common inheritances?" To which the king's council and examiners unanimously answered, "That the kingdom of Scotland was an indivisible fee, and the king's acquisitions in that country, the moment they came into his hands, ceased to be divisible."

The affair thus decided, the king appointed the 17th of November to give sentence. The auditors having met at the time and place prefixed, Edward ordered all the candidates to be asked, what they had farther to say in defence of their rights. The ambassadors of Norway, Florence earl of Holland, William de Vesey, Patrick de Dunbar, William de Ros, Robert de Pynkeny, Nicholas de Soules, and Patrick Gylathly, declared they did not intend to prosecute their claims any farther, and withdrew their petitions: whereupon the king gave sentence, that they neither had right nor pretension to the crown of Scotland. John Comyn and Roger de Mandeville not appearing to make good their claims, they were likewise rejected. Then Edward declared, that neither John Hastings nor Robert Bruce had any right to two third parts of the kingdom claimed by them, as descendants from Isabel and Ada, second and third daughters of David earl of Huntingdon, seeing Scotland was not divisible.

All the other competitors being set aside, Baliol was the only person who had a right to the crown of Scotland; therefore Edward judged it necessary that he should be put into possession of the kingdom, reserving to himself and successors a right to prosecute their pretensions to that kingdom, whenever they thought proper. Then Edward addressed himself to the new king, saying, that he should take care to govern his people in such a manner, that for want of justice, or other defect, he should not oblige his sovereign to use his right to redress their grievances. Then he appointed the Thursday following for him to swear fealty, and the Christmas-day after to do his homage at Newcastle upon Tyne.

But, before I proceed, I think it will not be amiss to acquaint the reader, that there are certain curious and judicious remarks made by an English historian, concerning the transactions between the Scottish and English nations, touching the sovereignty over Scotland, usurped by

Rym. Fœder.
tom. ii. p.
587.

Ibid. p. 588.

Ibid. p. 589.

Rapin, Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 372, 373.

by Edward I. king of England, which I cannot do better than subjoin, for the information of the curious reader, and are as follow:

“ After seeing in what manner the journal, made by Edward’s order, relates what passed in the judgment of this famous process, it is but reasonable to hear the Scots in their turn, and to lay before the reader what they say upon this matter. They pretend Edward acted very unjustly in the whole course of this affair, and that his conduct was a continued series of artifice, corruption, and violence: that, indeed, he had before some pretension to the sovereignty of Scotland, but it was so ill-grounded, that he would never have thought of prosecuting it, if the states of the kingdom had not furnished him with an opportunity: that being chosen judge, or rather umpire, of the difference between the candidates, he abused that trust to serve his own interests, at the expence of the liberty of the Scots.

“ They agree to the facts related in the journal; but affirm, that by promises and threats he privately engaged the commissioners blindly to follow his directions. They add, that his chief aim being to make the person, who should be declared king of Scotland, vassal of the crown of England, he intimated to the two competitors, that they had nothing to hope for, unless they would first own him for sovereign of the kingdom. To engage them, say they, to this acknowledgment, he himself raised up all the other candidates, who entirely depended upon him, on purpose to breed difficulties, which might convince Bruce and Baliol how much they needed his favour. It is not to be thought strange, that the competitors should be ready to do whatever he desired: the two principal ones were afraid their opposition would deprive them of the crown, and the rest put in their claims only in obedience to his orders, or for his pleasure. ’Tis further affirmed, that before the pretensions of the parties came to be examined, Edward had resolved to give the crown to Baliol, who was of an inferior genius to Bruce, and of less credit in the kingdom.

“ Buchanan says, upon this occasion, that Edward offered the crown first to Bruce, if he would promise to do him homage; and upon his refusing it upon that condition, Edward turned to Baliol, who immediately accepted his offer. And from the invincible argument, which the English pretend to infer from Robert’s consent and hand to the acts and declarations made by the candidates, before they presented their petitions, the Scots reply, it was not impossible but Robert might at first refuse the crown on the condition required; and afterwards perceiving how detrimental his refusal might be to him, was induced to comply. It is true, he did not much promote his cause by that means, since his refusal made a deeper impression on Edward than his compliance could afterwards do. They add, it is impossible to help seeing in the journal itself, made by Edward’s order, that notwithstanding the great show of impartiality throughout, that prince favoured the cause of Baliol. In the first place, the arguments of Robert Bruce are very much abridged, and may be said to be disadvantageously set forth. In the next place, immediately after Robert’s exclusion, all the rest of the competitors, except Baliol, relinquished their pretensions, even to the ambassadors of Norway, who, very likely, had private orders, as directed by Edward.

ward. Indeed, one cannot tell why the exclusion of Bruce should so affect the other candidates, as to oblige them to withdraw their petitions.

But it is easily perceived they were no longer necessary to the king's designs, after the judgment against Bruce. This plainly discovers the reason why Edward would have the examiners begin with discussing the rights of Bruce and Baliol, because, when that business should be decided, he had no farther need of the others. The affected absence of Baliol is likewise observed, on the day that the competitors acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of England, that he might not be afterwards reproached, when he should be on the throne; for, being the first to introduce that innovation, he intended to create a belief that he only followed those that went before him. It is affirmed, that Edward was more apprehensive of Bruce than of Baliol; and, in the whole course of this procedure, had ever a view to his own interest. The sole end of all his proceedings, say they, was to establish a right, which he could never have supported at any other juncture, and which belonged not to him. If this right had been incontestable, to what purpose did he take so many precautions to establish it? To what end so many acknowledgments and oaths required from some private persons, when the states of Scotland, if the journal may be credited, alledged not the least objection to his pretensions? Why such a heap of arguments, most of which proofs are so weak, to cause a sovereignty (according to him not disputed) to be acknowledged.

If the states of Scotland made no reply to Edward's first proposition, it is easy to see it must have been from a motive of fear. Besides, it could not be inferred from their silence that they acknowledged this sovereignty, since they had never before made the like recognition. If by their silence they intended to give their approbation to Edward's pretensions, whence is it that he required not from them an authentick declaration, as well as from the candidates? Was it their business to decide so important a question, and not rather the states, then actually assembled? In short, it sufficiently appeared afterwards, that the sentiments of the people of Scotland were not agreeable to the declaration of the candidates, since they embraced the first opportunity to shake off the yoke imposed upon them.

I shall add here, in favour of the Scots, that the collection of the publick acts affords a strong proof, that the kings of Scotland never did homage for the whole kingdom, if we except that of William to Henry II. We find in the collection, that Edward's high chamberlain demanding of Baliol the fees due from the vassals when they did homage, there was no precedent to be found. So that Edward, in his parliament held at Westminster in the year 1292, was forced to fix them himself at 20*l.* sterling, which was double the sum paid by an earl on the like occasion. What likelihood is there, that the fees should not be settled before, in case this homage had been done so often as Edward pretended.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii. p. 600.

I have hitherto related the manner wherein the English and Scots talk of what passed in the judgment of this famous process, as well concerning the crown itself, as the sovereignty claimed by Edward.

Rapin, Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 373.

“ But, for the entire clearing of this matter, it will not be needless
 “ to make some further remarks.

“ In the first place, it appears by Edward's whole conduct, that his
 “ intent at first was not to become master of Scotland, as Buchanan
 “ charges him with, but only to render that kingdom dependent on
 “ England. In this he did but follow the steps of most of his pre-
 “ decessors, not to mention the Saxon and first Norman kings. Henry
 “ II. had no sooner king William in his power, but he took advan-
 “ tage of that prince's misfortune, to oblige him to do homage for
 “ his kingdom. Henry III. father of Edward, would fain have ex-
 “ torted the same thing from Alexander III. but could not possibly
 “ succeed. It cannot therefore be inferred from Edward's first pro-
 “ ceedings, that he had formed the project of making himself master
 “ of Scotland, since he required only the direct dominion, without
 “ ever insisting on the possession, concerning which he was satisfied
 “ with making a bare declaration.

“ If he had designed any such thing, he might easily have found
 “ plausible pretences to place English garrisons and governors, at his
 “ devotion, in the places that were put into his hands. He might
 “ have alledged, that all the Scots being engaged to some one of the
 “ candidates, the custody of the castles could not be trusted to persons
 “ of their nation, without exposing the kingdom to the danger of a
 “ civil war. But, instead of securing by that means the possession of
 “ the kingdom, he confirmed all the governors, and contented himself
 “ with receiving their oaths: a precaution that a prince of his abilities
 “ would doubtless have thought insufficient, had he had ill designs.
 “ To this may be added, that, if he had formed the project he is
 “ charged with, he would have found a fair opportunity to put it in
 “ practice, by dividing the kingdom between the descendants of Da-
 “ vid's three daughters. By that division, he would have weakened
 “ the forces of the Scots; whereas he kept them united, in adjudging
 “ the crown to a single person.

“ But, on the other hand, it can hardly be denied that he meant
 “ to take advantage of this favourable juncture to establish his sove-
 “ reignty over Scotland, and so accomplish the project formed, but
 “ never fully executed, by his ancestors. It is difficult to judge whe-
 “ ther he himself believed he had a lawful right, or, considering the
 “ circumstances of Scotland, was willing to embrace the opportunity
 “ to establish a new one. The last seems most likely; though men
 “ but too frequently suffer themselves to be prepossessed in favour of
 “ what is their interest. And, indeed, to fetch proofs from histories
 “ compiled by Englishmen, to shew that Scotland was dependent upon
 “ England, was a plain confession that Edward had no better to pro-
 “ duce. Certainly, an homage like this ought to have been evinced
 “ by more authentick proofs. One can hardly believe, if the king-
 “ dom of Scotland had been immemorially dependent on England,
 “ without any interruption, as he pretended to prove, there could be
 “ found in the sovereign's archives but one single homage in form,
 “ done by the kings of Scotland: probably therefore, without being
 “ thoroughly convinced of his right, he had a mind, in order to
 “ establish it fully, to improve the advantage which the circumstances
 “ of Scotland afforded him, well knowing there could be no opposi-
 “ tion, since the two leading men had so much reason to cultivate
 “ his

“ his friendship ; but I question whether the acquiescence of the Scots
 “ was sufficient to acquire him new right. However, methinks there
 “ is no justifying this prince, who, by an ill-grounded ambition, kin-
 “ dled between the two nations of Great Britain a war, which caused
 “ torrents of blood to be spilt on both sides. And, if the event is of
 “ any account in affairs of this nature, the sequel of the history will
 “ shew, that though at first God favoured Edward’s designs, he per-
 “ mitted the projects of the English to come to nothing at last.”

JOHN.

The process being over, and John Baliol declared king, Edward A. D. 1292¹ gave orders to put him in possession of the crown; the writ or seisin whereof, which was dated at Berwick upon Tweed, the 19th of November, was directed to William and Robert, bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, John Comyn, James high steward of Scotland, and Bryan Fitz-alan, guardians of the kingdom, to give him possession thereof, with its appurtenances; and the day after, Edward being at Norham in Northumberland, John swore fealty to him as his sovereign or superior lord, and gave him letters patents thereon, of the following tenor :

“ I John de Baliol, king of Scots, do, by these presents, promise Rym. Fœd.
 “ truly and faithfully to serve our lord Edward, by the grace of God, tom. ii. p. 591.
 “ king of England, and superior lord of the kingdom of Scotland,
 “ with life and limb, and true honour, against all men, for the king-
 “ dom of Scotland. So help me God, and his holy gospels.”

This was no sooner performed, than John repaired to Scone in Scotland; where, on the 30th of November, he was crowned with the usual formalities, all the Scottish nobility swearing to him, except Robert Bruce, who was absent. This was no sooner done than he set out for Newcastle upon Tyne in England, where, on the 26th of December, he did homage to Edward in the form following :

“ My lord Edward, king of England, superior lord of the king- Ibid. p. 595.
 “ dom of Scotland, I John de Baliol, king of Scotland, being your
 “ liegeman for the whole kingdom of Scotland, with its appurtenances,
 “ which kingdom I claim and hold, and of right ought to hold, for
 “ me and my heirs kings of Scotland, hereditarily of you and your
 “ heirs kings of England, and shall bear faith to you and your heirs
 “ kings of England, of life and limb, and terrene honour, against all
 “ men that may live and die.”

The said letters patents, of the above date, were attested by sixteen bishops, the judges, and greatest men of England, with twenty of the principal men of Scotland, who, at Edward’s desire, affixed their seals to it.

Although matters now seemed to be well settled between Edward and his new feudatories, the king and people of Scotland, yet it did not last long; for, within the space of four days after the homage was performed, Roger Bartholomew, a burgher of Berwick upon Tweed, Ibid. p. 596.
 complained to Edward of an injury done him by certain of his officers in Scotland. This complaint was by Edward referred to his judges in these parts, (amongst whom was Roger Brabazon, chief justice of the king’s bench) strictly enjoining them quickly to decide that affair, according to the laws and customs of England. On this occasion a petition was presented to the judges, and others of Edward’s council, in the name and by the order of John, by William bishop of St. Andrews,
 John

John earl of Buchan, Patrick de Graham, Thomas Randolph, and other persons of distinction; setting forth, "That the king of England, as superior lord of Scotland, had engaged to the Scottish nobility and prelates, that he would observe the laws and customs of Scotland, and that the pleas of things done therein should not be drawn out of it; wherefore they besought the king of England and his council, in the name of their king, that he would please to observe his promise, and command his officers to do the same."

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii. p. 596.

To which Brabazon, the chief justice, answered, "That their petition was needless; for it was manifest to the whole kingdom, that king Edward had performed all his promises. And as to the complaints concerning his judges and officers, deputed by him as superior and direct lord of Scotland, the cognizance of all complaints, concerning the representatives of his person, belonged only to him." Adding, "That if the king of England had made any such promises, they were only temporary, when there was no king, and had been fulfilled, therefore could not be obligatory." And to shew that these promises were not to be depended on, Edward protested, in the presence of the nobility and prelates of both kingdoms then assembled, "That notwithstanding of those temporary promises and concessions, he did not take himself to be bound by them, his protestations otherwise made being still in force: and that he intended to receive and hear all complaints whatsoever, and all other business touching the kingdom of Scotland and its inhabitants, by virtue of his superiority and direct dominion, which he had, and of right ought to have, over the same, as his predecessors formerly had, when they came before them; and as for his part, he was resolved to determine the said complaints when and where he pleased."

Ibid. p. 597.

This declaration was soon after repeated by Edward in his chamber before king John, and many of the nobility of both nations: adding, "he would call the king of Scotland himself to appear before him in England, whenever he thought proper." Edward's warmth on this occasion stopped the mouth of John, who, being in his power, judged it not fit to answer. But Edward, not contented with this, two days after, forced John, by his letters patents, to renounce for himself and successors all the promises, concessions, obligations, agreements, and ratifications made by the king of England during the vacancy of the throne of Scotland; amongst which was the grant made at Northampton on the 28th day of August, anno 1293, in which the promises and grants set forth in the petition were contained, with an acknowledgment that they had been performed, when the kingdom was delivered to John. This acquittance or release, which was under John's own seal, and attested by many of the principal nobility and prelates of the kingdom, is dated the 2d of January 1293.

Ibid. p. 605,
606.

Soon after Edward had another opportunity given him to abase his new vassal, king John, by one Mason, a merchant of Gascony, who presented a petition to him, setting forth, that Alexander III. late king of Scotland, was indebted to him in the sum of 2197*l.* 8*s.* sterling still due, notwithstanding his numerous solicitations to the new king for payment. Edward, as sovereign of Scotland, eagerly embracing the opportunity, summoned John to appear before him at Westminster the day following the Ascension, to answer in person Mason's complaint. The summons is dated at Kirkby, March 1st.

Edward, catching at every thing that offered to dishonour and distress his new feudatory John, received at Berwick upon Tweed, from Macduff earl of Fife, an appeal against king John, for the recovery of certain lands. The case was this: when Edward was last at Berwick, he commanded William bishop of St. Andrews, and his fellow guardians of Scotland, to do justice to Macduff, concerning his land and tenements of Rercy and Crey, of which he had been disseised by the bishop, as immediate guardian of the county of Fife; which he had again recovered possession of, by judgment of the other wardens. These orders being executed during Edward's stay in Scotland, and before Baliol's coronation; in the first parliament held at Scone, Macduff was accused of unjustly taking possession of those lands, the custody whereof belonged to the king. This seems to accuse him of too much eagerness in applying to the king of England, without waiting till there was a king on the throne of Scotland. Be that as it will, he was again disseised of the said lands, and imprisoned by order of the parliament for the said offence. Edward, to lose no time in punishing John for his seeming contempt, caused a writ to be delivered to the sheriff of Northumberland, to summon him to appear before him, in what place of England soever he should be, the day before Trinity, to answer Macduff's complaint. But John not appearing according to the summons, Edward directed a second writ to be sent to the said sheriff, to summon him again to appear before him in his parliament, to be held at Westminster, fifteen days after Michaelmas.

Rymer. Fœ-
dera, tom. ii.
p. 604.

John, in obedience to the second writ of summons, attended Edward and his parliament at the time and place prefixed, and denied all contempt of his lord the king; and said, he had no day to answer. Macduff replied, that the day appointed for him to answer on was mentioned in the king's writ, delivered to him at Stirling by the sheriff of Northumberland on the 2d of August last. And being asked whether he received it, he acknowledged he did; and being urged to answer, he told them, "That as he was king of Scotland, he durst not answer either Macduff's or any other complaint, which affected his kingdom, without consulting his people in that respect." Whereupon Macduff demanded judgment against him, as pleading nothing to the purpose. But being told by Edward, that John was his liegeman, who had sworn fealty to him, and done homage for the kingdom of Scotland, and was come hither to answer or declare why he would not, he returned for answer as before. And being told he might require longer time, John declared he would not. Whereupon it was agreed, that, as principal, the plea belonged to the king; and John making no defence, would require no other day, nor shew cause why he would not answer, which was judged a contempt and disobedience in him, and an elusion of the king's jurisdiction and superiority; for which three of his principal castles were seized into the king's hands, viz. those of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, to remain in king Edward's possession till satisfaction should be given.

Ryley, Placit.
Parl. fol. 158.

But, some time before the sentence was to have been pronounced, John attended the king in council, and addressed Edward in the following speech, of which he left a copy in his hands:

"Sir, I am your liegeman for the realm of Scotland; and pray you, as to what I am come about, which concerns the people of my kingdom as well as myself, that you would forbear me while I

“ speak with them, that I may not be surpris’d for want of advice;
 “ for those that are with me, will not, nor ought not to advise me,
 “ without the counsel of others; and when I am advis’d by them, I
 “ will answer at your first parliament after Easter, and will behave
 “ myself towards you as I ought to do.”

Edward, by the advice of his council, and consent of Macduff, granted John’s request, by allowing him time to answer till the meeting of his parliament after Easter.

1293.
 Rym. Fœd.
 tom. ii.
 p. 608.

Whilst king Edward was at Newcastle upon Tyne, in the spring of the year, he ordered Walter de Huntercombe, governor of the isle of Man, to put Baliol into possession of that island, which was accordingly done. But soon after, a lady, denominated Aufrica, claiming the island, demanded it of the king of Scotland; but her petition being rejected, she appealed to the king of England, as superior lord of Scotland. Her appeal being received, Edward, on the 15th of June, summoned John to appear before him in person fifteen days after Michaelmas, in what place of England soever he should be; and ordered the sheriff of Northumberland to serve the summons on John himself, before witnesses.

Ibid. p. 615.

David, late king of Scotland, having granted to the abbot and monks of Reading, in England, the priory of the isle of May, in the diocese of St. Andrews and frith of Forth; and this priory being alienated by the abbot of Reading to the bishop of St. Andrews, the abbot’s successor, willing to recover the said priory, pretended that the alienation was made against the consent of the majority of the monks: they therefore presented an appeal to Edward, in order to have it restored; of which the bishop receiving advice, he applied to the pope, and his appeal was admitted by the court of Scotland: which being again appealed to Edward, he summoned John to appear in person before him, fifteen days after the feast of St. Martin.

About a year after, Edward treated John again in a very haughty and imperious manner, by commanding him to appear before him, for refusing to deliver to the bishop of Durham the towns of Berwick and Haddington, both in Scotland.

REMARK. To give a detail of, or recount the numerous indignities imposed upon the king and kingdom of Scotland by king Edward, would rather amaze than entertain the reader; wherefore I shall only add the most grating and grievous of all, which is, his not allowing king John to be heard in his seat in the English house of peers; but, like one of the most common and vilest of criminals, obliged him to stand at the bar of the house: a punishment, to one of his degree, worse than death itself, which he never forgave, but studied revenge ever after.

Whatever may be said in praise of Edward’s military exploits, I shall not diminish; but as to his cruel treatment of John, it shews such a meanness of spirit as is scarce to be paralleled: for, had he had the least degree of generosity in his nature, it would have shocked him to have seen majesty debased, and his brother king compelled to stand at the bar of a court, in a dispute concerning property, and to regard him as if he gloried in his misfortunes, without offering the least alleviation.

But Edward, by his new honourable title and dignity of superior lord of Scotland, became so imperious and haughty, that he seemed

to despise every one, without allowing himself time to reflect on the instability of fortune, and the transitory state of poor mortals. That which was John's case then, by the unaccountable revolutions of time and actions of men, might in a short time have been his own, or that of his son, as almost happened. For after the amazing loss sustained by the English, by the entire destruction of their vast army at the battle of Banockburn, the whole English nation was so much intimidated and dispirited, that, according to Walsingham, one of their own historians, three Scotsmen would chase one hundred Englishmen, and one hundred Englishmen durst not look three Scotsmen in the face. Robert king of Scotland, in the prosecution of the war, had he not been stopped by enemies at home, would, in all probability, have subdued England; and, instead of ruling as superior of it, might, by uniting the kingdoms into one government, have reigned sole monarch over the whole island. Had Edward considered the vicissitudes of fortune as he ought, he would probably have behaved better to his royal brother.

Besides, Edward ought to have reflected, that had he obtained his new honours either by conquest or succession, he might have had something to plead in excuse for his rude treatment of John; but having got them by artifice, bribery, and violence, he had nothing to alledge in his vindication.

Surely, never prince acted more impolitically than Edward did on this occasion, in his mal-treating the people and kingdom of Scotland; for it was not his interest to let them feel the weight of his sovereignty too soon, but by degrees to have inured them insensibly to it, for fear of alarming them too much, which might have prevented the long and bloody wars that broke out soon after. But, instead of that, he was no sooner in possession of his so much desired sovereignty, than he made his vassals feel the whole weight of it.

We are told by a monk of St. Alban's, that just before king John set out from Scotland to the parliament at London, the nobility chose twelve peers to govern the kingdom during his absence; and that, not long after his appearing in that parliament, he withdrew without taking leave of Edward; which enraged him to such a degree, that he seized all his lands in England. This abrupt departure of John is not to be wondered at, considering how vilely he had been treated by Edward.

Tyr. Gen.
Hist. Engl.
vol. iii. p. 76.

King Edward having summoned a parliament to meet at London the week after Whitsunday, it was therein resolved, that the king's dominions in France, which the French had seized by treachery, should be recovered by the sword. In this parliament king John being present, and great sums given towards carrying on the war against France, John, on that occasion, bestowed the revenue of all his lands in England, for the term of three years, for the same purpose: which shews that either things were not then come to extremities between the said princes, or that John did not dare to shew his indignation.

1294.
Ibid. p. 83.

The parliament appointed by king Edward to have been held the day after Trinity Sunday, wherein the cause betwixt the king of Scotland and Macduff earl of Fife was to have been heard, was prorogued to the 11th of November in the following year, to be held at St. Edmundsbury in the county of Suffolk.

The

1295.
Rot. de Superi-
rioritate Reg.
Angl. in Scot.

The parliament being met at St. Edmundsbury, pursuant to the prorogation, John, instead of appearing to answer to Macduff's plea, sent the abbot of Aberbrothock, with other persons of distinction, with letters to Edward, to excuse his not appearing; together with a demand of satisfaction for divers injuries and grievances sustained by his subjects, from those of Edward. To which answer was given, that the king was coming to the northern parts of England, and then the Scots should have satisfaction made them for all the damage they could make appear had been done them by the English. And Edward strictly enjoined the missionaries to acquaint the king their master, that he appointed him to appear before him on the 1st day of March next, at Newcastle upon Tyne, to answer to Macduff's charge, and other things touching the state and tranquillity of both kingdoms.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. in Vit.
Johan.

John did not appear at this parliament, and this, with his demand for the redress of grievances, were seemingly the first steps towards a rupture between the two nations: whilst he was meditating how to free himself and his people from English bondage, a discord happened betwixt the English and French nations, which broke out into a war soon after; and both sides being willing to engage Scotland in their interest, they severally sent ambassadors to John. Those of France were to renew the ancient league between Scotland and France; and the English were to demand their aid against France, pursuant to their late oath to king Edward. Both embassies being referred to the states of the kingdom, they were of opinion, that as their present subjection to the English was extorted from their king, who had no power to grant it without consent of parliament; therefore, as they were enslaved without their own consent, it was more for the honour and interest of Scotland to join the French against the English, in order to recover their lost liberty and honour.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii. p. 695.

Pursuant to this resolution, an alliance was resolved on with France. The plenipotentiaries appointed to treat of it were William bishop of St. Andrews, Matthew bishop of Dunkeld, sir John Soules, and sir Ingram Umfraville, whose commission was dated at Stirling the 5th day of July, anno 1295; who arriving soon after at the court of France, concluded a treaty of alliance with king Philip, on the 23d of October following, of this tenor:

1. That Edward, son of king John, shall marry the daughter of Charles of Valois, earl of Anjou, brother to the king of France.
2. That Edward shall receive with the said lady the sum of twenty-five thousand livres, of Tournay currency. That she shall have a jointure of one thousand five hundred pounds sterling; one thousand pounds thereof to be yearly paid out of king John's lands of Dampetre, Helicourt, and de Horney in France; and five hundred pounds out of those of Lanerk, Cadion, Cunningham, Haddington, and Castellany of Dundee in Scotland.
3. That king John and his successors shall with all their power, both by sea and land, be aiding and assisting to king Philip and his successors in the present war against the king of England and his allies, as well the king of Almain as others; and that he shall, at his own expence, invade England, in order to make a diversion in favour of France, whenever attacked by the said king of England or his allies.
4. That the several earls, barons, and other noblemen, prelates, and communities, or royal boroughs of the kingdom of Scotland, as

far

far as is right and usual, do give their assent to this agreement, by their letters patents under their common seals, to be transmitted to France with all convenient speed.

5. In like manner, if the king of England invade Scotland, the king of France shall, by way of diversion, make war on him elsewhere; and, if required, shall send auxiliary forces at his own expence, till they arrive in Scotland.

6. If the king of England went abroad, or sent a number of troops into foreign parts, the ambassadors engaged that king John should enter England with his whole power, as far as he could, making war in the field, besieging towns, wasting the country, and by all ways and means to destroy England.

7. That neither of the contracting powers make peace, but by mutual consent.

King Edward, on his receiving advice of the conclusion of the above treaty, was so greatly surprized, that he formed a resolution to defer the war in France, and employ his whole power against Scotland; the conquest of which would be of much more importance to England, than the reduction of the province of Guienne, which the French had lately seized by stratagem. But concealing for some time the intelligence he had received concerning the treaty, he sent the abbots of Newminster and Welbeck to acquaint king John, that, for certain reasons, he had prorogued the meeting of the parliament, and that he was coming into the northern parts of England; and, as a breach had happened between him and the French king, he desired that the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, might be put into his hands, for his and his people's security during the course of that war, which, by his letters of the 8th of October, he promised to restore as soon as the war was over. Matters, it seems, not being on John's side ripe for execution, the castles were given up, as appears by that noble collection of publick records published by Rymer. By this collection Henry de Knyghton, Abercromby, Rapin, and divers others, both English and Scottish writers, are corrected, for their being of opinion that the said castles were not delivered up by John.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii.
p. 692.

That which occasioned John's giving up to Edward the above named castles, was probably owing to a scruple he entertained concerning the oath he had taken to Edward; but Philip king of France, being very eager for his declaring against Edward, to remove the scruple, procured of pope Celestine an absolution from his oath. John, now finding himself safe from the censures of the church, which were very formidable at that time, and free from the uneasiness of his oath, resolved, without loss of time, to break with Edward. And war being now commenced between England and France, Edward desired assistance from John against his foes: to which answer was returned by the Scots, That since they were absolved from the unlawful fealty and homage king Edward had extorted from them, neither their king nor they were obliged to obey the requests or commands of the king of England. And, to shew they were in earnest, banished the English out of Scotland, expelled the ecclesiasticks, and seized all their effects; the produce whereof, together with that of the people, they applied towards the expence of the war.

Chron. Abing.
Hen. de
Knyght.

Edward, to be beforehand with the Scots, set out at the head of his army, on his march for Scotland, about the beginning of February,

A. D. 1296.

and by the 1st of March arrived with it at Newcastle upon Tyne; where, having held a council, he by proclamation cited John to appear before him on a certain day: but he neither obeying the summons, nor excusing his not appearing, Edward marched with his army to Banbrough-castle, where he again by proclamation summoned John to appear, which had no better effect than the former.

Chron. Abing.

An extraordinary affair happened while king Edward lay at Newcastle upon Tyne, viz. Robert de Ros, lord of the castle of Wark in Northumberland, being enamoured with a Scottish lady, whom he intended to marry, (while the war between Scotland and England was about to commence) whose absence, it seems, Robert not being able to bear, to merit her favour, revolted from king Edward, and went over to the Scots; which his brother William was no sooner apprized of, than he dutifully acquainted his sovereign king Edward therewith, and desired a number of troops sufficient to defend the castle against the Scots. A thousand men being ordered for that service, he began his march towards that fortress; and having on his way quartered at a village called Prestfen, he was in the night surprized by Robert his brother, at the head of a party of Scots; and William and his men were all cut off, except a very few, who escaped by favour of the night. On the receipt of this news, Edward was not so much troubled for the loss of his men, as he was pleased that the Scots had begun hostilities.

This being the beginning of those long and destructive wars, occasioned by king Edward's usurping the superiority or sovereignty of Scotland, I shall, on this occasion, add an observation made by Mr. Daniel, a learned and judicious English historian.

Dan. Hist.

Engl. p. 162,
163.

" Hereupon broke out that mortal dispute between the two nations, that consumed more Christian blood, wrought more spoil and destruction, and continued longer, than ever quarrel we read of did between any two people of the world; for he that began it, could not end it. The rancor which the sword had bred, and the perpetually working desire of revenge of wrongs, that ever beget wrongs, lasted almost three hundred years." And a little farther adds, " If any side had the honour, it was the invaded nation, which, being the weaker and smaller, seems never to have been subdued, though often overcome; continuing, notwithstanding all their miseries, resolute to preserve their liberties, which never people of the world more nobly defended against so potent and rich a kingdom as this: by the which, without an admirable hardiness and constancy, it had been impossible but they must have been brought to an utter consternation." I think the last word " consternation," ought to be read destruction.

Edward having marched to the said castle of Wark, and kept his Easter there, the following Scottish nobility came over to him, swore fealty, and did him homage, viz. Patrick earl of March and Dunbar, Gilbert Umfraville earl of Angus, Robert de Bruce the elder, and Robert de Bruce the younger. And during Edward's stay in that fortress, the earls of Monteith, Strathern, Athol, and Mar, at the head of four thousand foot and five hundred horse from Anandale, entered Cumberland, and committed great ravages both by fire and sword; and though the city of Carlisle was set on fire by a spy, yet by the great efforts,

efforts and vigorous resistance of the inhabitants, the town was saved, and the Scots repulsed with some loss.

Whilst the English army was marching by land for Scotland, Edward, being resolved to begin the war with the siege of Berwick upon Tweed, sent the fleet he designed against France to block up its harbour, and, by preventing the garrison from being supplied with necessities by sea, to oblige them to surrender the sooner; but this fleet being attacked by the Scots at the mouth of the harbour, they burnt and took eighteen of them, and put the rest to flight.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. in Vit.
Johan.

This fleet was not, according to Buchanan, sent to Scotland, instead of France, by favour of a truce made with France; for the cessation of arms between England and France was not made till the year after, before the commencement of which Edward had subdued all Scotland.

The above with the former loss, and John's despising his citations, enraged Edward to a very great degree; insomuch that he offered to depose Baliol, and give the crown to Robert Bruce, provided he would join with him, and declare against John. Robert joyfully accepted the offer, and greatly strengthened Edward's party by a number of his friends, who had, only out of fear, taken the oath to John. And Edward, to distress John as much as possible, crossed the river Tweed with his army, and marching in Scotland along the northern side thereof, invested the said town of Berwick; but finding, by its numerous garrison, that it would require a long time to reduce it in a regular way, pretended to raise the siege; and caused the rumour to be spread by certain Scottishmen of Bruce's faction, that he despaired of taking the town, that John was advancing with a great army to its relief, and was already arrived in the neighbourhood. Rejoiced at this agreeable news, many of the chief men of the garrison, both horse and foot, went out to receive him; and falling into an ambuscade of English horse, they fled with great precipitation; and being briskly pursued, the English entered the town with them; and the foot following soon after, a dreadful carnage began, which ended in the slaughter of above seven thousand Scots.

But the relation given us of the attack of this place by English writers, is that king Edward, having set down before Berwick on the 29th of March, summoned the town and castle to surrender, with an offer both to the garrison and inhabitants of a free pardon, with a continuance of all their liberties and privileges: but, instead of accepting his offers, they rejected them with opprobrious language, and endeavoured to burn his fleet which lay in the harbour; which so highly provoked Edward, that he commanded a general assault to be given, and the place being soon taken by storm, all were put to the sword; [this can only be meant of the garrison; for we are told by the same author, that as to all that were left, the king banished them the town for ever] no less being killed, according to some, than fifteen thousand men; but according to others, and which is much more probable, they were only about nine thousand. Edward was no sooner in possession of this important fortress, than he caused a deep ditch, fortified with palisades, to be made between it and the country, to prevent the Scots from attacking it by land.

Chron. Cotton.
Chron. Lan.

Whilst Edward was thus employed, John resolved openly to defy king Edward. To this end he sent the guardian of the friars minors of Roxburgh, with a renunciation of the fealty and homage done by him

him and his people; which being both in Latin and French, is thus rendered into English:

Rym. Fœder.
tom. ii. p. 707.

“ To the magnificent prince Edward, by the grace of God, king of
“ England, John, by the same grace, king of Scotland: Whereas you
“ and others of your kingdom have purposely and knowingly, by your
“ violent power, notoriously and frequently done grievous and into-
“ lerable injurious contempts, grievances, and enormous damages
“ against us, and the liberties of our kingdom, as also against God
“ and justice; citing us at your pleasure, upon every suggestion, out
“ of our kingdom, unduly vexing us, seizing our castles, lands, and
“ possessions in our kingdom unjustly, and for no fault of ours;
“ taking the goods of our subjects, as well by sea as by land, and car-
“ rying them into your kingdom; killing our merchants, and other
“ traders with you; and taking away our subjects, and imprisoning
“ them. For the reformation of which things, though we sent our
“ messengers to you, yet they remain not only unredressed, but there
“ is every day an addition of worse: for now you are come with a
“ great army upon our borders, to disinherit us and the inhabitants of
“ our kingdom; and proceeding forwards, have inhumanly committed
“ many slaughters, burnings, and violent invasions, as well by sea as
“ land. We, therefore, not being able to sustain the said injuries,
“ grievances, and damages any longer, nor to remain in your fealty
“ or homage, extorted by your violent oppression, do hereby return
“ them to you, for ourself, and all the inhabitants of our kingdom,
“ as well for the lands we hold of you in your kingdom, as for your
“ pretended government over us.”

As this renunciation is entered in the English historians without date, I cannot ascertain the time when it was wrote, being only told by Walsingham, that it was sent to the town of Berwick upon Tweed about the latter end of April, where it is agreed by the said historians Edward then was; and that the king, having received and accepted of it, ordered it to be enrolled, where it is still to be seen among the records in the tower of London.

Walsing. Hist.
Knyght. Hist.

Rym. Foed.
tom. ii. p. 715.

After the reduction of Berwick, Edward, his troops being sufficient, not only invested the castle thereof, but sent a great army to besiege the castle of Dunbar; and the Scots, to make a diversion in favour of the besieged, entered Northumberland, under the earls of Cassiles and Monteith, where having committed great ravages, they returned with a rich booty. The garrison of the castle of Berwick, despairing of relief, surrendered to Edward about the 1st of May; who, having appointed Osbert Spaldington governor of the town and castle, marched with the forces under his command to join his army before Dunbar: where, on his arrival, he received advice of king John's approach at the head of a numerous army to fight him. This news was joyfully received by Edward, in hopes of obtaining a victory that would render him master of Scotland. John advanced on his part with equal ardour, bent upon deciding, by one battle, whether he should be free or a slave. The two armies having engaged, fought a long time with great bravery; but the Scots, by the great disparity of numbers, were forced to give ground, after the loss of the best part of their troops; which by Knyghton, an English historian, are said to have amounted to twenty thousand in number. Walsingham, another writer of the same nation, with more probability, says that the number of the slain only

only amounted to about half the number. Be that as it will, the consequence of this battle was the loss of the kingdom soon after.

After this great battle and victory, Edward returned to Dunbar; and there not being the least appearance of relief, the castle was soon surrendered: whence, without giving the people time to recover from the panick they were in, he marched to Roxburgh. The castle was held by the lord steward of Scotland, who, thinking it in vain to withstand the mighty power of Edward, surrendered upon good terms, having the lives, liberties, and estates of the garrison preserved to them. Edward having appointed Walter Tonk governor of the castle, he marched to Jedworth, or Jedburgh; the castle whereof being surrendered to him without resistance, and Thomas de Burnham appointed governor, Edward moved on to Edinburgh, entered the town, and the castle, after a siege of eight days, was surrendered; and Walter de Huntercumbe being appointed governor of it, Edward advanced to Stirling, and took possession of the castle, which was deserted by its garrison; and having crossed the river Forth in pursuit of John, he seized on the town of Perth, and all the places of note thereabouts, viz. the castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose.

Rym. Fœd.
vol. ii. p. 714.

Ibid. p. 717.

Ibid. p. 731.

Upon this amazing success in so short a time, John with his nobility judged it proper, by messengers, to propose a submission; whereupon Edward sent Anthony bishop of Durham to treat with them. The terms of their submission being agreed on, Anthony carried John along with him to Stroukatherack in the county of Angus, (in an humble state, being mounted on a galloway, with a white rod in his hand) where being brought before Edward, in the church-yard of that place, on the 7th of July, he acknowledged his offence to the king in the following speech: "That he was very sorry for the confederacies he had made with Philip king of France against him; and renounced all alliances and unlawful contracts made in his own name, or that of Edward his son, and the inhabitants of Scotland, against his due fealty and homage done to him the king of England." This speech was made in presence of the said Anthony bishop of Durham, Humphry bishop of Hereford, John Comyn earl of Buchan, lord Hugh Dispenser, and John lord Comyn the elder, earl of Badenoch.

Hen. Knyght.
de Event.
Angl.
Chron. Abing.
Boet. Hist.
in Vit. Johan.
Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.
in Vit. Bal.

Edward, attended by John, coming to the castle of Brechin, in the same county, three days after, John, before a notary publick, by a deed in writing, made a more absolute resignation of his kingdom and royal dignity, with their appurtenances, into the hands of Anthony bishop of Durham, for the use of his master king Edward.

Tyrr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 95.

Whatever there may be in the above affair, by English writers said to have been transacted in the church-yard of Stroukatherack, I cannot determine: but as there is no mention of an affair of this consequence in the national records, it gives room for suspicion; yet the names of the place and persons present being particularly set forth, seem to give a sanction to the truth of it, and many have been led to believe the whole. But the date of this transaction, being five days after the genuine renunciation in the publick acts of the kingdom, seems to discredit the whole relation, by making it previous to the other.

Be this as it will, that the affair said to have been transacted in the castle of Brechin by English writers, and by Scottish at Montrose, are mistakes, is manifest by the noble collection of the publick acts,

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 14.
in Vit. Johan.
Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

which

which refutes this and many other stories, said both by English and Scottish historians to have happened. For Edward, attended by John, being arrived at Kincardin, [this place I take to have been Kincardin in the Mearns, by Edward's setting out soon after on a journey northwards, to see whether all was quiet in those parts] John, by the following instrument, made an absolute surrender both of his crown and kingdom; which, from the original French, is rendered into English as followeth:

Rym. Fœd.
vol. ii. p. 718.

" John, by the grace of God, king of Scotland, to all who shall hear or see these present letters, greeting:

" Whereas we, by evil and false counsel, and our simplicity, have greatly offended and provoked our lord Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain: to wit, being in his faith and homage, made an alliance with the French king, who then was and still is his enemy; offering a marriage between our son and the daughter of his brother, the lord Charles; and assisting him by war, and otherwise, with all our power. And, by the evil counsel afore said, have defied our said lord the king of England, and put ourself out of his faith and homage; and sent our people into England to burn, spoil, plunder, kill, and commit other mischiefs; fortifying the kingdom of Scotland, which is his fee, against him, putting garrisons into the towns, castles, and other places; for which things and transgressions, our lord the king of England having entered Scotland by force, conquered and taken it, notwithstanding all we could do against him, as in justice he might as lord of the fee, seeing, after we had done homage to him, we rebelled against him; we, being still free and in our power, do hereby surrender to him the land of Scotland, with the whole nation, and all its homages. In witness whereof we have put our seal to these our letters patents, given at Kincardin, the 2d day of July, in the fourth year of our reign." Underneath the great white seal is appendant to a skin of parchment.

INTERREGNUM II.

By Baliol's having surrendered his kingdom and royal dignity, monarchy seems to have been at an end in Scotland; for Edward taking the government into his own hands, with a view to unite the two kingdoms, and there being no more occasion for the great seal, wherewith his renunciation was sealed, he ordered it to be broken, which gave rise to a second interregnum. Peace being now restored to the country, Edward made a progress through the kingdom, to see that all was quiet; and proceeding by easy journies, was preceded by the bishop of Durham, at the head of a strong body of light horse, about a day or two's march. Edward having reached the city of Elgin in the county of Murray, and finding the country in a state of tranquillity, he returned to the abbey of Scone in Perthshire; from whence he sent to England the inauguration seat or stone of the Scottish kings, called the fatal marble chair; which was in so high esteem with the Scots, that they gave it the appellation of fatal, believing, wherever it should be kept, that the Scots should rule there. And, according to some writers, Edward took along with him the crown, sceptre, and other regalia of the kingdom.

Chron. Nicholas Trivet.
Reg. Ed. I.
11.

Tho. Walsing.
Hist. Reg.
Angl.
Wal. Heming.
Chron. Reg.
Ed. I. 11.

Hæst. Boet.
lib. 14. in
Vit. Johan.

But as to what we are told by Boece of Edward's having destroyed all the Scottish antiquities, burnt their records, histories, and all other

*

books

books of learning, abrogated their laws, altered their forms of worship, and sent their most learned men to the university of Oxford, and also caused the round temple in the neighbourhood of Camelon to be destroyed, some of these are manifestly false; for, instead of all our records and publick acts being destroyed, a number of them are published by Mr Rymer in his collection of records, entituled, *Fœdera Angliæ*. And the round temple in the vicinity of Camelon, from its form denominated Arthur's oven, was not destroyed till the year 1749, by sir Michael Bruce of Stanners, on whose ground it stood. But that there was an alteration made in their laws, &c. is evident, by Wallace, after the treaty of Irwin, refusing to lay down his arms until all their ancient laws, customs, and privileges were restored and confirmed by king Edward. Indeed, Edward carried away the chair, and placed it in St. Peter's, Westminster, for a priest to sit upon in time of service, in order to create in the Scots a belief that the time of the dissolution of their monarchy was come, and thereby lessen their hopes of recovering their liberty.

Chron. Nich.
Trivet. Reg.
Ed. I. 11.

During Edward's progress in the northern parts of Scotland, it appears, by the publick acts, that John Comyn, provost of St. Mary's church in the city of St. Andrews, with Norman de Leighlyn, Alexander de Lambreton, John of Glenesk, John of Strivelin and Murray, Patrick of Eggluyn, John of Garviach, William of Clunigco, and Thomas the usher, knights, came to Aberdeen on the 15th of July, and renounced the treaty they and others of the Scottish nobility had entered into with the king of France; as did the bishop of Glasgow at Elgin, on the 26th of the same month. And Edward being arrived at Berwick upon Tweed, about the beginning of August, summoned the states of Scotland to meet him there; where, being assembled on the 28th of the same month, they renewed their homage and fealty to him, which is of the following tenor:

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii. p. 720.

Ibid. p. 721.

"To all that shall hear or see these letters, we (herein named) send greeting: For that we agree to the faith and will of the most noble prince, our dear lord Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain; we promise for us and our heirs, upon the penalty of body and estate, and whatever else we can incur, that we will assist and serve him well and loyally against all persons that may live and die, at all times when required or summoned by our lord the king of England, or his heirs. And we shall not know of any damage done to him, or them, but we will hinder it to the utmost of our power, and will discover it to him or them. And, for the performance of this, we bind us and our heirs, and all our goods, which we have sworn upon the holy gospels.

Hen. Knyght.
de Event.
Angl.

"In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patents to be made, and sealed with our seals. Given at Berwick upon Tweed, the 28th of August, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of our lord the king of England."

Then follows the form of homage made by them to the king, which being of the tenor of those already recited, I shall not trouble my readers with a repetition.

Much in the same form were the homage and fealty made to king Edward by all the bishops, abbots, priors, monks, parsons, vicars, abbesses, prioresses, nuns, earls, barons, knights, citizens, burgeses, aldermen,

1296.
Rot. Scot.
24 Ed. I.
20, 21, &c.

aldermen, communities of cities and boroughs, and other inhabitants of Scotland, as appears by four large rolls in the tower of London, entituled, *De juramentis homagii & fidelitatis Edwardo regi Angliæ nominatim præstitis, per unamquamq; individuum personam regni Scotiæ*; that is, Of the oaths of homage and fealty made to Edward king of England, by every individual freeholder of the kingdom of Scotland. These rolls are commonly called the Ragman's roll, which was made by this parliament or council, by the joint consent of the nobility and prelates of both kingdoms, as set forth in Knyghton's chronicle.

Rapin, Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
P. 375.

Before we dispatch the surrender or resignation of John Baliol, and the homage and fealty done to Edward by persons of all ranks throughout Scotland, we must remark, that, amongst the Scottish nobility, William Douglas was the only person that never could be brought to swear to a prince who had no right to Scotland, but what force gave him. This refusal drew on him Edward's indignation, who committed him prisoner in England, where he ended his days, never having been prevailed on to acknowledge Edward as his sovereign. Edward, to provide for the security and government of Scotland, appointed John Warren, earl of Surrey and Suffex, his lieutenant or governor of the kingdom, Hugh de Cressingham his treasurer, and William Ormesby his justiciary, and then returned to England.

1297.
Hen. Knyght.
Chron. col.
2513.

Although Edward had conquered Scotland, he had not subdued the hearts of the Scots, who bore with impatience the yoke imposed on them. Being greatly oppressed by the king's officers, they were reduced to the utmost distress, and deserted by their nobility; who, either through cowardice or perfidy, contributed to increase their slavery, rather than assist towards the recovery of their country's liberty. Thus unhappily circumstanced, they were almost void of hopes of ever recovering their liberty, or being freed from intolerable impositions; for Hugh de Cressingham, a priest, the king's treasurer in Scotland, executed his office with such rigour, pride, and avarice, that he became detestable to the people; and being seconded in his severity by William de Ormesby, the justiciary, by outlawing and banishing all those who refused to swear fealty to king Edward, they were reduced to great misery.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.
in Vit. Johan.
Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.
in Vit. Bal.

To remedy these national grievances, that great champion of liberty, and amazing instance of fortitude and love of his country, sir William Wallace, all on a sudden arose; who, by dint of persuasion, prevailed on some of his relations, friends, and acquaintance, lovers of their country, to join him in an attempt to rescue the kingdom from slavery. Their actions at first were so very great, that the lovers of liberty and their country came crowding in from all quarters to join him; being persuaded that, by his bravery and good conduct, the English might be expelled the kingdom, and their country restored to its pristine liberty. In order to effectuate this, they attacked the English garrisons on all sides; and, if they did not surrender in time, put the besieged to the sword. This severity had so good an effect, that it saved the lives of many thousands, by occasioning them to submit immediately, whereby the country, with an amazing rapidity, was soon cleared of its enemies.

The first action of note performed by Wallace was his reducing Lanerk, the county-town of Clydsdale, wherein the English governor

of that place and district was killed; and having taken many other fortresses, it begot in his followers an opinion, that nothing could stand before him. The report of his noble actions soon diffused itself thro' all parts both of Scotland and England; but with a different effect: the latter raised an army to oppose him, while from the former he was joined by great numbers of men, to enable him to prosecute his conquests; which he effectually did in a short time, by reducing all the castles on the northern side of the frith of Forth. He took and demolished the castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose; he surprised and garrisoned the castle of Dunnotter, entered Aberdeen when in flames, for the English on his approach had set fire to it, to prevent its falling into his hands; but a rumour being spread of the advance of the English army, it prevented his taking the castle: for having resolved to meet the English at the town of Stirling, where there was a bridge over the river Forth, he marched with all expedition to prevent their crossing at that important pass.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

King Edward, as already hinted, having left Scotland in so good a state of defence, not in the least apprehensive of an insurrection during his absence, had carried along with him his whole army to France; but being advised of the numerous exploits and great advantages obtained by Wallace, he judged it high time to suppress him. Edward thought it beneath the dignity of a king to command against a roving thief, as the English called Wallace; and therefore wrote to Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and William Latimer, to levy with all expedition what forces they could in the neighbouring parts, and join themselves with Cressingham, to subdue the rebellious Scots. But Wallace, who was then besieging the castle of Cowper in Fife, left his army, which he had considerably augmented, should lie idle, (the English army being near at hand) raised the siege, and began his march for Stirling, where there was a bridge for the convenience of passage, over which Cressingham, with the greatest part of the English army, having passed, the bridge, either by having its beams loosened or disjoined by the builder, (as most of our writers say) to weaken it, and render it unable to bear a great weight, or else by its being over-burdened with the pressure of men, horses, and carriages, (which is most likely) being broken down, which preventing the other part of the army from following, Wallace fell on those that were passed, and having slain their leader Cressingham, drove the rest back into the river, insomuch that they were either all killed or drowned. From this great victory, Wallace returned to the siege of Cowper, which soon surrendered to him; and having taken many other towns and castles, the face of affairs was so changed, that none of the English were left in Scotland, but such as were prisoners. The battle, wherein no Scotsman of note fell but Andrew Murray, was fought on the 15th of September.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

1297.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

From those combustions great calamities arose; for, by the fields remaining uncultivated, a great famine and pestilence ensued. To ease the country as much as possible, in respect to the former, Wallace, by proclamation, summoned all men fit for service to attend him at a certain time and place; where being assembled, he put himself at their head, and marched into England, where he lived at discretion, without opposition, from the 1st of November to the 1st of February; and having enriched his men with the fruits and spoils of the enemy, he returned to Scotland with great renown. As the great success attending Wal-

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

lace increased his fame and authority amongst the vulgar, so it raised the envy and malice of the nobility against him; for his praise seemed to them a tacit reproach for their sloth, indolence, cowardice, and perfidy, in not attempting what they saw a man of little note had not only boldly undertaken, but successfully executed.

Hen. Knyght.
Chron. col.
2519.

To revenge the hostilities committed by Wallace in Cumberland, the garrison and inhabitants of Carlisle, a little before Christmas, made an incursion into Anandale, where they had a sharp dispute with the people of that vale; whom having put to the rout, killed many, and burnt about ten villages, they returned home on Christmas-day, with some prisoners and a considerable booty.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

King Edward, by the many advices he received from England of the mighty feats performed by Wallace, perceiving that he was an overmatch for his generals in Scotland, agreed on a truce with the French king for some time; and, leaving his army in Flanders, hastened to England, where raising a great army, he marched with them towards Scotland, imagining he had only a disorderly band of robbers and freebooters to deal with: but when he saw both armies drawn up in order of battle, in the plains of Stanmore, he could not but admire at the good appearance, order, discipline, and confidence of his enemies; infomuch that, although he had a much greater number of troops, he durst not put it to the hazard of a battle, with his new-raised men against an army of veterans, inured to all the hardships of war; and therefore decamped and marched off. Wallace, considering the superiority of numbers in Edward's army, took his retreat for a stratagem to draw him into an ambush, and therefore declined following him.

Wallace having, as it were, obtained a victory without bloodshed over so great and powerful a king, his enemies were more enraged than ever against him, giving out, that he aimed at a supreme or despotical power, and, by assuming the title of king, would in a short time introduce a tyrannical government, and reduce the people to a state of bondage unknown to their ancestors: wherefore the nobility, especially Bruce and Comyn, who were of the royal stock, began to sap his authority, and, by preventing his future success, to render him obnoxious to the people; chusing rather to live slaves under the domination of a great and potent king, than to be in bondage under the government of an upstart.

Edward, not ignorant of these disgusts, levied, with great expedition, a very numerous army, both of English and Scots; and marching to Falkirk, a town in the eastern part of Stirlingshire, in the neighbourhood of which lay the Scottish army, consisting of thirty thousand men, under the command of John Comyn, John Stuart, and William Wallace, the most eminent persons amongst the Scots; the two former for their high descent and opulence, and the latter for his great exploits; when the armies were ready to engage, a dispute arose amongst the commanders of the Scottish army who should lead the van; but not being likely to agree, the English decided the dispute: for marching with great expedition towards them, Comyn with his troops marched off, without striking a stroke; and Stuart, after a gallant resistance, being cut off, with most of his men, and Wallace hard pressed in front, Robert Bruce, (since king of Scotland) with part of Edward's army, marching round a hill, fell furiously on his rear; yet Wallace, by his admirable conduct, withstood superior power, and

by a noble defence, retreated beyond the river Caron, which stopped the enemy's pursuit, and gave an opportunity to the straggling and dispersed soldiers to join him. On this occasion Bruce desired a conference with Wallace, which being agreed to, they met at a certain place, with a narrow river between them; when Bruce, addressing himself to Wallace, declared, "That he admired how he came to be
 " misled by the uncertain favour of the populace, and to expose himself to such imminent danger, against a king the most potent of his
 " time, who was assisted by a great number of the Scottish nation, and
 " that without a view of succeeding, for, should he overcome Edward, the Scots would never grant him the kingdom; and, if overcome, he had no refuge but in the mercy of his enemy." To which Wallace answered:

Buchan. Rer.
 Scot. lib. 8.

Boet. Hist.
 Scot. lib. 14.

" I never was so vain to propose to myself the kingdom, as a reward
 " for my labours; my family and fortune not deserving it, nor did my
 " mind ever aspire thereto. But when I saw my country, through
 " your indolence, (to whom the kingdom of right belongs) destitute
 " of a governor, and exposed to the slavery and butchery of a cruel
 " enemy, I commiserated its woful sufferings, and undertook the cause
 " you deserted; nor will I forsake the safety, interest, and liberty of
 " my country while life endures. You who chuse a base servitude,
 " rather than honour, security, and freedom, without hazard, follow
 " and hug the fortune you so highly esteem. As for me, I have devoted my life to the service of my country, and will willingly die in
 " it, which I have so often defended; and my love to it, shall remain
 " as long as life continues."

In this battle, which was fought on the 22d of July, there fell ten thousand Scots; amongst whom were John Stuart, one of the commanders, Macduff earl of Fife, and John Graham; and among the English Frere Briangy, greatly noted for his skill in military affairs. After this unhappy battle, Wallace marched to the town of Perth, on the southern bank of the river Tay, where he disbanded his army, and gave way to the hatred, envy, and malice of his inveterate enemies the nobility, which occasioned the loss of the late fight; and it not being in his power to prevent the like in time coming, from that day forwards never acted as general: and retaining only a few friends, in whom he could confide, never ceased to harass the English on all occasions, insomuch that Edward, some time after, endeavoured by large promises to bring him over to his interest. His answer was, "That
 " as he had devoted his life to the service of his country, to which it
 " was due, he was resolved to die in its defence."

Soon after Edward held a convention of the states of Scotland, at the town of St. Andrews, where all present swore fealty to him. But Wallace, who never was present at any of Edward's assemblies, could never be prevailed on to qualify to the enslaver of his country; and fearing to be delivered up to Edward by the nobility, he withdrew to his former places of security in the county of Glasgow, where he was soon after betrayed by his seemingly intimate friend, sir John Monteith, whom the English had corrupted; and being seized by a party of Edward's troops, was sent prisoner to London, and lodged in the house of William Delect in Fenchurch-street: whence, on the 23d of August, anno 1305, he was conducted through the city of London by John Seagrave and Geoffrey knights, accompanied by the lord mayor, aldermen,

Buchan. Rer.
 Scot. lib. 8.

men, and sheriffs, with such a prodigious multitude of people, both horse and foot, as probably never was seen before on any occasion in that city; and being arrived in Westminster, was set upon a bench in the hall, by way of derision, with a laurel upon his head, for his aiming, as it was given out, at the crown of Scotland, in order to be tried as one of the king's enemies. He was condemned for a fictitious crime of high treason against king Edward, notwithstanding his having objected to the authority of the king and court over his person, other than that of a prisoner of war; and pleaded, as he was not his subject, and had never acknowledged his superiority over Scotland, that he could not be guilty of the treason he was indicted for. However, he suffered a cruel and ignominious death in Smithfield, by being hanged, drawn, and quartered, his bowels ripped out, and his privities cut off, whilst alive, all which was executed with the utmost rigour. His head was afterwards fixed upon a pole, and set upon London-bridge; and his quarters were sent to Scotland, to be put up in the most publick places of four of the chief cities of that kingdom. Thus fell that great and illustrious man, the celebrated champion of his country, a sacrifice to its liberty.

As the above relation, concerning the brave and worthy Wallace, is what we are told chiefly by our own writers, 'tis necessary to hear what is said of him by the English historians, who have wrote fuller accounts of his transactions than our own writers have done, which are as follow:

1297.
Hen. Knyght.
Chron. col.
2513.

In the month of May a great rebellion broke out in Scotland, on the following occasion, viz. Hugh de Cressingham, a clergyman, being appointed the king's treasurer in Scotland, executed his office with so much pride and covetousness, that he became detestable to the people. To whom we may join William de Ormesby, the king's justiciary in that kingdom, who dealt very severely with the Scots, by outlawing and banishing all those who refused to swear fealty to king Edward, which provoked the people to such a degree, that many of them joined those outlaws, who now were become so numerous, that they chose William Wallace for their leader, who, being a man of great resolution and undaunted courage, had prevailed on them to take arms; and falling on the English wherever he met them, killed all without distinction, and drove the king's justiciary, and other officers, out of the kingdom.

Walt. Hem-
ingford. Chro.
Reg. Ed. I.
& II.

But that which gave the Scots a better opportunity to execute their malice, was, that the earl of Surrey, whom the king left his lieutenant in Scotland, the air of the country not agreeing with him, was gone into the north of England for the recovery of his health, without leaving a force sufficient to keep the people in subjection; so that, before an army could be raised to suppress them, divers of the nobility and bishops joining Wallace, formed themselves into a body, and reduced the country far and near, except a few castles, wherein were English garrisons. Edward, on the receipt of this news, was not a little surprized; but being obliged to go to the assistance of his ally the earl of Flanders, who was in danger of being over-run by the French, he commanded the earl of Surrey to raise the militia on the northern side of the river Trent, and to march them into Scotland, to reduce the country to his obedience. The earl, agreeable to his command, raised a great army; but not being quite recovered from

Hen. Knyght.
Chron. de
Event. Angl.

indisposition, he sent his nephew, the lord Henry Percy, into Scotland with the army before him; who being arrived at the town of Ayr, received advice of the Scottish army's being encamped at the town of Irvine, about four miles distant, under the command of the lord steward of Scotland, bishop of Glasgow, William Douglas, Andrew Murray, and William Wallace, the chief promoter of this war. They finding themselves inferior in force to the English, and being apprehensive of danger, were desirous to compromise matters, on condition that they might have their lives, lands, and liberties secured to them, and a general act of oblivion granted. These articles seeming to lord Percy so reasonable, he readily agreed to them, and, being engrossed, were sent to be confirmed by the king; who, being desirous to put an end to this troublesome affair, that his voyage to Flanders might not be retarded, confirmed them.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angliæ.

Pursuant to which, the earl of Surrey repaired forthwith to Scotland, to see the treaty executed, which the Scots never intended to perform; for although they were obliged to give hostages for their future obedience, they deferred it, till Wallace marched off from the place of his dangerous situation; which he had no sooner left, than taking advantage of Surrey's indolence, he reinforced his army, and bid him defiance; renewed the war, and refused to lay down their arms till their ancient laws, customs, and privileges were restored and confirmed to them by king Edward. This proceeding, in not fulfilling the treaty, was so highly resented by the bishop of Glasgow and William Douglas, that they left Wallace, and submitted to the earl of Surrey. Wallace, to avenge himself on the bishop for his having thus deserted them, took his house, plundered it, and made his family prisoners: then marching towards the town of Stirling, where the earl of Surrey lay with an army of above forty thousand men, who approaching the river Forth (on the northern side of which, on a hill, the Scottish army lay) to pass the bridge, contrary to the advice of Richard Lundy, a wise and valiant Scottish knight, and entering on the bridge early in the morning, the greatest part of his army, under the leading of Hugh de Cressingham, the treasurer, having passed, the bridge, which was a creasy wooden one, broke down, whether by the great weight of men, horses, and carriages wherewith it was burdened, or by treachery of a Scottish carpenter, who a little before had been employed to mend it, but, instead of that, had cut the main beams half through, is uncertain. Be that as it will, the Scots taking advantage of this catastrophe, fell furiously on those that were passed, put them to flight, and pushing them into the river, about five thousand were either killed or drowned, with the loss of Cressingham, their commander; who was so much hated by the Scots for his cruelty and avarice, that finding his dead body after the battle, they flead it, and made girths, and other furniture for their horses, of his skin. This battle was fought on Friday the 11th of September.

Ibid.

Hen. Knyght.
Chron. de
Event. Angl.
Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.

The earl of Surrey, who, from the southern side of the river, beheld this unhappy defeat, was so greatly intimidated, that he immediately fled with the remaining part of his army to the town of Berwick. But, it seems, not thinking himself safe even there, after having appointed the brave sir Marmaduke Twenge governor, he set out for the southern parts of England, to carry the melancholy news to the prince of Wales. But Berwick, through the avarice of Cressingham,

Id. ibid.

Walt. Hem-
ing. Chron.

ham, not being tenible, was soon after deserted by the English. It was the last fortress the English possessed in Scotland; and being taken possession of by Wallace, the whole kingdom was again restored to its ancient inhabitants, the English being either killed or drove out. And as to the castles of Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and other strong holds in the southern parts of Scotland, he dismantled them, to prevent their falling again into the hands of the English.

Wallace, not thinking this victory, with other great advantages gained over the English, a sufficient revenge, invaded Northumberland, and committed great depredations, by laying waste all the countries between the rivers Tyne and Derwent; and summoned Carlisle to surrender, which not being obeyed, he was forced to leave it, for want of engines to form a siege; and marching through the forest of Inglewood, as far as Cockermouth, destroyed all, sparing neither age nor sex, and returned to Scotland with a great booty.

As Wallace is accused by English writers of great cruelty, it will not be amiss in this place to subjoin a remark concerning him by Mr. Tyrrell, one of the most candid and judicious English historians, viz.

Tyr. Gen.
Hist. Engl.
vol.iii. p.112.

“ I must here observe the great partiality of the English as well as of the Scottish historians, in their accounts of these transactions; the former making this Wallace no better than a common thief or highwayman: whereas the others represent him (as he really was) a man of quality, son to a knight of the same name, who, being of a publick spirit, resolved to lay hold of the first opportunity to restore his countrymen to their ancient liberties; and, to this end, excited and joined with the noblemen of Scotland to take up arms, as hath been already related. So likewise the Scottish historians conceal their countrymen's submitting themselves, as I have mentioned before: and, on the other hand, the English give but a slight account of the great defeats they then received.”

Hen. Knyght.
de Event.
Angl. col.
2525.

King Edward, on his receiving advice in Flanders of the unlucky battle of Stirling, was so highly irritated against the Scots, that he wrote to the several noblemen, and other persons of distinction in England, commanding them, that as they valued his honour, and that of the kingdom, to join the earl of Surrey, and march with him into Scotland, to repress the insolence of that nation. And at the same time wrote letters to the Scottish nobility in his interest, that they should not fail to come to the parliament he had appointed to be held at the city of York on the octaves of St. Hilary, which met at the time and place prefixed: but the Scottish nobility not appearing, nor any for them, the English army was ordered to be mustered at the town of Newcastle upon Tyne within the space of eight days, which being performed, it was found to amount to above one hundred and four thousand and five hundred men, viz. two thousand choice horsemen or troopers, above two thousand five hundred light horse or dragoons, and, including the Welsh, above one hundred thousand footmen. This prodigious army, with the prince of Wales at its head, marched against the Scots, then besieging Banburgh-castle in Northumberland. On advice thereof the Scots raised the siege, deserted Berwick, and retired farther into Scotland, to secure themselves against that vast power.

1298.
Id. ibid.

The English, having possessed themselves of Berwick, received a letter from Edward, about the beginning of Lent, commanding them

to march no farther; for, having settled his affairs in Flanders to his satisfaction, he was coming over with all the speed imaginable to march against the Scots: whereupon they disbanded their army, reserving only about fifteen hundred select horse, and twenty thousand choice foot, as a security against their enemies.

Edward no sooner landed in England, than he issued writs of summons to all the militia of the kingdom to meet him at Carlisle on Whitsun-eve, with their horses, arms, and accoutrements, to march against the Scots, whose power was become formidable, and their troops more numerous than ever; and likewise summoned all those of his party in Scotland, not to fail to meet him at the same place without excuse, otherwise to be deemed as enemies, and to suffer accordingly.

Edward, having left the city of York, set out to join that part of his army at Berwick; and having appointed a general muster to be held at Roxburgh at Midsummer following, his army was found to amount to eighty-seven thousand men, including the Welsh and Irish, viz. three thousand choice horsemen or troopers, four thousand light horse or dragoons, and about eighty thousand footmen. With this vast army Edward advanced by easy marches, spoiling and burning the country as they went on, till they arrived at Templeton, where they expected the fleet with provisions from England; but the wind proving contrary, only a few ships arrived, whereby the army was reduced to great straits: which the Scots receiving advice of, hastened to attack them unprovided; but the wind chopping about, some more ships arrived to their relief, in time to defeat the designs of the Scots. Chron. Abing.

While the king staid at Templeton, he was informed that he had passed the castle of Dirlington and two others, wherein were Scottish garrisons, which greatly annoyed the English; upon which he sent the bishop of Durham with a sufficient force to besiege them, who began with Dirlington, which being stronger than he expected, and his men being short of provisions, he sent to the king for further orders. Edward, supposing the bishop to be weary of the siege, sent sir John Marmaduke thither, with an order not to see his face till the said castles were taken; and they being taken in a few days after, he returned to the army. Hen. Knyght,
de Event.
Angl.

Edward, on this success, set out from Templeton with the army for the town of Falkirk; from the neighbourhood of which, on the 22d of July, at a great distance, he discovered the Scottish army on a hill, forming in order of battle. It consisted of three bodies, viz. of the lances, in the interstices whereof were placed the archers, and in the rear were stationed the horse, which were far inferior to those of the English both in number and size. Wallace, accompanied by some of the Scottish nobility, resolved to fight on foot; and, for their greater security, the front of their army was fortified with pallisadoes, fixed in the ground, and tied together with ropes. Before the battle, Wallace made a short speech to his army; the only part whereof which is preserved, is, "I have brought you to the king, haap (that is, run) if you dare."

On a signal given by Edward, the first battalion of the English attacked the Scots, whose horse, being few and weak, first gave ground; and not rallying, left the foot a prey to the whole English army; and the fence of pallisadoes being soon broken, they fell upon the foot with Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.

with such violence, that the lances, unable to bear the showers of English arrows, gave way, and the archers following, the whole Scottish army was put to the rout. Walsingham says, that in this battle sixty thousand Scots were slain; but Eversden, and the Norwich chronicles, with more probability, make them only amount to about fifteen thousand; and Nicholas Trevet makes them amount to twenty thousand. The only man of note that was killed on the English side was Adrian Sey, master of the knights templers, slain in the pursuit. The remaining part of the Scottish army, with Wallace, escaped by favour of the night, and fled to their usual retreats, the woods and mountains: whence returning soon after, they burnt the town of Stirling, and crossing the river Forth, retired into the northern parts of the kingdom.

Rapin, Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 80.

The day whereon this battle was fought, had like to have proved fatal to king Edward; for that morning, the two armies were encamped so near, that the English, hearing a great shout in the Scottish camp, ran to their arms in a hurry, imagining they were going to be attacked; the king at that interim mounting his horse, and putting his foot into the stirrup, the horse, startling at the noise, threw him, and kicking, broke two of his ribs. This accident, however, did not prevent his being in the battle, where he commanded with the same presence of mind as if unhurt.

After this great victory, Edward treated his prisoners, and all Scottishmen who came in his way, with great severity; and his army crossed the river Forth, spoiled and burnt the country as far as the town of Perth, and took the homage and fealty of all Scottish gentlemen who submitted to him. And designing to have marched farther into the country, was prevented by its being entirely laid waste; and his fleet not arriving from England, occasioned such a scarcity in his camp, that he was obliged to retire through the forest of Selkirk to England, and in his march took the castles of Ayr and Lochmaben.

Tyr Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 165.

The Scottish nobility having submitted to Edward, and sworn fealty to him, articles were drawn up between the king and them, wherein certain of them were excepted; among whom was sir William Wallace, who would submit to Edward upon no terms. He and his party being still in possession of divers strong castles, distressed the English very much, insomuch that Edward, in the following spring, made another expedition against them. But Wallace being soon after basely betrayed by sir John Monteith, was about the middle of the month of August seized by certain of king Edward's officers; and being sent up to London, was there tried, and condemned, by certain of the nobility appointed for that purpose, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as before recited. Thus died the great champion of the Scottish nation, who is celebrated in their songs, poems, and histories to this day. The above are the accounts given us by English writers of the transactions of that brave and great man, sir William Wallace, whom no promises of rewards, or threats of punishments, could prevail upon to desert the interest of his country, when in distress.

Wallace's
character.

Many English writers are highly irritated against sir William Wallace, for the great opposition he made to their hero, king Edward I. and will by no means allow him to have been a gentleman by birth. Whether this assertion be the effect of misinformation, or impotent detraction, I cannot ascertain; but that it is false, is manifest: for by

our writers it appears, that he was the son of sir Andrew Wallace of Craigie, knight. He was born at Ellerslie in the county of Kyle, and south-western part of Scotland; and though of an eminent and honourable family, yet, by the narrowness of his fortune, was hitherto unknown to the publick. That which occasioned his first being taken notice of, was his having killed an Englishman of distinction; for which being outlawed, he was obliged to abscond for some time for his safety, whereby his body being inured to hardships, it was not only proof against the inclemency of the weather, but his mind was fortified to undergo the greatest hazards. But becoming at length tired of this wandering state of life, he generously resolved to attempt something for the relief of his distressed country; and was, in consideration of his many valiant exploits, chosen and proclaimed regent of the kingdom by the commonalty, and managed the publick affairs as a lawful magistrate, and substitute of king John. This high office he did not accept of out of ambition, and desire to rule; but for its being conferred on him by the good-will of the people.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

1298.
Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

As Wallace is highly extolled by Scottish writers, so is he as greatly censured by the English of that time; but by the modern he is more generously and candidly treated, by bewailing his unfortunate death, viz. "Thus died that worthy man, for the defence of the liberties of his own country, in a strange one, and remains among the best examples of piety and courage in that kind." A second wishes, that there were many such men in England. And a third, that they were English judges that pronounced this sentence, though Wallace was a Scotsman, and of the number of those that never owned the jurisdiction of Edward. To excuse, in some measure, this extraordinary severity, there are historians who endeavour to defame Wallace, and charge him with having committed excessive cruelties; but neither these accusations, nor the manner of his death, have been able to hinder posterity from doing him the justice he deserved, and unprejudiced people from still deeming him a hero worthy of a better fate.

Dan. Speed &
Rapin, Hist.
Engl.

Wallace's death did not answer Edward's expectation, by securing the subjection of the Scots: on the contrary, it exasperated and animated the people to revenge, and occasioned the friends of Wallace to acknowledge and act in favour of Robert Bruce's title to the crown. And that the resentment of the people on this occasion was very great, will in some measure appear by the following lines and dreadful imprecations of John Blair, Wallace's chaplain:

*Invida mors tristi Gulielmum funere Wallam,
Quæ cuncta tollit, sustulit:
Et tanto pro cive cinis, pro finibus urna est,
Frigusque pro lorica obit.
Ille quidem terras, locas inferiores, reliquit:
At fata factis superans,
Parte sui meliore solum cælumque pererrat;
Hoc spiritu, illud gloria.
At tibi si inscriptum generoso pectus honesto
Fuisset, hostis proditi
Artibus, Angle, tuis, in pœnas parcior esses,
Nec oppidatim spargereres*

Abercromby's
Life of Wal-
lace.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

*Membra viri sacrandæ adytis. Sed scis quid in ista
Immanitate viceris?*

*Ut Vallæ in cunctas oras spargantur, & hujus
Laudes, tuumque dedecus.*

Englified thus:

“ Envious death, who ruins all,
“ Hath wrought the sad lamented fall
“ Of Wallace; and no more remains
“ Of him, than what an urn contains.
“ Ashes for our hero, we have;
“ He, for his armour, a cold grave.
“ He left the earth, too low a state,
“ And by his acts o’ercame his Fate:
“ His soul, death had no power to kill;
“ His noble deeds the world do fill,
“ With lasting trophies of his name.
“ O! hadst thou virtue lov’d, or fame,
“ Thou couldst not have insulted so,
“ Over a brave, betray’d, dead foe,
“ Edward; nor seen those limbs expos’d
“ To publick shame, fit to be clos’d
“ As relicks in an holy shrine;
“ But now the infamy is thine:
“ His end crowns him with glorious bays,
“ And stains the brightest of thy praise.

And Blair says, “ And here it is to be observed, that these three
“ things concur to immortalize the name of the noble Wallace, his
“ own innocence, the tyranny of Edward, and the treachery of Mon-
“ teith. Accursed be the day of John Monteith’s nativity, and may
“ his name be blotted out of the book of life. Accursed to all eter-
“ nity be the inhuman tyrant that put him to death; whilst he, the
“ noble champion of the Scots, shall, for the reward of his virtue,
“ have glory without end. Amen.”

If any one be desirous of a description of Wallace’s person, please to
know, that he was of stature tall, majestick, and of a gigantick make,
large bones, broad chested and shouldered, of incredible strength,
with a pleasant aspect, and countenance always serene. These advan-
tages of body made him superior to most men in fight; for it is said
that he had often engaged and defeated three or four men at a time.

Surely never did a prince act more impolitickly than Edward did,
in putting to death the brave and innocent Wallace; for he never
swore fealty nor did homage to Edward, on his usurping the superio-
rity or sovereignty of Scotland, therefore could no otherwise have
offended him, than as a fair and open enemy in war.

Before I proceed, I think it will not be amiss to make some obser-
vations on the battles of Stirling and Falkirk, which are so differently
related by Scottish and English writers, as have puzzled people to
reconcile them. I shall, therefore, by certain remarks, endeavour to
put those transactions in a proper light.

REMARK. We are told, both by Scottish and English writers, that
the battle of Stirling was occasioned by the breaking down of a
bridge, which, I think, is scarcely probable; for had it, according to
English writers, been a wooden one, and so narrow that only two men
could

could have walked a-breast on it; their great army of above forty thousand men would probably, according to the usual way of marching, have taken up several days, or at least a long time in passing it, and would have given the Scots at the northern end an opportunity, with a small number of men, to have cut them off as they came from the bridge. The said writers also tell us, that the greatest part of the English army had passed: this is accusing the Scots of acting very impolitically, to suffer above twenty thousand of the English to come over, and endanger the defeat of their own army, when it was in their power to have prevented their passing, or at least might have cut them off as they came over the said bridge. I therefore conjecture, that the Scots army under Wallace (instead of lying on the side of a hill on the north of the river Forth, at the arrival of the English army at Stirling) did not arrive in that neighbourhood till after the above-mentioned part of the English army were come over; when, to prevent their being reinforced by those that were still on the other side the bridge, he fell upon them, and obtained a complete victory, without the bridge's being broke down.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

If this be a story invented by Scottish writers, it must have been done to give credit to their victory over so great an army as the English then was, which probably was above double their number, which I hope, in some measure, soon to make appear; and if the breaking of the bridge was devised by English historians, it must have been done with a view to shew that the loss of the battle was owing to that casualty, and not to the superior courage of the Scots.

As to the battle of Falkirk, that is so wildly represented by our writers as scarcely to deserve credit; for we are told by them, that just before the battle began, a dispute arose amongst the three chief officers of the Scottish army, about leading the van, viz. John Comyn, John Stuart, and William Wallace; who not agreeing, Comyn with his men left them at the beginning of the engagement; and Stuart, being surrounded by the English, was killed, with all his followers. Wallace, being attacked both in front and rear, broke through his enemies, and retreated beyond the river Caron. These relations seem very absurd; for can it be reasonably presumed, that, just as the armies were going to engage, a dispute should arise amongst the chief officers, when the fate of the nation depended on their success, and that to be continued among them till the English, by a furious attack on their army, put an end to the dispute? And that Comyn, at this dangerous juncture, should, with his military tenants, withdraw from the army, is not easily to be credited; for, if such a thing had happened, the vigilant and cautious Edward, not ignorant of his design, would undoubtedly, with part of his mighty power, have attacked Comyn on his march. That he did so, and put him to the rout, I think is much more probable, than to charge Comyn with treachery, in leaving his friends as a sacrifice to the vast army of the English.

Now if this story be an invention, I think it must owe its origin to our own writers, to palliate the great overthrow the Scots sustained in this fatal battle: but had they considered that it was no dishonour to be overcome by a nation so potent as the English, whose power at all times is well known to be above ten times greater than ours, and whose vast army at this time, according to their own historians, consisted of no less than seven thousand choice cavalry, and about eighty thousand rare foot, at least treble the number of ours; seeing the
largest

largest army that ever was raised in Scotland, that we can depend upon, was that at Banockburn, which only amounted to thirty thousand; they might have simply told the story. Besides, when we consider that the men in those days who composed the Scottish armies, were neither clothed nor victualled by the king, country, or landlord, all being provided by themselves, which was mean apparel, and oatmeal, carried by each man, which served only for a few days sustenance; which when spent, we have many instances of their army's disbanding, and the men returning to their respective homes without coming to action: I say, when we consider these, who can be surprized at an account of their being beat? or rather, who is not so, when he hears of their having defeated their enemies, of which we have many more instances than of their being defeated? Add to this, that had Comyn been guilty of betraying his country, by deserting the army at the battle of Falkirk, 'tis not in the least probable that the Scots in the same year would have conferred the honour of regent (the highest post of honour and dignity they could bestow) of the kingdom, on the son of a traitor. But all this is submitted to the reader.

Chron. Aber.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

Rym. Fæd.
tom. ii. p. 868.

Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

After the battle of Falkirk, king Edward having set out for England, in the beginning of September held a council at Durham, wherein he bestowed on divers of the English and Scottish nobility in his interest, the estates of the Scottish nobility lately in arms against him: when the Scots, notwithstanding their great losses, taking advantage of Edward's absence, reassumed their courage, raised an army, and chose lord John Comyn, junior, regent of the kingdom, who hearing of a treaty's negotiating at Montreville between the kings of England and France, sent ambassadors to Philip king of France, to entreat that Scotland might be included in the treaty, or to procure a truce for them. Philip, pursuant to this application, endeavoured at first to persuade Edward to leave Scotland in quiet; but he perceived it impossible to procure any but petty advantages, which they would be obliged to purchase by a formal acknowledgment of the power that held them in slavery. For as Edward was in possession of Scotland, to grant a peace as desired to that kingdom, was in effect to request him to relinquish his conquest; therefore all that Philip could obtain, was a truce for the space of seven months, which was not faithfully observed by the English, for they imprisoned the Scottish ambassadors sent to pope Boniface VIII.

The Scots by these proceedings perceived that Edward would not grant them a peace, unless they would entirely submit themselves to English slavery. The regents, on this melancholy occasion, assembled the nobility, and represented to them the dismal condition they were reduced to, and told them, that if Edward had time to secure his conquests, and to reduce the small number of those who yet resisted, he would render ineffectual all future endeavours to recover their liberty, or leave their country in perpetual servitude. This design would have been executed ere now, had it not been retarded by the truce procured them by France. Therefore as no time was to be lost in an affair of this consequence, it was highly necessary to make one generous effort to recover their liberty. He then set forth with what ease they might free themselves from the yoke, whilst Edward depended on their weakness, and the advantage offered them by the winter season, which they never could expect when past. These remonstrances had the desired effect; for the nobility, now

impatient of servitude, with one accord fly to arms, and being seconded by the people, the whole kingdom arose as one man, which put it out of the power of the English to stop their progress; they attacked castles, towns, and other strong holds on all sides, with a rage and fury which there was no possibility to resist. In short, the English were reduced to a necessity of desiring leave to depart the country, otherwise they could not avoid being cut in pieces; but the Scots their adherents were grievously punished for acting in favour of Edward, against their own country.

In the mean time, the bishop of Vicenza, the pope's nuncio, being in France, solicited the release of John Baliol, late king of Scotland, by the mediation of the French king to the pope, who ordered his legate to move king Edward's ambassadors upon it; who granting his request, they obtained his liberty, and he was by Robert Bourgher, knight, the king's proxy to the bishop, delivered up to him at Whitfand in France, on the 20th of July, with a power to do with him and his estate in England, in all respects, as Edward could have done; saving to Edward and his heirs, kings of England, the kingdom of Scotland with its people and appurtenances.

At the same time was read, before John's delivery, in presence of him and that of the nuncio, an instrument, setting forth, that he had committed many crimes and treasons against his sovereign lord king Edward, contrary to his homage and fealty; and that the pope should not order or direct any thing in Scotland, concerning the people, or any thing relating to that kingdom, on behalf of John Baliol or his heirs. On which terms the bishop, in name of, and as the pope's proxy, received John from Edward's commissioners on the 20th day of July; whereby it appears, that the pope then had no notion of Scotland's belonging to the see of Rome, although the year after he claimed it, as an appendage thereof.

Preparatory to John's release, which no doubt was of his own solicitation, he in the preceding year, by a proper deed, voluntarily renounced his right to the crown of Scotland, and resolved never to return thither, or to have any more concerns with the nation, seeing he had found so much malice, fraud, and treason amongst them, by their having endeavoured to poison him. This is confirmed by a deed on record, drawn up in presence of Anthony bishop of Durham, whom he desires to acquaint king Edward therewith.

Edward, on the eleventh of November following, held a parliament at York, to advise concerning the Scottish war; which meeting no sooner broke up, than the king, to execute his design, marched with his army to Berwick, with an intent to relieve the castle of Stirling, then besieged by the Scots; but the season being far advanced, and provisions scarce, he wrote to the governor to surrender on terms of life, which surrender put an end both to Edward's expedition and the campaign: therefore having kept his Christmas at Berwick, he appointed John de St. John, and others, regents of the kingdom, and returned to England about the Candlemas following.

Edward, being enraged to the last degree that there was like to be no end of these things, in order at once to reduce the Scots to their former obedience, summoned all the militia of England to attend him on Whitfun-eve at Carlisle, to march with him into Scotland to subdue his enemies, and settle the English in quiet possession of the lands he

1299.
Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.

Brev. Reg. in
Tur. Lond.

Brady's Ap-
pend. No. 37.
Pryn. 3 vol.
No. 37.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.

1300.

Brev. Reg. in
Tur. Lond.

had given them. But he received a message from the pope, that he was sending a nuncio to Monstreuil in Picardy, to hold a congress to determine all differences betwixt the kingdoms of England and France; which being communicated to certain prelates and divers of the nobility, they advised him to stay in England till the treaty was finished; which the king agreeing to, he wrote to the several sheriffs of the kingdom, to make proclamation in their respective counties, for the militia not to meet him at Carlisle till the first day of the approaching month of August, dated at Stebunhith, alias Stepney, on the seventh day of May: and having held a council at Westminster concerning the Scottish expedition, set out for St. Alban's, to implore the assistance of that saint in the intended war, and by a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, desired him to give orders to his several suffragans, that prayers might be made in all their churches for the same purpose.

Chron. John
de Everiden.

Rapin Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 381.

Edward having settled matters with his discontented nobility in England, summoned another parliament to meet at York on Midsummer day, where it being resolved to act against the Scots with the utmost vigour, the king at the head of a powerful army began his march in quest of them about the beginning of July; and the Scottish army, which consisted of undisciplined and ill-armed militia, retired as he advanced, which gave him an opportunity of taking the strong castles of Lochmaban and Caerlaverock in Anandale, and having vigorously pursued the retreating Scots into the province of Galloway, he overtook and routed them; insomuch that, according to Walsingham, an English writer, the fate of Scotland had then been decided, could Edward have followed them through the fens, to which they fled.

To this I answer, that this assertion is not in the least probable; for though the Scots in the preceding year sustained so great a loss at Falkirk, and now another; yet, let their fate be what it would, they were never dismayed, but, with the utmost expedition, raised another army to attempt the recovery of their losses, which they soon after accomplished, as presently will appear.

Chron. Anon.
in Bib. Cot.
Clarend D. 6.

Echard Hist.
Angl. p. 318.

We are told by an anonymous English writer, that the earl of Buchan and lord Comyn of Badenoch treated with king Edward concerning a peace betwixt Scotland and England; that their demands were unreasonable, by insisting on king John's being restored to his crown, and the nobility to their lands lately given to the English, otherwise they would defend themselves to the last extremity; and if he did not agree to this, he would ere long find what opinion the see of Rome had of his proceedings: they besought him at least to suffer them to live quietly, 'till they had advised with the king of France, which, according to Echard, was so highly resented by him, that with a disdainful smile he answered, "Have you done me homage as superior lord of Scotland, and believe that I can be terrified with pretences; as if like one who has no power to compel, I would tamely give up my undoubted right. Let me hear no more of this; for, if you do, I swear by all that's sacred, I will destroy Scotland from one sea to the other."

REMARK. This I think is not in the least probable, that the Scots at this time would have interceded with Edward to have John Baliol restored to his crown and dignity; seeing in the preceding year he treated the Scottish nation in so vile a manner, by his having privately renounced

renounced his right to its crown, and declared it to be his resolution never to return to Scotland, considering the mal-treatment he had met with.

Edward, by his late victory having laid the country open, marched and laid siege to Stirling castle, which, notwithstanding his utmost efforts to reduce it, was, by the bravery of the governor William Oliphant, defended for the space of three months, and at last was obliged to surrender for want of provisions: but by Fabian we are told, that the surrender of this castle was owing to the king's having caused two pair of large gallows to be erected before it, and ordered proclamation to be made in hearing of the garrison, that if they did not surrender by a certain day, they should all be hanged without mercy; whereupon the governor having considered his own weakness, and the mighty power of Edward, surrendered by the time prefixed. Fab. Chron.

After this success, Edward intended to have reduced the whole kingdom to his obedience, in which being prevented by the want of provisions, scarcity of money, and a sufficient number of infantry, he held a council of war, wherein it was resolved to disband the greatest part of the army, and, for security of the country, to garrison all places of defence with the rest. Anon. Chron.
in Bib. Cot.

The Scots by their late defeat began to despair of making any farther resistance, and having not the least prospect of favour from king Edward, this put them upon thinking on ways and means to extricate themselves from their grievous condition.

In this distress they sent ambassadors to pope Boniface VIII. with an offer of the sovereignty of the kingdom; who was very ambitious, and gladly accepted the tender; and being used haughtily to treat christian princes, imagined they ought implicitly to submit to his will, and that his authority extended to temporals as well as to spirituals. In this belief he vainly supposed, that his bare letter was sufficient to cause Edward to quit all his pretensions to Scotland; which letter, though very long, I shall abridge for the satisfaction of the curious.

“ Boniface, servant of servants, &c. To our beloved son Edward,
“ illustrious king of England, greeting and apostolical bene-
“ diction.

Rym. Fæder.
tom. ii. p.
844.

“ We know, dear son, and experience has often convinced us, of
“ your devotional affection for the church of Rome, who upholds you
“ in the bowels of love. We know your ardent zeal and reverence
“ for her, and your readiness to obey her orders. This gives us a
“ firm hope and entire confidence, that your royal highness will re-
“ ceive our words in good part, diligently listen to them, and effec-
“ tually put them in execution. Your royal highness may have
“ heard, and we doubt not but you remember, that of old the king-
“ dom of Scotland did, and doth still belong to the church of Rome,
“ as all the world knows, and as we have been informed, was never
“ held, neither by yourself nor predecessors, as acknowledged both by
“ your father and self; and your said father by his letters patents
“ owned, that he had received assistance from his son-in-law Alexander
“ III. king of Scotland, not as due to him, but as a special favour:
“ and yourself, when you entreated the said king Alexander to be
“ present at your coronation, you declared by your letters patent, that
“ you

“ you asked it not as due from Alexander, but as a special favour granted by him, to which he was no ways obliged.

“ And when the king of Scotland did homage to you for his lands in Tindale and Penrith, he publickly protested, that as king of Scotland he was independent, and held his crown of God alone, to which you yourself did then agree. When king Alexander III. died, leaving only a grand-child heiress to the crown, you solicited a marriage betwixt her and your son prince Edward, by all ways and means imaginable; whereas, had you been liege lord of Scotland, the wardship of the young queen would have belonged to you, and you might have given her in marriage to whom you pleased. But instead of that, there were then guardians of the kingdom, though not appointed, yet owned by you; and though they were chosen by the Scottish nobility, they were yet treated with by you concerning the said marriage; and by the contract agreed on by them, it was expressly provided, that if the marriage produced no children, the kingdom of Scotland shall revert to the next heir, free and independent, as if the said marriage had never happened: and if children were thereby procreated, Scotland should nevertheless in all respects remain a separate and distinct nation from England, and retain the dignity and appellation of a kingdom as heretofore, be governed by its own laws, have its officers of state, and its free and independent parliament; and that all causes concerning Scottish affairs be decided within the kingdom, and none of its people be obliged to go elsewhere for justice.

“ That the queen of Scotland being dead, and a controversy arising among the nobility touching the succession to the crown, the majority were willing that the king of England should be chosen arbitrator to settle this important affair. Pursuant to which they invited Edward to the borders, whither he came attended by an army to support his party; nor would they leave the country, till by your letters patent you assured them, that they were not by way of duty obliged to repair to England, but by a special favour, which should no ways affect the antient rights and liberties of the kingdom; nor should their compliance be brought as a precedent in any time thereafter.

“ Notwithstanding of these securities, innovations had been made and assented to by one in whose favour you had given sentence: but all having been extorted and agreed to by fear, they ought not in justice to subsist, nor redound to the prejudice of the nation. Besides, whenever a legate was sent by the pope to England, he could not, by virtue of that mission, proceed to Scotland, where no nuncio was ever admitted, without special letters from the pope to the king of Scotland; whereas had Scotland been a fee of England, and its king a vassal to that crown, the pope's ambassadors might have proceeded thither, without leave asked of the Scottish king. Further, the church and kingdom of Scotland were ever independent of all other powers but that of the see of Rome: and when the archbishop of York, in your predecessor's time, pretended a superiority over the Scottish clergy, he could shew no other authority for his pretensions, than a letter from certain Scottish bishops, which, by way of compliment, concluded with, We are yours.

“ In

“ In short, Boniface condemns Edward for subduing Scotland, when
 “ it wanted a head, and sharply warns him to withdraw his arms
 “ from that unhappy country, and leave the Scots to their own laws
 “ and liberties ; adding, that if he had any thing in equity to alledge
 “ in his own favour, he should by his ambassadors appear before him
 “ within the space of six months, that justice might be done to both
 “ parties.”

In the above letter may be observed the greatest and most consummate assurance in the pope, to assert that Scotland was a fief of the church of Rome.

This haughty proceeding of the pope's was by no means proper to prevail on Edward to lay down his arms ; instead of that he was so irritated at Boniface's pretensions to Scotland, that he swore by the blood of God, and for Sion's sake, saying, I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem I will not be at rest, while there is breath in my nostrils, but will defend my right, which is known to all the world, to the utmost of my power ; and added, that if he heard any more of the said pretensions, he would destroy Scotland from sea to sea. This, it seems, was Edward's common way of threatening : the Scottish commissioners present could not bear it without emotion, but told Edward, that he had a great deal to do before matters came to that pass ; and that there was not a Scottish man but would spill the last drop of his blood in defence of his country.

But Edward on reflection sent for the archbishop, and calmly told him, that this affair was of such consequence, that he could say nothing to it without the advice of parliament, which as soon as received, he would return his holiness an answer. Preparatory to which, he issued, on the 26th of September anno 1300, from Rose castle in Cumberland, writs for a parliament to meet at Lincoln on the octave of St. Hilary, directed to his judges, chancellors of the universities, deans of cathedral churches, deacons, officials, &c. who were deemed the best antiquaries and lawyers, to advise him concerning his right of sovereignty over the kingdom of Scotland.

This parliament, which consisted of one hundred and four members, or all the nobility of the kingdom, not only acted for themselves, but likewise for the whole community of the nation, having deliberated on the pope's letter, concerning his pretensions and haughtiness, were no less exasperated than the king himself ; and having drawn up an answer to be sent to the pope on that occasion, dated at Lincoln the 12th of February in the year 1301, it was signed by all the nobility, and their several seals appended, of the following tenor :

They tell his holiness, “ That although the church of Rome, as we hope and believe, doth always act with that prudence and discretion, as to prejudice none, but preserve the rights and liberties of all persons inviolable ; yet, in the parliament held at Lincoln by their ferene lord king Edward, there was presented a monitory bull of his holiness, concerning the right and state of this kingdom ; which being read, was found to contain many strange and wonderful things, till this time unheard of. That it was well known in these parts, that from the origin of England, the kings thereof, during the Saxon government, enjoyed the superiority and direct dominion over Scotland, and have continued in possession thereof ever since.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.
Mat. West-
monast. Flor.
Hist.
Craig on
Homage.

Pryn. Collect.
p. 883.

1300.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii. p. 873.

An. 1301.

Id. ibid.

“ That in respect to temporals, Scotland never belonged to the
 “ church of Rome. That it was an antient fief of the crown and
 “ kings of England, and was never subject to any other prince than
 “ the king of England. That the kings of England, in respect to
 “ their temporalities in that kingdom, and elsewhere, never did nor
 “ ought to answer before any ecclesiastical or secular judge, in regard
 “ to their royal dignities. And that it is, and shall for ever hereafter
 “ be, the unanimous and unalterable resolution of all and every one of
 “ us, that our lord the king, concerning his rights in Scotland, and
 “ other temporalities, should in no wise answer judicially before or
 “ send commissioners to you, considering it would tend to the disinhe-
 “ ritation of the crown of England and royal dignity, subversion of
 “ the state, and prejudice of our customs, laws, and liberties, which,
 “ by our oaths, we are bound to observe and defend, and which, by
 “ the help of God, we will maintain to the utmost of our power; nor
 “ would we suffer the king to agree to such strange and unheard-of
 “ things, were he inclined so to do.

“ Wherefore we most humbly and reverently beseech your holi-
 “ ness, favourably to permit our king peaceably to enjoy his rights,
 “ customs, laws, and liberties, without diminution or disturbance.
 “ In witness whereof we have put to our seals, for ourselves and the
 “ whole community of the kingdom, at Lincoln, the 12th day of Fe-
 “ bruary, anno 1301.”

Mat. West-
 monast. Flor.
 Hist. ad hunc
 annum.

The above answer to the pope's monitory brief not being deemed
 sufficient, Edward, about three months after, sent him the following
 epistolary declaration, collected from divers monkish writers, remain-
 ing in the archives of several monasteries in England, setting forth
 “ the superiority and direct dominion of the ancient English kings
 “ over those of Scotland, with the several homages done by the latter
 “ to the former. It gives an account of the vacancy of the Scottish
 “ throne, on the death of the late queen Margaret, with the disputes
 “ that arose among the competitors for the crown; the decision
 “ whereof was voluntarily referred to king Edward by the states of
 “ Scotland, which was acknowledged and submitted to by each of the
 “ said competitors, by virtue whereof he had declared John Baliol to
 “ be right and lawful king of Scotland. Sets forth the rebellion of
 “ the said king, with that of the Scottish nobility; their invasion of
 “ England, and violences committed, contrary to their oaths of fealty
 “ and homage. It asserts the king's conquest of Scotland, and the
 “ surrender of it by John, with his whole right, title, and dignity,
 “ to king Edward, which, together with his being superior lord of
 “ Scotland, has now put him in right and lawful possession of the same.
 “ That the Scots, notwithstanding of their having again sworn fealty
 “ and done homage to king Edward, as their superior and supreme
 “ sovereign lord, have nevertheless again invaded, ravaged, and spoiled
 “ England; wherefore he desires his holiness not to give credit to the
 “ insinuations of the Scots: and humbly entreats, that he would have
 “ a paternal regard to his royal rights and dignities. Dated at Kenilworth
 “ the 17th day of May, anno 1301.”

REMARK. In the parliament's answer to pope Boniface's monitory
 brief, it may be observed, that king Edward, in his memorial delivered
 to the states of Scotland at Norham, in the year 1291, to prove his
 right of superiority and sovereignty over the kingdom of Scotland, ca

ries his claim no higher than the time of king Edward the Elder, about the year 900; whereas in this he deduceth it from Brutus, the first fabulous king of this island, tracing it through the reigns of all the fictitious kings in Geoffrey of Monmouth's romance, which he did not venture to do in that drawn up for the Scots at Norham; but this was deemed sufficient for the pope and Italians, who were presumed to be but indifferently versed in English history.

And, besides the aspersions thrown on the Scots in the above answers, many English writers have traduced them with the vile epithets of false, rebellious, and perjured, which may justly be retorted upon Edward; for to him was owing all the wickedness committed on both sides, during the long course of those bloody and destructive wars, occasioned by his boundless ambition, usurping a superiority over Scotland, which never offended him, but chose him arbiter of their differences, and gave him the election of their king, whom he no sooner declared, than he haughtily used him more like a slave than a prince; and by mal-treatment drove him to extremities, that he might have an opportunity to possess himself of the crown, which soon after happened.

These severities gave birth to new opposition and insurrections; for no man, that had the least regard for the honour and interest of his country, could sit still, and see her trampled upon in the most abject manner. Thus provoked, they took arms, and endeavoured to free themselves; and having recovered in winter what Edward had got in summer, this irritated him to such a degree, that he frequently swore he would destroy Scotland from sea to sea: and although the Almighty would not suffer him to put his dreadful threats in execution, yet, wherever he went, he committed the most unheard-of ravages and depredations; and having a-new compelled the people to swear to him, those, who afterwards endeavoured to extricate their country, were stigmatized with the opprobrious epithets of treacherous and perjured. Nay, it was all one to Edward whether the people qualified themselves to his government or not; for many that never did, but acted bravely and laudably against him, in defence of themselves and their country, yet nevertheless, when taken, were put to cruel and ignominious deaths; as doth appear by those of the celebrated Wallace; Robert Bruce's three brothers, the earl of Athol, &c.

This is the king whom English historians extol to a very great degree, without telling us, that, according to Welsh historians, their prince Llewellyn and his subjects were by Edward oppressed to such a degree, that they were forced to take up arms to defend their laws and liberties. This gave Edward, what he had long wished for, an opportunity to make an entire conquest of their country. To which may be added, that Edward deserved the stigma of perjury as well as the Scots, by his obtaining the pope's absolution from the oath he had taken to observe the perambulations of forests. Besides, a man that has but little regard to his word, cannot justly be deemed a man of honour: that Edward was such, is manifest by the numerous breaches of his word, given to confirm the great charters, and granting the statute *De tallagio non concedendo*, and *De forestariis*, of those woods which had been taken and laid in forests, contrary to law.

The truce granted at Dumfries on the 30th of October, in the preceding year, expiring on Whitsunday, Edward renewed the war about
Midsummer; Rym. Foed.
tom. ii. p. 868.
Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.

An. 1301.
Chron. de
Lancicost.
Ann. de
Abing.

Midsummer; and dividing his great army into two bodies, one he commanded himself, the other being under the prince of Wales, his son; and both entering Scotland by the western border, and being far superior in power to the Scots, these retired before them as they advanced: yet the Scots intercepted their convoys, cut off parties, and seized a number of horses, and retarded the march of their army to such a degree, that, during the whole campaign, they were only able to take the strong castle of Carlaverock in Anandale, after a long siege, which the Scots had retaken some time before. Edward, being sensible that the Scots recovered in winter what he got in summer, resolved to pass the winter in Scotland, that, by his presence, he might prevent the attempts of the enemy, and chose the town of Linlithgow for his residence during that season.

At this place Edward received advice from his plenipotentiaries at Asmiers in France, that, in pursuance of his warrant given at Dunipace, the 14th of October, they had agreed to another truce for the Scots; importing, that the king of France had often desired the king of England not to molest the king and people of Scotland; that the treaties concerning the same being, by divers impediments, obstructed and delayed, therefore, to put an end to that affair, they had agreed on the following articles:

Rym. Feder.
tom. ii. p. 892.

1. "The cessation of arms was to continue till the 30th of the month of November, anno 1302.

2. "The plenipotentiaries shall meet again at Monstreville, a fortnight after Easter, to treat of such affairs as remain unadjusted; provided always, that the earls of Flanders, Bar, &c. shall not be considered or mentioned by the king of England as his allies.

3. "That the lands, castles, &c. taken from the Scots by the English, before the ratification of the present treaty, shall be put into the hands of the king of France, till the approaching feast of All-saints, and be by him committed to the custody of the duke of Burgundy, or other person unsuspected to the king of England.

4. "That the treaty shall be ratified by the king of England; with this allowance, that although the king of France always gives the title of king of Scotland to John Baliol, and calls the Scots his allies, yet as the king of England maintains the contrary, declares that he acknowledges neither as such."

An. 1302.
Ibid. p. 896.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Ang.

Although Edward, at the French king's desire, had prolonged the truce to the 30th of November; yet, that it might be of as little use to them as possible, and in order to have a great power to attack them as soon as it should expire, he issued his writs to the states of Ireland, commanding them to be in readiness with all their forces, to enable him to put an end to the war in Scotland with all expedition, in case the treaty then carrying on with France did not take effect. Edward, being returned to England, sent the earl of Lincoln and lord Hugh le Despencer ambassadors to the pope, to set forth the injuries done to him and the nation by the Scots; and to entreat his holiness to give no further credit to the false representations of those traitors and murderers, who had so much imposed upon him. But Boniface, already prepossessed in favour of the Scottish right, not only forbid Edward to molest them, but demanded, in behalf of the late king John, a full restitution of all his estate in England: but Edward was so far from agreeing

agreeing to the pope's demand, that some time after he gave his whole estate to John of Britany, a nephew of his own.

A treaty for a general peace being carrying on in France between the kings of England and France, John Comyn earl of Buchan, James lord steward of Scotland, John Soules, Engleram Umfraville, William Baliol, William Lamberton bishop of St. Andrews, and Matthew Crambeth bishop of Dunkeld, were sent plenipotentiaries to assist thereat; and the truce was at first prolonged to Easter in the present year, and afterwards to Whitsunday, anno 1303.

Rymer. Fœ-
dera, tom. ii.
p. 906.

Ibid. p. 913.

The last truce being about to expire, the lord John Seagrave, regent of Scotland, who wintered at Berwick, was sent by Edward into Scotland with a numerous army, not with a design to fight; for the Scots, after so many losses, he believed could not resist: wherefore dividing his army in the neighbourhood of Roslin in Lothian, five miles to the south-westward of Edinburgh, into three bodies, and marching some distance one from the other, the more conveniently to ravage the country, these, imagining there was no danger, marched in a careless manner; and, without informing themselves of the condition of their enemies, continued to commit the most unheard-of depredations. To stop these destructive proceedings, lord John Comyn of Badenach, assisted by John Frazer, the most potent man in Teviotdale, raised about eight thousand men, and marched against them, to abridge the limits of their plundering, or otherwise, if an opportunity offered for action, to embrace it, which sooner happened than was expected; for the English, little expecting to be assaulted by an enemy they had so often beat and brought so low, advanced with too great temerity in an enemy's country. The first body, under the command of Seagrave the general, (by Scottish writers called Ralph Confray) was attacked by the Scots with such violence, that they soon broke and defeated them; and a great slaughter ensuing, some, who escaped, flying to the next body, carried dread and dismay along with them. All being now in the greatest hurry and confusion, the cry was arm, arm, while they exhorted each other to behave like men, for their lives and the honour of their country; and the Scots furiously attacking them, a fierce battle began: the Scots, unwilling to lose the honour obtained by their late victory, and the English, to recover their honour, fought like men in despair; but the Scots at last putting them to flight, obtained a bloody success.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 14.
Buchan. Rer.
Scot. lib. 8.
Walsing. Hist.
p. 86.
Chron. Abing.

The third body of the English advanced in a great rage to avenge themselves on the Scots, not doubting to gain an easy victory over them by their great sufferings in the late battle, and attacked them with intrepidity. The Scots, at this unexpected assault, were not a little dismayed, having lost a number of men in the former engagements, and many by wounds and fatigue were unable to engage afresh. But their leaders, to encourage them to renew the fight, set before them the chance they had in fighting, and certain destruction inslying; and having commanded them to kill their prisoners, to prevent their falling on them in the heat of action, and arm their servants with the spoils of the slain, they brought their army, thus recruited, in view. The battle began, and being fought fiercely on both sides, victory continued a long time doubtful. The Scots, by their commanders being reminded of the honour gained by their double victory, took courage, and charged the enemy with such

violence, that they broke them, and obtained a complete victory at Roslin, in the year 1302.

Although certain English writers, for want of candor, have done what they could to lessen this triple victory; yet Tyrrel, the most impartial of them all, gives us the following relation:

Tyrr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 153.

“ The lord John de Seagrave, guardian of Scotland, having wintered at Berwick, resolved to march into that kingdom, and wholly to reduce it to the king’s obedience; but when, early in the morning, they came near Edinburgh, the English generals divided the army into two battalions; where the first, consisting of three hundred men at arms, was commanded by the lord de Seagrave himself, and the second by his brother, a very valiant soldier. These battalions marched about four miles from each other; but not being aware of an ambuscade that the Scots had laid for them in the way, they had like all of them to have fallen into it: but when discovered, the lord Seagrave was advised by his officers to retreat to the next battalion, that was then coming up; but he, thinking that to be a disparagement to his valour, rashly declined it; and so the Scots proving too hard for him, he was taken prisoner, with about twenty of his men, besides several others who were killed. And so the second division coming up, were likewise routed, and Robert le Coster, a most valiant officer, who then served under the king of England, was killed. When this engagement happened, sir Robert Nevill, who commanded a third division, was at mass with his men, it being the first Sunday in Lent; but on a sudden, hearing that the Scots had the advantage, and had taken the general prisoner, he presently made haste to the assistance of his countrymen, where he behaved himself so gallantly, that he rescued the lord Seagrave, and several other prisoners, and so procured an honourable retreat for our forces, though not without considerable loss on the English side.”

Rym. Fœd.
vol. ii. p. 929,
930.

Though English historians have carped at these noble and ever memorable victories, yet it was not so abroad, as will appear by the following letter, sent by the above named Scottish plenipotentiaries at Paris to the states of the kingdom, concerning the peace concluded there betwixt the kings of England and France; wherein, after having wished him, and those who adhered to him, health, triumph, and the spirit of comfort, they tell him, “ that a perpetual peace was concluded and sworn to by the kings of France and England, exclusive of the Scots; and the king of France, continuing his friendship for them, had sent ambassadors to the court of England, to desire that the truce with Scotland might be prolonged, and the two kings to meet. That, on an interview, (now all their quarrels are taken away, and a perfect friendship established between them) it would be more easy to bring about a peace with Scotland: and, in the meantime, if the designed truce was agreed to by king Edward, it was fit the Scots should accept of it, notwithstanding the loss some will sustain by being kept so long out of their annual rent. But if the heart of that prince be, like that of king Pharaoh, hardened so far as to reject all reasonable terms, even in that case, they advised their countrymen not to despair; but to shew themselves, more than ever, men of resolution and courage. And did the Scots but know how highly their valour in the late battles is celebrated in all parts abroad, “ they

“ they would be greatly pleased, and encouraged to persevere in the performance of noble and generous feats, in defence of their country. And that it was their inclination and earnest desire to return with all expedition, to serve their country to the utmost of their power; but the king of France would not suffer them to depart, till he had accomplished their business. That his ambassadors would probably go from the court of England to Scotland: if they did, hoped they would be received and entertained with all the respect imaginable, both for their honour and that of the kingdom.”

REMARK. Surely never was a people more imposed upon than the Scots were, both by Edward and Philip, kings of England and France, though the former seems to have acted with more candor than the latter; for the truces granted by Edward to the Scots, were made with great reluctance, as being forced by Philip: for he being in possession of Edward's province of Guienne in France, for the restoring of which a treaty had for some time been carried on between both princes, Edward, at the desire of Philip, durst not refuse granting the truces, for fear of dissolving the treaty.

But both kings now being iniquitously agreed to give up their allies the Scots and Flemmings, by excluding them the late treaty, they both became great sufferers; the Scots by Edward, who subdued their country anew, while the earl of Flanders was left to the mercy of Philip, who not only compelled him to surrender his country, but also himself and his two sons, who were put in dures. And such was the wickedness of Philip on this occasion, that he not only deserted the Scots his allies, but by fair promises persuaded their ambassadors, as appears in the above letter, that he would, at a future interview with king Edward, procure them a separate peace; which 'tis manifest he never intended, by his not mentioning it thereafter. Besides, 'tis evident that neither of the contracting parties designed to do any thing for their distressed allies, who being now deemed foes, the said princes mutually swore not to assist their enemies: and as to Philip's leaving the Scots to the mercy of Edward, that was to prevail on him to abandon his allies the Flemmings, who of late had gained several advantages over him.

By this we may learn the little regard shewn by powerful princes to the interest of their less potent allies, who though artfully drawn in by them to their assistance, yet are wickedly betrayed by them to their ruin. By this treaty, John, the late king of Scotland, being deprived of all hopes of ever being restored, he lived on his estate in Normandy in France the residue of his days as a private person. His estates in England and Scotland being some time before sequestered, and in possession of king Edward, he, in the year 1306, bestowed them on his nephew, John of Britain.

Rym. Fœl.
tom. ii.
p. 1029.

The three victories obtained by the Scots in the neighbourhood of Roslin over three armies of Edward in one day, enraged him to the last degree; and being willing to blot out the ignominy, and put an end to those long and destructive wars as soon as possible, he summoned all the militia of England to meet him at Roxburgh on Whit-sunday.

In the mean time the Scots laid siege to Stirling-castle; but being unable to reduce it by force, they attempted to do it by famine; but the garrison were so cautious in the management of their provisions, that the Scots, despairing of taking it, at last raised the siege. The castle

Mat. Westm.
Flor. Hist.

An. 1303.

castle being reduced to great straits, through the want of provisions, sent a messenger to king Edward, to acquaint him with their sad condition, and to desire relief: but the messenger proving a traitor, instead of going to the king, went to the Scots, and acquainted them with the state of the castle; on which they returned, and, renewing the siege, pressed it so hard, that the garrison surrendered within the space of three days to the lord John Soules, on the terms of saving their lives, and to be conducted to their lord the king of England; which being performed, Soules victualled it, and manned it with a strong garrison.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.
Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 129.

Edward mustered his army at Roxburgh, which, according to some writers, was the most numerous he ever had. It must then have been very great; for the army mustered at Newcastle upon Tyne, to invade Scotland, in the year 1298, amounted to above one hundred and four thousand and five hundred men, viz. of choice horse or troopers two thousand, of light horse or dragoons above two thousand five hundred, and of foot, including the Welsh, above one hundred thousand. With the present and still more numerous army, Edward marched northwards; and being of opinion that the siege of the strong castle of Stirling would occasion a great loss of time to reduce it, he passed it; and marching northwards about fifty-two miles, laid siege to the castle of Brechin, then under the command of Thomas Maul; probably predecessor of the noble family of Panmure, to which it afterwards belonged till the year 1715, when it was forfeited, to the great loss of the present worthy descendant of that family. And although Edward had violently battered the castle with huge stones for a long time, it proved of no effect, as appears by Maul's observing where one of the stones hit, and wiping it with a handkerchief which he had in his hand; but being on the wall of the castle a few days after, he was unluckily struck by one of these stones on the breast, which bereft him of life. This affected the defendants in such manner, that they surrendered to Edward soon after. The character given this brave man by a certain English historian, is, that he was a soldier of undaunted courage and great resolution; that the vigour and strength of his body were very great; and that he was not afraid to defend the small fortress committed to his charge, against a royal army.

Mat. Westm.
Flor. Hist.
p. 440.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

From this place the king marched, and invested the castle of Urquhart in the county of Murray, (but now, by its being divided, in the county of Ross) which being taken by storm, all were put to the sword. This occasioned others to surrender in time, for fear of the same fate. Edward, on his return southwards, seizing on the abbey of Dunfermling, burnt it all, except the church and cells belonging to the monks; for there were divers large apartments in it, fortified by the Scots, whence they used to sally, and spoil the neighbouring country. After which continuing his march to Stirling, he now laid siege to the castle, which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered on the 4th of July, on terms of life and limb: but Edward, contrary to the articles of capitulation, sent the brave governor, William Oliver, (who so gallantly defended this castle about four years before, and at this time) to England, where he was committed to durance.

An. 1304.
Walsing Hist.
Chron. Abing.

English writers, seemingly ashamed of this hard and cruel treatment, put the case in a different light, by telling us, "That Edward having left Dunfermling, went to the siege of Stirling-castle, and battered

" battered it with engines, which threw stones of two hundred pounds
 " weight, which shook the walls to that degree, that they fell down
 " in divers places. However, the besieged continued to defend them-
 " selves gallantly with their military engines, and killed many of the
 " besiegers; nay, the king himself was in great danger, by the num-
 " ber of stones and arrows shot by the besieged: but a wide breach
 " being made in the wall at last, and the ditch filled up with faggots
 " and other stuff, and having ordered an assault to be made, Edward
 " made a short speech to encourage his men, setting forth the justice
 " of his cause; and although the nobility of Scotland had often sworn
 " fealty, and done him homage as their supreme lord, they had never-
 " theless rebelled against him, and were as often subdued by him; and
 " this being the last place to be taken, was held out by an inconfi-
 " derable fellow: he therefore hoped they would make a vigorous
 " assault, which would greatly redound to their honour, and that of
 " their country. Now, there being no hopes of relief, a surrender
 " was offered, upon the terms of life and limb; which not being
 " admitted, no other terms were to be had than to surrender at dis-
 " cretion, which the governor would not agree to, till reduced to the last
 " extremity, when the garrison gave up the castle on the 20th of July,
 " and surrendered themselves, being reduced to twenty-eight in number,
 " to Edward, with ropes about their necks, and bare-footed, confessing
 " themselves worthy of death; which, according to our author, pre-
 " vailed on Edward's good-nature to spare their lives."

Walsing. Hist.
 p. 89.

Edward having learnt that the vigorous opposition he met with from
 the Scots, was in a great measure owing to his cruel treatment of them,
 whereby they were drove to despair, and induced to revolt; to remedy
 which, after this his fourth expedition into Scotland, he had recourse
 to milder methods, by allowing those who voluntarily submitted great
 advantages, which he formerly would not. To which end he ap-
 pointed commissioners to treat with those nominated by the nobility of
 Scotland, that were lately in arms against him; the terms whereof
 were of the following tenor:

" Articles agreed on by Richard de Burgh earl of Ulster, Aymer de
 " Valance lord of Montignak, Henry de Piercy knight, and John de
 " Bensted clerk, on the part of king Edward; and John Comyn of
 " Badenach, and his adherents, both at home and abroad, on the other
 " part: for the faithful observation and keeping of which, the said
 " earl, lord Aymer, Henry, and John, in the name of Edward; and
 " the said John Comyn, Edmund Comyn of Kilbride, John de Gra-
 " ham, John de Vaux, Godfrey de Roos, John de Maxwell senior,
 " Peter de Bendergyst, Walter Berkley de Kerdan, Hugh de Loth,
 " William de Erth, James de Roos, and Walter de Rathevan, knights,
 " for themselves and all their adherents, that would be in the peace
 " and faith of the king, were sworn to the following articles.

An. 1304.
 Ryl. Placit.
 Parl. p. 369.

1. " All who accede to the peace with the said John Comyn, except
 " the persons hereafter named, shall have their lives and limbs pre-
 " served, be free from imprisonment, and not be divested of their
 " estates, unless for fines for trespasses committed against the king;
 " and all minors to have the terms as to life, limb, imprisonment, and
 " disinheritance.

2. " All fines, for crimes committed against the king, shall be regu-
 " lated in his next parliament; as shall also the state of Scotland.

3. " All the strong holds in Scotland, that are now in the king's hands, or those of his friends, shall remain therein, and the charge of keeping them shall be defrayed by the owners thereof.

4. " That the prisoners on both sides be discharged, except Peter Morham and his father; and all hostages for the payment of prisoners ransoms be released." The persons excepted were Robert bishop of Glasgow, James lord Steward of Scotland, John Soules, David Graham, Alexander Lindsay, Simon Frazer, Thomas Boece, and William Wallace. The bishop, Steward, and Soules, to have their lives and limbs saved, neither to be imprisoned nor disinherited; but to be banished for the space of two years beyond the river Trent in England; and that Steward's castles be put into Edward's possession during his exile, and the expence of keeping them defrayed by himself. Graham and Lindsay were to have the same conditions, and to be banished Scotland for half a year, the former beyond the river Tweed, and the latter beyond that of Trent. Frazer and Boece were likewise allowed the same terms, but banished the king's dominions for the space of three years. But as to the incomparable Wallace, he was to be wholly at the king's mercy: for it may probably have been thought, had other terms been offered him, that he would have rejected them, as formerly, to the king's dishonour. This treaty was signed at Stratford on the 9th day of February, anno 1304.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angliæ.

After the reduction of Stirling-castle, Edward employed the rest of the summer in settling the state of Scotland; and having appointed governors for the several castles, and other fortresses, he appointed John Seagrave a second time his lieutenant, or governor of the kingdom; and, a little before winter, returned to England.

An. 1305.
Ryl. Placit.
Parl. p. 243.

Edward, soon after his arrival in London, held a parliament in that city in the time of Lent. He enjoined the bishop of Glasgow, Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, and John de Moubray, the chief of the Scottish nobility that were concerned in the late war against him, to consider of a proper day and place for calling a parliament, to take cognizance of the state of the kingdom and people of Scotland; and likewise, who are the fittest persons to be entrusted with the government thereof, with the number and quality of the Scottish nobility that should come to the said parliament. To which they returned answer the day following, viz. " That a parliament could not conveniently assemble in Scotland before Midsummer; the place to be appointed by the king; the persons fit to be chosen members thereof were two bishops, two abbots, two earls, two barons, and two commoners; and as to the persons to be concerned in the government of the kingdom, they were of opinion, that the regent and ministry, with the community of the kingdom, were the fittest to be entrusted with the care of the nation."

Ibid.

These opinions being read before the king and council on the 26th of March, Edward appointed the parliament to meet three weeks after Midsummer, and that ten men should be chosen by the community of Scotland to represent it. (This, for aught I can learn, is the first national council held in Scotland, properly called a parliament, by having the community represented in it; for the kings of Scotland, before Edward usurped the superiority thereof, called none to their councils but the nobility, prelates, and others of dignified clergy.) It was moved, that the persons elected to represent the community might have

have their expences allowed them; to which Edward answered, that they should be defrayed by the community of the nation whom they represented.

Ord. estab.
Scot. in Tur.
Lond.

The abovementioned parliament, appointed to have been held at London three weeks after Midsummer, was prorogued to the 15th of September; at which time the Scottish commissioners repaired to it, viz. the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld, the abbots of Cowper and Melross, the earl of Buchan, and sir John Monteith, (in room of earl Patrick, who did not come) John de Moubray, Robert de Keith, Adam de Gordon, and John de Inchmartin. These being joined with twenty persons of the same quality, and sworn, set about settling the government of Scotland; and nominated John of Britany, Edward's nephew, lieutenant or governor of Scotland, sir William Bevercote chancellor, sir John Sandale chamberlain, and sir Robert Heron comptroller, with sheriffs for the several counties; justices of the peace, coroners, and governors of the several castles, being regulated, together with the customs, laws, and every thing else relating to the government of the kingdom, at Sheen on the river Thames in the county of Surrey, now called Richmond.

Edward was so well satisfied with the conclusion of this great affair, in hopes of a firm and lasting peace, that he granted to the Scottish nobility, who were lately in arms against him, not only double the time to pay their fines in, but allowed them wherewithal to subsist on, according to their several degrees and quality, till their compositions were paid, and soon after confirmed the same by his latters patents of the following tenor:

" Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland,
" and duke of Aquitain, to all who shall hear or see these letters,
" greeting. In perpetual memory of the under written, be it known
" to all man, that the people of Scotland, after they had been in our
" allegiance and homage, and bound to us by an oath of fealty, and
" by charters in as strong a manner as we and our council could de-
" vise; yet they, by evil counsel, arose and made war against us, com-
" mitting robberies, burnings, murders, felonies, and other evils and
" mischief, in our land of Scotland, and in part of England, and to
" the utmost of their power, contrary to their fealty, homage, and
" allegiance. But many of them having returned to our peace and
" obedience since, were graciously received by us. And John Comyn
" lord of Badenach, with certain of his associates, having submitted
" since, were likewise kindly received. And as to their fines for the
" trespasses committed against us, and for the establishment of Scot-
" land, they shall be at our disposal.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii. p. 98.

" And notwithstanding of the numerous contempts, trespasses, out-
" rages, and disobedience of the Scots against us have been so great,
" that a recompence sufficient cannot be made for them, and although
" we cannot suffer the said crimes to pass with impunity; yet since the
" Scots have behaved well and loyally, since we were last in those parts,
" and from the hopes we have of their good behaviour and service here-
" after, we have granted, and hereby do grant, that their lives and
" limbs shall be saved, and their bodies free from imprisonment, and
" they shall not be disinherited. Saving to us always the lordships, lands,
" tenements, domains, and appurtenances of the royalty of Scotland,
" (alienated by John Baliol, late king thereof) to dispose of them as

we

“ we shall judge proper. And we do hereby pardon and release all
 “ persons, that have submitted to us, of all crimes committed against
 “ us, all anger, rancour, and manner of ill-will, we had at any time
 “ against them; but they shall nevertheless pay that ordered by us
 “ and our council, according to our decree of the following purport:

1. “ We order and ordain, that John Comyn, with his associates,
 “ who submitted upon articles, to make satisfaction for the crimes
 “ committed by them, for which they shall pay three years rents of
 “ their several estates, towards defraying the expence of erecting new
 “ castles and other fortresses in Scotland, for the security and welfare
 “ of the nation; or to such other purposes as shall be judged necessary;
 “ and likewise pardon the said John Comyn and David Graham the
 “ penalties incurred by them for staying abroad, contrary to the said
 “ articles.

2. “ It is ordained by us and our council, that the Scots who sub-
 “ mitted to us before the resignation of John de Baliol, shall only pay
 “ two years rents of their several lands or estates, unless they can shew
 “ an acquittance to the contrary.” The like order was made touching
 Adam de Gordon and Simon de Frazer, knights; therefore unnecessary
 to be repeated.

3. “ It is farther ordered and ordained, that the several bishops,
 “ abbots, priors, and clergy of the kingdom of Scotland, (except the
 “ bishop of Glasgow) shall, for their several transgressions, pay one
 “ year’s revenue; unless they can, by a proper instrument, shew that
 “ they are discharged, or ought to be excused.” And the bishop of
 Glasgow was to be discharged on the same terms with John Comyn,
 excepting his banishment, which was remitted.

4. “ And as Ingleram de Umfraville only submitted a few days
 “ before the granting of these patents, he shall pay five years rents of
 “ his estate; and William de Baliol and John Wychard shall, for the
 “ same reason, pay four years revenue; and that Hugh de Ardrossan,
 “ John de Naper, and John de Makilgowny, assistants to the said
 “ Hugh de Ingleram, shall pay a fine of three years rent of their
 “ respective lands.

5. “ As to the time and manner of paying the said compositions or
 “ fines, the king’s lieutenant and chamberlain of Scotland shall make
 “ a just estimate of the value of the offenders lands and tenements,
 “ according to which the fines are to be rated; and half the income
 “ to be paid annually, and the other moiety to be applied towards the
 “ support and maintenance of their several families.

6. “ And our will is not that this our determination should be ex-
 “ tended to such of the Scottish nation as were prisoners at this time,
 nor to those who have not submitted to us.

“ In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patents to be
 “ sealed at Westminster, on the 15th day of October, 1305.”

Tyr. Hist.
 Engl. vol. iii.
 p. 167.

On the abovementioned transactions, an eminent English historian
 has made the following remark: “ That the great council aforesaid
 “ having, within the space of twenty days, finished the articles above
 “ specified, for the observation of which all the Scottish nobility, pre-
 “ lates, and other dignified clergymen, took a solemn oath, but to
 “ little purpose; since most of them soon after, renouncing their alle-
 “ giance to king Edward, set up a king of their own, as will quickly
 “ appear. So impossible is it for a foreign prince to subdue a free
 “ and

“ and warlike nation, as long as the nobility and gentry keep their
 “ estates, as they were then allowed. But so far were they from
 “ thinking it an obligation to hold them on the terms prescribed by
 “ the said articles, that they chose to take arms a-new, rather than pay
 “ their several compositions.”

Although the Scots were so often vanquished, and forced to swear fealty to Edward, yet they could not quietly submit to the yoke; for there were certain impenetrable places in the country, that afforded a retreat to those who could not live in slavery, which greatly promoted the restoration of the kingdom to its ancient rights and liberties. This Edward dreaded, in the midst of his success.

Besides, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, now began to declare himself. To the injustice of his grand-father's being excluded the succession, he added the bitterness of personal disappointments; for it was now evident that Edward never intended to place him on the throne: wherefore he resolved to endeavour to free his country from the slavery it groaned under, and to secure the crown of Scotland to himself, to which he pretended a lawful title.

John Comyn of Badenach, from the colour of his face surnamed the Red, a Scottish lord of great distinction, though of less repute than Bruce, was, or seemed to be, of the same sentiments, and to have the interest of his country much at heart. This conformity of opinions occasioned those lords to communicate their thoughts to each other, which ended in an agreement consisting of two articles. 1. “ They
 “ shall jointly act to procure the crown of Scotland for Robert. 2. In
 “ consideration of Comyn's service in this affair, Bruce shall make
 “ over to him all his private patrimony, and appoint him lieutenant
 “ general of his army.”

Boet. Hist.
 Scot. lib. 14.

1306.
 Buchan. Hist.
 Scot. lib. 8.

Matters being thus agreed on, Robert repaired to Edward's court, to endeavour to gain to his party certain Scottish lords in the king's interest. In the mean time, whether Comyn had repented of what he had done, as is by some affirmed, or only contrived the plot to betray Bruce, is uncertain: be that as it will, he discovered the whole affair to Edward; nay, sent him the original contract, under their hands and seals. Whereupon the king designed forthwith to secure Bruce; but, fearing that his brethren and other accomplices should escape, contented himself with watching him narrowly, in hopes of making some new discoveries by means of Comyn, with whom Bruce carried on a close correspondence, and communicated to him all his transactions at court.

But Edward's design could not be so secretly conducted but it was perceived by earl Gomer, (by Boece called Glomer) which is supposed to be a corruption of Montgomery, an old friend of the Brucean family, then at London, who observing Robert to be narrowly watched, and not daring by word of mouth to discover so important a secret, sent him a pair of spurs, with some pieces of gold, as if borrowed of him. Bruce being a man of great penetration, imagined there was a mystery in this pretended restitution of his friend's, and concluded, he meant by it to advise him to make his escape. In this belief he immediately resolved to return to Scotland, which he executed with such address and diligence, that it was not possible to prevent him, much less to overtake him; and to prevent a discovery by the track of his horses feet, it being winter, and the ground covered

Ibid.

Boet. Hist.
 Scot. lib. 14.

with snow, he caused a smith the following night to shoe his horses backwards, and immediately setting out from London, arrived at his castle of Lochmaban, in Anandale, the seventh day after; where he joined his brother David, and Robert Fleming, to whom he had scarce declared the cause of his flight, when he discovered a messenger with letters from Comyn to king Edward, setting forth, "That Bruce
" should be speedily put to death; that delays were dangerous, lest a
" man so nobly descended and popular as he, by adding boldness to
" his wisdom, should raise new commotions."

Buchan. Hist.
lib. 8.

Bruce being now fully convinced, that Comyn had betrayed him, and having learnt by the messenger that he was then at Dumfries, hastened thither, and lighting of him in the church of the Franciscan or Cordelier friars, he shewed him his own letters, which he, with the greatest assurance, denied to be his. This provoked Bruce to such a degree, that he stabbed him with his own hand; and as he was mounting his horse, James Lindsay and Roger Kirkpatrick perceiving by his countenance that he was troubled, asked him the cause: after having related to them the whole affair, he said, he thought he had killed Comyn: "What, says Lindsay, will you leave
" a matter of that consequence upon, I thought!" and ran into the church and dispatched him outright, together with Robert Comyn his kinsman, who endeavoured to save him. This bold stroke having added to the plot he had laid, by exposing him to the king's resentment, he was under a necessity of declaring himself; whereupon such numbers of men repaired to him from all parts, that he soon found himself in a condition to go well attended to Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotland.

Mat. Westm.
Flor. Hist.

But as the above relation is controverted by English writers, I think it will not be amiss to hear what they say in that respect.

Walsing. Hist.
Chron. Abing.

"This year begins with a most dangerous insurrection of the Scots, begun and headed by Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, son (grandson) of him who formerly pretended to the crown of Scotland; what the father did openly, the son carried on privately. Of this plot Edward being informed, Bruce fled to Scotland, resolved to re-assume the title of king; and knowing there were none so able to hinder or promote his design as John Comyn lord of Badenach, one of the most powerful men of the kingdom, he desired his brothers Thomas and Neal to procure a meeting with him in the cloyster of the Franciscan friars at Dumfries; where being met, he acquainted Comyn with his design, and desired his assistance; but lord Comyn refusing to be concerned, Bruce, out of revenge, stabbed him with his dagger. Comyn finding himself wounded, fled to the church for sanctuary, but one of Bruce's brothers, with others of his retinue, fearing he might recover, followed and murdered him outright. Comyn thus dispatched, Bruce mounted his horse, and repaired with his accomplices to the castle of Dumfries, where the king's judges were then sitting, and having surprized them, they surrendered to his mercy, and received from him passes of safe conduct to carry them to England."

Besides the above difference between ours and the English writers, our own historians greatly disagree in respect to that transaction. By Boethius we are told, that on Comyn's discovering the plot by a letter to king Edward, he gave but little credit to it; and by the same author

we are farther told, that Bruce's escape from London to Scotland was in the winter time, and the ground being covered with snow, Robert caused his horse to be shod backwards, to prevent his being discovered by the track of his feet. Whereas king Edward's letter to Andomar de Valence his general, for apprehending Robert Bruce, is dated the 5th of April 1306. Now as Robert was only seven days on his journey from London to his castle of Lochmaban, it may be presumed that Edward's letter for apprehending him could not be many days after; wherefore his journey may be supposed not to have been in winter, and therefore no occasion for shoeing his horse backwards. But by Buchanan we are told, that on Comyn's discovering the plot, Bruce was impeached of high treason, forbid to depart the court, and a private guard set over him to observe his words and actions: and the king's delay to punish him for a crime so flagrant, proceeded from a desire to secure his brethren, before they heard either of Robert's being apprehended or executed.

1306.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii.
p. 988.

Buchan. Hist.
lib. 8.

ROBERT I.

The family of Bruce was either of a French or Norman extraction, for the first I read thereof was Robert de Brus, who came into England with William the conqueror, anno 1066; and being one of his chief favourites, William conferred on him no less than forty-three manors or lordships in the eastern riding of Yorkshire, and fifty-one in the western of the said county. Besides, he is said to have got from the king of Scotland the lordship of Anandale, that of Estrahanent, with the lands extending from Donegal and Stranit, to the confines of Cumberland; and becoming a vassal to David I. king of Scotland, he, together with Bern and Baliol, before the battle of the Standard, endeavoured to bring about an accommodation between Scotland and England; but his overtures being rejected, he renounced his allegiance to David, and returned to the English army; and having given his Scottish estate to Robert, his second son, he left him with the king of Scotland; who soon after commencing a war against England, Robert was taken prisoner by his own father.

Dugd. Beron.
tom. ii. p. 41.

To Adam, his eldest son, he left most of his lands in England, anno 1141; but Peter, his great grand-child, and last male branch, dying some time after without issue, the English estate was divided amongst four daughters, whereby the name of Bruce became extinct in England. The Scottish branch had better luck; for Robert the son, lord of Anandale, was succeeded by William, his son by the lady Isabel, natural daughter of king William the Lion. To William succeeded Robert lord of Anandale, who married Isabel, second daughter of David earl of Huntingdon and Garrioch, one of the three sisters and coheiresses of John Scot earl of Huntingdon, and last count palatine of Chester. By this match the family of Bruce became very potent, and to him succeeded his son Robert, who was one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland in right of his mother: and as such, already hinted, shewed a very great meanness of spirit. However, though he acknowledged Edward for sovereign of Scotland, he never would own John Baliol for king; and that he might not be compelled to do this, he gave all his lands in Scotland to Robert his son, by Isabel de Clare, sister to Gilbert earl of Gloucester. This Robert, according to the folly of the times, in his juvenile days received the sign of the cross, preparatory to his making an expedition to the Holy Land,

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii. p. 579.

Land, as did likewise Adam de Kilcontack earl of Carrick. The latter dying at Acon in Palestine, left a beautiful young widow, who being married by Robert, he was, in her right, styled earl of Carrick; and having had many children by her, the eldest was Robert Bruce, since king of Scotland. Robert, the father, dying in Anandale in the year 1295, and Robert his son, now earl of Carrick, although he was possessed of the family estate in Scotland, would never acknowledge John Baliol for king of the nation.

REMARK. Surely never were people more mistaken in the genealogy of a family, than both the Scottish and English writers are in that of Bruce, by having confounded Robert Bruce, son to the competitor, with Robert Bruce his son, king of Scotland; which is less excusable in our own than in foreign historians, who, either through indolence or carelessness in not searching our records, have been guilty of an egregious blunder, as is not only manifest by an act of fealty done to king Robert by a general convocation of the clergy, assembled at Dundee, on the 24th of February, 1309, but likewise by an act of parliament of the 17th of March, and a like declaration from a convention of all the prelates of the kingdom. But, to put it beyond dispute hereafter, it is necessary to subjoin the act of fealty itself, from the appendix to Anderson's historical essay, as rendered into English by himself.

Anderf. Appen-
dix. Histor.
Essay, n^o 14.

“ To all good Christians, to whose knowledge these presents shall
“ come, the bishops, abbots, priors, and the rest of the clergy within
“ the kingdom of Scotland, greeting. Be it known to you, that when
“ there was a controversy between lord John Baliol, late king of Scot-
“ land de facto, advanced by the king of England, and the deceased
“ lord Robert Bruce, of worthy memory, grand-father of the present
“ king Robert, which of them was nearest in blood to inherit and
“ reign over the people of Scotland; the loyal people, without hesita-
“ tion, did always maintain, as they did understand from their fore-
“ fathers and predecessors, and were firmly persuaded, that the said
“ lord Robert, the grand-father, was, after the decease of king Alex-
“ ander, and of his niece the daughter of the king of Norway, the
“ true heir, and should have been preferred to the crown before all
“ others.

“ But the enemy of mankind sowing tares, and by fundry devices
“ and contrivances of the competitors, which are too long to rehearse,
“ the affair took another turn; and by the injury done to him, and
“ his want of the royal dignity, from that time heavy calamities befell
“ the kingdom of Scotland and its inhabitants, as repeated experience,
“ the best schoolmaster, hath already manifestly demonstrated.

“ Wherefore the people and commonalty of the said kingdom of
“ Scotland, harassed with many stinging hardships, perceiving that
“ the said lord John was, for fundry causes, made captive by the said
“ king of England, imprisoned, and deprived of the kingdom and
“ people; and that the kingdom of Scotland was betrayed by him,
“ and brought into bondage, was destroyed by huge devastations;
“ watered by the bitterness of frequent griefs, became desolate for
“ want of good government, exposed to all dangers, and left as a prey;
“ and that the people were spoiled of their goods, and were war-
“ tormented, captivated, put in bonds and imprisoned, and were op-
“ pressed, subjected, and enslaved, by horrid butcheries of the innocent,
“ and

and by continual burnings, and were upon the very brink of perpetual ruin, unless, by Divine Providence, some speedy expedient had been found for repairing of a kingdom so defaced and desolate, by restoring its government.

“ By the wisdom of the great King, by whom kings reign, and princes decree judgment, when the people were not able longer to endure so many and so heavy afflictions, more bitter than death itself, so frequently befalling them in their persons and goods, through want of a faithful captain and leader, the people, by the favour of heaven, agreed upon the said lord Robert, now king, in whom the right of his father and grand-father to the aforesaid kingdom, by the judgment of the people, doth yet remain and continue entire; and by the knowledge and consent of the said people and commonalty he is assured to be king, that he may reform what is disorderly in the kingdom, and that he may correct what is amiss; and being by their authority advanced to the crown, he is solemnly made king of Scotland, with whom all loyal people will live and die, as with one who, by the right of blood, and other eminent virtues, is fit to reign, and worthy the name and honour of a king.

“ Who, by the favour of God, being enabled to resist all wrong, did, by his sword, repair a kingdom so much defaced and ruined, as many former princes and kings of Scotland, in ancient times, had by their swords restored the kingdom when lost, gained back, and maintained, as is more fully to be seen in the ancient records of the great actions of the Scots, and the bloody wars of the Picts against the Britons, and of the Scots against the Picts, driven out of their kingdom, with many others of old put to flight, vanquished, and expelled by war, do fully testify.

“ If, on the other hand, any shall claim right to the said kingdom, and by deeds sealed in former times, containing the consent of the people and commonalty, be it known, that all these were only deeds extorted by force and violence, against which there could then be no resistance, and by many threats of torture, and divers other terrors, which even might distract the spirits of the best of men, and befall persons of the most composed mind.

“ Wherefore we the aforesaid bishops, abbots, priors, and remnant clergy, knowing these things to be confirmed truths, and heartily approving them, have made our fealties to the said lord Robert, our illustrious king; and we hereby acknowledge and profess, that the like is due hereafter by our successors to him and his heirs: and in sign, testimony, and approbation of all and fundry the premisses, we being neither compelled, seduced, nor misled, but freely of our own accord, have hereto set our seals.

“ Given in a general national council of Scotland, holden in the church of the minorites of Dundee, the 24th of February, 1309, and of our king's reign the fourth year.”

Besides the above specified fealty, made by the church in a general convocation, both the states of the kingdom, and a particular convention of all the bishops, as already hinted, made their several fealties to Robert likewise.

From this we may see how greatly mistaken George Buchanan was, who tells us, “ That Alan, lord of Galloway, took to wife Margaret, eldest daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, by whom he had three

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

Dugd. Baron.
of England,
p. 524.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

“ daughters; the eldest whereof, Dornadilla, he married to John
“ Baliol, who was king of Scotland for some years.” This is an error
not easily to be pardoned; for it was not John Baliol, Margaret’s hus-
band, who died anno 1269, about twenty years before the competition;
but it was her son John Baliol that was king. We are again told by
the same author, that Robert Bruce married Isabel, David’s second
daughter, whereby he became earl of Carrick, which was occasioned
as follows: “ Martha, countess of Carrick, being marriageable, and
“ sole heiress to her father, who died in the holy war, as she was
“ hunting, cast her eye on Robert Bruce, the most beautiful person in
“ her train. She courteously invited him, and in a manner compelled
“ him, to accompany her to her castle; where being arrived, his age,
“ beauty, kindred, and manners, easily procuring mutual love, they
“ were quickly married; and out of this marriage Robert Bruce was
“ born, who was afterwards king of Scotland.”

This relation, which is equally false with the former, is introduced
in a very romantick manner, to the dishonour of history, by bringing
Bruce into Martha’s company at a hunting match; and being greatly
enamoured with one another, a marriage soon ensued! There is not
one tittle of this true; for the countess of Carrick, instead of being
wife to Robert Bruce, who married Isabel, daughter to David earl of
Huntingdon, she was wife to his grandson, the son of the competitor,
and mother to king Robert. And indeed as to chronology, which is
the life and soul of history, Buchanan appears to have been but badly
qualified.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

Mat. Westm.
p. 353.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii. p.
1048.

Having already hinted that Robert Bruce was crowned at Scone, on
the 25th of March, (probably by the bishop of St. Andrews) in pre-
sence of two earls, the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, abbot of
Scone, John de Athol, and John de Monteith, with a number of
knights, and other persons of distinction; which, according to Eng-
lish writers, Robert not deeming sufficient, because it was not per-
formed by the earl of Fife, to whose family it hereditarily belonged;
the countess of Buchan, sister to the earl, in his absence, willing to
satisfy Robert’s scruples, and maintain the rights and privileges of their
family, not only withdrew privately from the earl of Buchan her hus-
band, (who being of the family of Comyn, he and the whole of that
name were mortal enemies to king Robert, for the murder of their
chief, John lord Comyn of Badenach) but carried along with her all
his war-horses for Robert’s service; and crowned him in the abbey-
church of Scone, on the 27th of March, with a little crown, made for
that purpose by Geoffrey Coyners, no doubt an Englishman, by reason
queen Margaret, consort to king Edward, interceded for his pardon
on that account, which was granted by Edward.

This crown, like that of Scotland, wherewith all our kings have
since been crowned, was open above, in the manner of a coronet, till
James Vth’s time, who, from the letters and cypher J. R. 5. on the
palar part of the cross, appears to have been the prince that inclosed it
with arches, and topped it with a mond and cross patee. That the
money and medals coined in the reigns of James III. and IV. were
decorated with a close crown, is manifest; but how that happened,
before the crown itself was inclosed, I know not, unless it be owing
to our having copied after the English, (which we generally do) whose
king Edward V. according to Selden, carried a close crown, in the
year

year 1483; conformable to which, king James V. about thirty-three years after, had his arched over.

It was with great vexation that king Edward perceived he was mistaken, in imagining he had nothing more to do in Scotland. He would not, however, give over his first design; but to secure the possession of this kingdom for the future, he resolved to reduce it to such a state, that there should be no more danger of revolt. Pursuant to this resolution, he sent Andemar of Valence, earl of Pembroke, and the lords Robert Clifford and Henry Percy, to prepare the way, while he assembled all his forces at Carlisle fifteen days after Midsummer. To render this expedition more signal, he knighted the prince his son, and three hundred of the young nobility and gentry who attended him; who appearing before him in their gorgeous accoutrements, he solemnly vowed in their presence, that he would march into Scotland, and revenge the death of the lord John Comyn, and punish in an exemplary manner the perfidious Scots; and adjured the prince and nobility present, by the fealty they owed him, that, if he died before they reached Scotland, they should carry his corps along with them, and not bury it till they reduced Bruce and his perjured nation. Whereupon the nobility, and all the persons of distinction present, faithfully promised, that, whether he lived or died, they would march with the prince his son, and, to the utmost of their power, endeavour to fulfil his commands. Then having sent them home to provide all things necessary for the expedition, he commanded them to meet at the time and place appointed.

An. 1306.

Rym. Fœder:
tom. ii. p. 988.
Mat. Westm.
p. 454.
Walsing. Hist.
p. 91.

In the mean time Robert, knowing he had a powerful enemy to deal with, raised all the force he could: besides, the whole clan of the Comyns, the most powerful that ever was in Scotland, were his inveterate enemies; and many others, lovers of their country, hated him, for having assisted king Edward to its destruction; and now very many of the people, after such dreadful sufferings, were willing to live quietly under the English power. Notwithstanding these great discouragements, Robert raised an army, and marched towards Perth to take it; but the earl of Pembroke, with the English army, arriving there before him, he was prevented. To retreat, however, at his first setting out, he judged might prove disadvantageous to him: wherefore he challenged the earl to fight, which being accepted of, they appointed the day following for the battle. Pembroke, in the interim, having considered that his army was inferior to that of Robert, declined fighting; and judging it a safer way to have recourse to stratagem, he attacked them in their camp at Methuen, on the 20th of July, by night, and, having surprized them, killed many; for, being new raised and undisciplined, they made but little resistance, and fled, many being killed and taken prisoners in the pursuit. But Robert, in this engagement, behaved with such intrepidity, that he had no less than three horses killed under him, and was as often remounted by the brave Simon Treysell. The battle was no sooner ended, than Pembroke caused all the prisoners of note to be cruelly executed.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 14.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.

Chron. Abing.

Robert, after the battle, having picked up the dispersed men in his march towards the county of Argyle, was attacked and routed by the Comyns at Dalree. After which he was, as it were, deserted by all but Malcolm earl of Lenox, and Gilbert Hay, who never forsook him in all his misfortunes. These, wandering from place to place for security,

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

Rymer. Fœ-
dera, tom. ii.
p. 1013, 1014.

Ibid. p. 1025.

Ibid. p. 1030.

Ibid. p. 1045.

Ibid. p. 1016.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

security, were reduced to such streights, that they frequently had nothing to subsist on but the roots and tops of herbs: these Robert bore with an amazing resolution. In the mean time, his nearest relations and friends were cruelly massacred, imprisoned, and exposed to publick shame, viz. king Robert's consort a close prisoner at Brustewick, Margery his daughter confined in a nunnery; Mary his sister and the countess of Buchan were put into cages, the former hung out at the castle of Roxburgh, and the latter at a turret of the castle of Berwick, as spectacles to be gazed at and ridiculed by the people; and Robert's three brothers, Neil, Thomas, and Alexander, the earl of Athol, sir Christopher Seton and his brother John, sir Simon Fraser, Walter Logan, Herbert Norham, Thomas Boece, and John Wallace, brother to the celebrated Wallace, and a great number more, were, after being tortured, cruelly executed. The bishops and other dignified clergy, whom Edward durst not put to death, for fear of the pope, he committed to prison: thus William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, was confined to the castle of Winchester, and Robert Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, to that of Portchester, and the abbot of Scone to Mere-castle in Wiltshire; all being fettered, and not suffered to speak to any person, except the prison-officers, on penalty of the sheriffs forfeiting their lands. But as he could not put the said bishops to death, he solicited his holiness, by his letter of the 4th of October, from Lanercost, that they might be banished, and others appointed in their stead: as he likewise did by his brief of the 10th of November, from the same place, entreat the pope, that, for divers reasons, the abbey of Scone might be removed to another place; which his holiness soon after granted, by his bull of the 23d of Febr. anno 1307, and removed it to the city of St. Andrews in the county of Fife.

To shew the value of money in this reign, I shall subjoin an account of the daily allowance for the sustenance of the said bishops. To each of them, for his daily expence, 6*d.* to his valet or servant, 3*d.* to his boy, 1*d.* and to each of their chaplains for reading mass, 1*d.* half-penny. But to return,

Robert, by the loss of the above two battles, being reduced to the lowest degree of distress and misery, his nearest relations and best friends cruelly executed, and no prospect of succeeding in his design, had nothing to depend on but his noble, generous, and fixed resolution, either to free his country from English servitude, or perish in the attempt. Pursuant to this resolution, and to save himself against a favourable opportunity, he retired to the western isles, where he was received by one of the chiefs of the country, who honourably entertained and concealed him for some months; during which time, not being heard of, he was thought to be dead. Although this report contributed towards his safety, by occasioning their leaving off to search for him; yet, had it continued much longer, it would have deprived his friends of all hopes of his ever obtaining the crown.

After Robert's misfortunes, Edward, having settled the Scottish affairs in the best manner he could in so short a time, returned to England; and being arrived at the abbey of Lancroft, in the neighbourhood of Carlisle and county of Cumberland, he transmitted instructions to the regent and justices of Scotland, how to proceed in punishing those concerned in the late insurrection, which was of the following tenor:

I. " It

1. " It is agreed by the king and his council, that the guardian of Scotland shall cause to be proclaimed in all cities, boroughs, market-towns, and other places judged proper, that all who were against the king in the late war, and are not come into his peace, with others who have committed felonies, or other crimes, for which they ought to lose life or limb, and are not taken, shall be apprehended by all persons whatever; and for that purpose you are to raise a hue and cry with mouth and horn, and forcibly to pursue them from town to town, and from country to country, until they surrender, or are taken dead or alive; and all persons not endeavouring to exert themselves on this occasion, shall forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during the king's pleasure." And the regent was likewise to discover the concealers of those persons, that they might be punished accordingly.

2. " All those that were aiding and assisting in the death of John Cornyn shall be drawn, hanged, and quartered; and all who advised and assented thereto, or those who, after the perpetration of the act, concealed and harboured them, to undergo the same punishment: and all persons guilty of the same crime, taken in the present war, shall either be hanged or beheaded, as shall those who harbour or conceal them.

3. " All persons concerned in the late war, as well as those before and since the battle of Methuen, shall be imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

4. " All persons aiding or assisting to Robert Bruce, and those who persuaded the people to rise on his behalf, whether clergy or laity, shall be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and all those who were compelled to rise in favour of Robert against the king, are to be punished by the regent according to discretion. Given at Lancaster, under his seal of Scotland."

Robert, as already hinted, having concealed himself so long that his friends were apprehensive it might prove disadvantageous to his interest, resolved to leave his recesses, and attempt something for the common cause. Pursuant to this resolution, being joined by a small force of well-wishers in the place and neighbourhood of his concealment, and putting himself at their head about Michaelmas, he marched to the castle of Kintyre, and sent a small party to his own country, to receive what money they could; who crossing the estuary of Clyde, landed in his county of Carrick, where having levied part of his revenues, and surprized one of his castles, lord Percy receiving intelligence of this, marched against them; of which Robert (who must have been along with them) receiving advice, surprized him, killed a number of his men, took all his plate and baggage, and forced him to take refuge in a neighbouring castle; where he continued, till relieved by troops sent by king Edward: on whose approach Bruce raised the siege, and marched off, recrossed the frith of Clyde, and, marching to Inverness, surprized its strong castle with the small garrison; the report whereof being spread throughout all parts of that remote country, his friends were not only inspired with new courage, but all his well-wishers in those northern parts, and in all parts of the kingdom, were encouraged to hope that their king, at last, would succeed in his designs.

Add to this, that his friends, considering the haughty and intolerable deportment of the English towards them, who believed him to be

Ryley, Placit.
Parl. p. 510.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

Hemingford:
Chron. Reg.
Ed. I. & II.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

Id. ibid.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

An. 1307.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

Heming.
Chron. Reg.
Ed. I. & II.
Mat. Westm.
Flor. Hist.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

dead, repaired from all parts of their concealment to his little army, which was thereby considerably augmented. Having but few enemies in those parts, he soon reduced all the castles and strong holds in the northern parts of Scotland; but wanting a sufficient number of troops to garrison them, they were all demolished. Having thus subdued all to the heart of the kingdom, John Comyn earl of Buchan, to stop his progress, assembled all the men in his parts, both Scots and English, that were fit to bear arms, marched southwards, and being arrived in the forest of Glenesk, in the county of Mearns, he discovered Robert and his army, who, considering that the place by its narrowness was advantageous for him to engage in, kept his ground, to receive the enemy. This Comyn observing, extended the front of his army, in order to intimidate the king by their numerous appearance; but when he saw he kept his ground, being conscious of the weakness of his own troops through their want of discipline, he durst not risk an engagement: wherefore he sent a herald to Robert to desire a truce, preparatory to a treaty of peace; which being obtained, Comyn, without troubling himself about the peace, augmented his army with all expedition; and, without confiding in the Scots in his army, or considering their inclination to Robert, applied to Edward for assistance. In the mean time Bruce, to remove the contemptible opinion the English might have of him on this occasion, and to encourage his friends, took all opportunities to distress them, by surprising their weakest castles; and never staying long in a place, deprived the enemy of all occasions to fight him.

These accounts are confirmed by English writers, who tell us, that after Easter, Robert having reinforced his army with a number of men, who rather chose to risk all the horrors of death, than subject themselves to English laws and punishments, marched with them and some highlanders against the generals Edward had left in Scotland; the first of whom, Audamar de Valence earl of Pembroke, he attacked and routed; and soon after attacked Ralph de Monthermer earl of Gloucester, with great loss on both sides, and obliged him to take refuge in the castle of Ayr, to which he was pursued, and besieged in it, till relieved by an army from England.

James Douglas, who about this time joined Robert, did him and his country more service than any other person ever concerned in it. He was son of William, and was well instructed in all the liberal sciences at the university of Paris. Hearing that his father (who would never submit to king Edward) was put in duress in England, (where he soon after died) and his estates were confiscated, having nothing to subsist on, he returned to Scotland, to advise with his friends what course was best for him to take in his dismal situation. He repaired to William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews, for assistance and advice, who, taking him into his house as one of his family, kindly entertained him till Edward's return to Scotland; when Lamberton going to attend him, took Douglas along with him, and acquainted Edward with his misfortunes, entreated he would be pleased to restore his estate, take him into his service, and use his faithful endeavours; adding, that, by his good deportment, there was not the least room to doubt of his fidelity. Edward, hearing his name and family, spoke roughly to him concerning the obstinacy of his father, saying that he would not employ the son of such a man; and as to the

estate, he could not return it, having given it to a friend who had faithfully served him. Douglas, by this reception, finding Edward implacably bent against him, staid with Lamberton till Bruce arrived in Glenesk, as aforesaid; whither, to omit no opportunity of distressing Edward, taking the bishop's horses and some money, by consent, along with him, he joined king Robert, and did him singular service in many sharp engagements.

About this time pope Clement, by his bull from Bourdeaux, of the 15th of May, directed to the archbishop of York and bishop of Carlisle, enjoined them to excommunicate Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, for sacrilege and murder committed by him and his accomplices, on the body of John Comyn, in the church of the Friars Minors at Dumfries; and to put his lands, with those of his abettors, under an interdict; and to forbid all persons to favour, harbour, or follow him, till, by repentance and satisfaction, he should merit the benefit of absolution. By this, Buchanan is detected in another error, by his telling us, that Robert was not crowned till he received the pope's pardon for the murder of Comyn.

Rym. Foed.
tom. ii. p. 998.

Edward's age, grief, and vexation, to see himself so often obliged to renew the war, rendered him so inexorable, that he hardly pardoned one person; nay, even those that were related to himself and the royal family of Scotland, were only distinguished from the rest by the height of the gallows, as appears by that whereon the earl of Athol suffered, which was fifty foot in altitude.

After Edward had avenged himself on Robert's adherents, that were so unfortunate as to fall into his hands, he spent the winter at Carlisle, whither he summoned a parliament to meet. Their chief business was to settle the kingdom of Scotland, by uniting it with England; but the face of affairs being now greatly altered, in respect to Scotland, I cannot learn that any thing was done therein.

And notwithstanding Edward's resolution of destroying Scotland, to such a degree as to render it unable to attempt any thing thereafter to his prejudice; yet the time of its deliverance was at hand, as will quickly be narrated: for although the Almighty was pleased to chastise our nation, he had not determined its utter destruction.

On Edward's leaving Scotland, as aforesaid, Robert made the best use of his absence, and the inclemency of the winter season prevented the English from acting; and assembling his dispersed troops, they were joined by the nobility and their dependents (exasperated at Edward's cruelty) from all quarters, attacked Edward's chief general, the earl of Pembroke, and obtained a complete victory over him, taking the earl prisoner: whence marching against the earl of Gloucester, at the head of another English army, he obliged him to retreat to the castle of Ayr, which Robert besieged without success. But being master of the field, he took divers places, and dismantled them, to prevent their being repossessed by the English, and that he might not be obliged to reduce his army by garrisoning them.

Edward, surprized and enraged to the last degree at this unexpected revolution, resolved to be signally merciless on the Scots: to which end he summoned all the vassals of the crown, without exception, to meet him at Carlisle, with their horses, arms, and military accoutrements, within fifteen days after the approaching Midsummer, on forfeiture of their respective fees. His intention, with this prodigious army, was,

as

as often threatened, to destroy Scotland from sea to sea: but God permitted him not to execute so barbarous a resolution; for soon after his arrival at Carlisle, with the greatest army England ever saw, he sent a great part thereof to relieve the earl of Gloucester, besieged in the castle of Ayr; on the approach of which Robert, unable to withstand it, raised the siege, and marched off. And another part of the army, under the prince of Wales, his son, marching northwards, invested the castle of Kildrummy in Mar, and took it, with its governor, sir Christopher Seaton, and his lady, king Robert's sister. The queen left the place some time before, and took shelter at the shrine of St. Duthac, near Tayn, in the northern border of the county of Ross, where she was seized by William earl of the county, and given up to the English, who sent her to England, where she remained a long time in prison. After this successful expedition, the prince returned to his father.

In the mean time, king Edward being seized at Carlisle with a violent flux, it obliged him to keep his chamber, which occasioned a report of his death: which proving a mistake, though he was very ill, he ordered his army to march towards Scotland, and on the 3d day of July began his journey thither; and being arrived at the village of Burgh upon the Sands, in the county of Cumberland, within three miles of Scotland, so denominated from its having been one of the forts or castles on the Roman or Pictish wall, (part of which is still to be seen) and its vicinity to the sands of Solway frith.

Edward, at this place, perceiving his distemper to increase, took to his bed; and being put in mind of his approaching dissolution said, "O Lord, if thou think'st it good for these thy people, to have me continue longer with them, I am ready to venture my life for them; but, if otherwise, thy will be done." A few days after, when those about him were raising him in bed, to give him some nourishment, he expired in their arms, on Friday the 7th day of July, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign.

By this, Buchanan is convicted of another mistake, by telling us, that Edward died at Lancaster.

REMARK. Although king Edward has a towering character given him by English writers, yet he seems not to have deserved all their encomiums. By his immoderate ambition he commenced war against Scotland, without the least grounds, other than the false and romantick relations of the infamous Geoffrey of Monmouth, bishop of St. Asaph, and other wicked fable-mongers, which occasioned the most dreadful and destructive war that ever happened between the kingdoms of Scotland and England; yet cannot I deem him a thorough politician, far less a just man.

His haughty deportment to John Baliol, king of Scotland, in making him appear before him in his parliament of England, on the most trifling occasions, where he was basely exposed as a common criminal, by him obliged to stand at the bar, and plead his own cause, whereby he was rendered despicable in the eyes of the people; and, without a breach of charity, this may be presumed to have been done by Edward to provoke him to resist, or resign the crown, whereby he might become sovereign of the whole island: for John, attempting to throw off the yoke, entered into an alliance with the king of France against him. As this gave Edward an opportunity to subdue him, so the Scots, provoked

voked by his unjust, arbitrary, and cruel proceedings against them, assumed arms, and constituted Robert Bruce to be their king.

Whereas had Edward contented himself with the fealty and homage done by John on his admission to the crown of Scotland, and not behaved so roughly, that war, which had well nigh ended in the destruction of both kingdoms, might have been prevented. Brave indeed he was: but what Camden says of him, "That in his valiant breast God seems to have pitched his tent;" is a profane expression, and ill suits the goodness and justice of God, which sure possessed little room in the breast of a prince who delighted in blood, and cruelly sacrificed innocent people for standing in their own defence; and who, for the breach of oaths, forced upon them, were called and treated as perjured rebels: yet he, by applying to the pope for an absolution from his oath, relating to deforestation, perjured himself; though at the same time he complained to the pope against the Scots, for obtaining the like absolution from their oaths to himself, upon their justly declaring that they were extorted from them by compulsion and duress. By which 'tis manifest, that Edward had one rule to judge his own actions by, and another for them he oppressed.

King Edward I. being succeeded by Edward prince of Wales, his son, whose character being unknown, the Scots were in great perplexity how to proceed in that perilous juncture. Their king too was dangerously ill, and their power vastly inferior to that of England. But Edward II. after having advanced into Scotland as far as Dumfries, to the great terror of the people, resolving to return to England, they began to hope that their affairs would take a favourable turn. His impatience to meet his favourite Gaveston, to accomplish his marriage with a daughter of France, and be crowned, drove all thoughts of war out of his mind; to which, in fact, he had no inclination. So appointing John earl of Bretaine commander in chief in Scotland, John raised an army, which routed Robert's, and obliged him to seek shelter amongst bogs and mountains, his usual recesses. But as this defeat is only mentioned in a manuscript in the Bodleian library at Oxford, it seems to deserve but little credit; for Robert, soon after, entered the province of Galloway, and raised contributions in all parts of it, without opposition.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iii.
p. 10 & 14.
Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 225.
Chron. de
Lanercost:

On this success, Edward, in his letter to the sheriffs of London, commanded them to buy all sorts of provisions and ammunition, to be forthwith sent to Berwick, to enable his army in Scotland to oppose the progress of Robert Bruce.

An. 1308.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. iii. p. 16.

Robert left sir James Douglas in the southern part of the kingdom, to defend it against the attempts of the English, who not only succeeded in his command, but expelled them the countries of Douglasdale, Attrick, and Jedburgh-forests; and retook sir Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew, who, since his captivity at Methuen, had attended both the Edwards. Robert, that he might lose no opportunity to distress his foes and recover his country, marched towards the northern part of the kingdom, where he surprized several castles: and now being successful in all his undertakings, Edward conferred the command of his army in Scotland on John Comyn, earl of Buchan, a Scottishman; who, being desirous to have the honour of putting an end to the war, marched with his army in order to attack Robert.

Barbour. in
Vic. Robert.

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 235.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

Robert, though extremely weak, imagined that his declining to fight might dishearten his people, and occasion the loss of his kingdom, mounted his horse, and, being supported by two of his domesticks, drew up his army at the burgh of Inverary in Garioch; and waited for the enemy with such a resolution and steadiness, that it had an amazing effect: for the English imagining that Robert, with his little army, durst not stand before them, when they found themselves mistaken, their courage failed to such a degree, that it was with great difficulty they were brought to engage; and their weak efforts so encouraged the Scots, that they fell on with great fury, and entirely defeated their enemies. This was the more dishonourable to them, because, besides their being much superior in number, they were the troops the Scots had so often fled from before, who now suffered themselves to be shamefully beaten. But Edward, the spirit of the war, was dead; and his son, though perhaps a better man for this island, was yet no hero. This victory put an end to all Robert's sufferings; for, from that time forward, he happily succeeded in all his undertakings.

Id. ibid.
Extract.
Chron. Scot.

Hence Robert marching into the country of Argyle, he pillaged it, and forced lord Lorn to fly to England, where he soon after died in great want; while his father, lord Alexander Macdugal, was compelled to surrender both himself and castle of Dunstaffage. By others, (who make no distinction betwixt father and son) we are told, that lord Argyle capitulated on the following terms, viz. That he should not be obliged to do homage to king Robert; to have a safe conduct granted him, and be allowed to retire to England. Which seems more probable than the other, seeing we shall hereafter find him to have been very active, and in great favour with king Edward II.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.
An 1308.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

New commotions having arose in Galloway, Edward Bruce, the king's brother, entered the country, and at the river Dee, on the 30th of June, obtained a considerable victory, wherein lord Rolland was slain, Donald of the Isles taken prisoner, and the whole province ravaged. The great success of Robert, roused king Edward, rather thro' shame than choice, to stop his progress. He therefore entered Scotland with a large army, and, being joined by a number of his Scottish friends, marched to Renfrew; from whence, without performing any action, he was obliged to return, through the scarcity of provisions: for Robert, to distress the English in their march, carried off all necessities, for the support of an army, from the several countries they were to march through. On Edward's departure, Robert employed the remainder of the year in taking castles, and reducing the country to his obedience; and there being no hopes of timely assistance from England, many strong holds were given up, without standing a siege. These successes made Edward send the earl of Gloucester, with others, to obtain a peace of Robert; but that not being to be had, he only granted them a truce till the feast of All-saints.

Heming.
Chron.
Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
P. 233.

An. 1309.
Chron. de
Lanercost.

In the beginning of this year the pope having absolved king Robert from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him for the murder of John Comyn, sent nuncios to Scotland, to prevail on him to make peace with England: but without regarding his holiness's intercession, he proceeded in subduing other parts of the kingdom during the greatest part of the summer, and then renewed the truce with Edward for some months longer. But Robert, according

to English writers, having broke the truce at the instigation of the king of France, and made several incursions into England, Edward resolved to make an expedition against him; but being prevented by the great discontentment amongst his nobility, he sent the lords Seagrave and Clifford to defend the eastern and western borders against the Scottish incursions, and had another truce granted them 'till the Christmas following, which was afterwards prolonged to Midsummer.

Although Philip king of France at present was unwilling to offend Edward his son-in-law, by acknowledging Robert for king of Scotland, what he was afraid to do publicly, he performed privately; for about this time he sent Oliver des Roches, his envoy, to Scotland,

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ii. p. 94.

who passing through England with Edward's safe conduct, received from him a commission to treat with William Lamberton bishop of St. Andrews about a peace betwixt the the two kingdoms. But Edward by private advice having got intelligence of Philip's having acknowledged Robert for king of Scotland, complained thereof to Philip, and backed his complaint by setting forth, that Mahen de Varennes, an envoy of his, had addressed a letter sealed to Robert, in which he stiled him king of Scotland. What Philip had hitherto done in private, he now acted fairly above board. For in his letter to Edward himself soon after, he calls Robert king of Scotland, as no doubt Roches did, by the kind treatment he met with at court.

Ibid. p. 149.

Matters at that time were carried on between Scotland and France in a very amicable manner, as is evident by a letter sent to Philip by the nobility assembled at St. Andrews in the name of the states of Scotland, setting forth, " That they had recognized king Robert's right
" to the crown of Scotland; that the parliament held at St. Andrews
" had with great joy received his majesty's letters of credence; that
" they greatly applauded his pious design towards recovering the Holy
" Land, and were highly sensible of the great honour done them in
" commemorating the antient leagues betwixt the kingdoms of France
" and Scotland; and of his taking notice of the great wrong and
" oppression they had unjustly sustained; and in particular for his singular love and affection towards their king, and the liberties of
" their country."

Symfon's Hist.
Stewarts,
p. 100.

In the month of August in the preceding year, a truce was proposed between the two nations, to which Richard de Burgh, and the earl of Angus, &c. were named plenipotentiaries for king Edward; and Sir Niel Campbell and Sir John Monteith, for king Robert; which not being concluded 'till this year, divers prisoners were thereby discharged, amongst whom was the lady Mary Bruce, sister to Robert, and wife to Sir Niel Campbell. But by the treaty's not succeeding at first, Robert in the mean time invested the castle of Rutherglen, on which Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, commander in chief in Scotland, received orders to raise troops and march to its relief.

An. 1310.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. iii. p. 163,
192.

Ibid. p. 193.

Edward, greatly enraged at Robert's success, complained to the French king of his having broke the peace, and issued writs to summon all his military tenants to be ready with their horses, arms, and other military accoutrements, to meet him about the middle of the month of August, and putting himself at his head, entered Scotland with a mighty power. Robert, to secure himself and his little army, from being devoured by this vast force, retreated to his usual recesses, and Edward, without performing any other exploit than that of ra-

Heming.
Chron. Reg.
Ed. I. & II.

vaging

Chron. de
Lanercost.

vaging the country, returned to Berwick, and having wintered therein, marched farther into Scotland the spring after; and having done no more than in his last expedition, set out on his return, but sent the earl of Cornwall with the flower of his army to Perth, to stop Robert's proceedings in those parts, and he likewise returned without success. But another part of his army under the leading of the earls of Gloucester and Surry, meeting with no opposition, reduced the great forest of Selkirk.

An. 1311.
Ibid.

Bruce, to make reprisals on the enemy for the hurt done his country in the month of August, invaded England by Solway frith, ravaged the countries of Gillelland and Tindale, and returning with a great booty, soon re-entered that kingdom by way of Redsdale, pillaged and destroyed the country as far as Corbridge in Northumberland, and marching back by Tindale, carried off what he left before. Robert being now so formidable, it was not in the power of the wardens of the marches to stop his progress. The inhabitants of those parts finding themselves exposed to the Scottish depredations, and no appearance of relief, the Northumbrians sent messengers to Robert to treat of contributions, which being agreed to, they sent him the sum of two thousand pounds sterling for a truce till the feast of Candlemas following. The people of Cumberland observing that their neighbours were safe by this capitulation, agreed for the same sum to be exempted from plunder for some time.

An. 1312.
Ibid.

The differences in England between the king and his nobility, concerning his favourite Gaveston, gave Robert an opportunity to renew his depredations in England, where, after having destroyed the western parts about the middle of August, he entered Northumberland and ravaged it; and invading the bishoprick of Durham, committed great depredations. The bishoprick-people finding themselves in great distress, and no appearance of relief, purchased of Robert a truce till Midsummer at the expence of two thousand pounds, and the liberty of marching through their country, whenever he had a mind to invade the parts of England besouth them. The Northumbrians perceiving there was no safety but in a truce, renewed the treaty at the expence of two thousand pounds more, which the people of Cumberland and Westmorland likewise knowing, they agreed for a truce, but not being able to pay all the money down, gave hostages for the remaining part. Bruce, after this success, returned in a triumphant manner to Scotland with his army, with plunder and prisoners; and on his march thither formed a design to surprize the town of Berwick with scaling ladders, but being disturbed by a dog, who alarmed the garrison, he was obliged to march off with some loss; whence advancing to Perth, he surprized the town, and having generously granted to the English part of the garrison their lives, and liberty to return home, contrary to what Buchanan says, as their own historians testify, he put all the Scots in their service to the sword, and demolished most of the fortrefs, to prevent the English from settling therein for the future. Upon which followed the surrender of the castles of Bute, Dumfries, Air, and Dalswynton.

An. 1313.
Boet. lib. 14.
Buchan. Hist.
lib. 8.

Robert's success still continuing, this year's campaign was opened by Sir James Douglas with the surprize of Roxburgh castle, while the garrison was intent on sports and pastime preceding the austerity of Lent; and the castle of Edinburgh was soon after taken by Thomas Ran-

Randolph the new earl of Murray, who feigning an attack on the gate, drew the garrison to its defence, while a party of his men mounted the wall on the western side, and took the fortress; and the isle of Man being soon after taken, Murray was appointed governor. All the strong places in Scotland were now reduced by Robert, exclusive of the castles of Stirling, Dunbar, and Berwick: the first being the strongest, Edward Bruce the king's brother was sent to besiege it, but the English making great preparations for its relief, Edward despaired of success by the vigorous defence of Sir Philip Mowbray the governor, who, on the other hand, by the violent assaults of the besiegers, was apprehensive he should not be able to hold out till the arrival of the English army. Thus both jealous of their honour, one for fear of his being obliged to raise the siege, and the other dreading his being forced to surrender, it was agreed, that provided the castle was not relieved before Midsummer, it should be given up to the Scots, and the garrison to have a safe conduct whither they would, both of which were performed afterwards.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iii. p.
481.

The Scots in the interest of England made loud complaints of their being abandoned, and sent Patrick earl of Dunbar, and Adam Gordon, to London, to lay their woful condition before Edward, and to entreat that assistance might be sent them without loss of time: but he not being in a condition to answer their requests, put them off with fair promises; and, in the mean time, by intercession of the French and pope, endeavoured to obtain a truce or peace; but that not being granted, Robert invaded Cumberland, spoiled, ravaged, and destroyed that county, and assaulted the city of Carlisle, which being crowded by people's flying thither from all parts, he could not take it. Edward, greatly enraged at these bloody invasions, the more effectually to repress them, summoned all the militia of England to attend him at Newcastle upon Tyne three weeks after Easter, at which time and place, the whole power of the kingdom met him, the earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Warren, and Anandale only excepted, who would not go with him, by reason of his not having put a late ordinance in execution.

Ibid. p. 410.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.
p. 104.

This vast body being joined by the Irish, Welsh, Gascons, Flemings, Dutch, and Edward's friends in Scotland, formed an army so numerous and powerful, that the like was never seen in this island; and if the army of Edward I. which was mustered at the said town of Newcastle upon Tyne in the year 1293, amounted to above one hundred four thousand and five hundred men, I think 'tis not to be doubted but the present army amounted to a much greater number, seeing that on its success it was believed the fate of England depended; but that it amounted to three hundred thousand men, as asserted by Boece, is not in the least probable.

Hen. Knight.
Coll. 2525.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

Be that as it will, Edward advancing into Scotland, the soldiers already in their imagination devoured whatever the ravages of Edward I. had left. To withstand this power, Robert expected them at the head of thirty thousand men inured to war; and for his greater security, encamped on an advantageous ground, about two miles south of the town of Stirling, on the northern bank of Banocksburn, which, before it runs into a deep boggy bottom into the Forth, is fenced on each side with very high natural banks; the west of his camp was secured by a mountain abounding with craggy rocks; the east was for-

Buchan. Hist.
lib. 8.

tified by Banockburn, and a marsh extending to the river Forth; and for the better security of his camp and army, we are told by some, that he caused deep trenches to be made in the aforesaid bottom, in which he fixed sharp stakes, and covered them with hurdles, laid over with green turfs, to prevent the attacks of the enemy's cavalry.

Barbour, in
vit. Robert.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.
Walsing Hist.
Reg. Angl.
p. 103.

Richard. Hist.
Engl. b. ii.
p. 327.
Caxton's
Chron. Angl.
Walsing. Hist.
p. 105.
Buchan. Hist.
lib. 8.

Barnes's Hist.
Ed. III.

Edward with his mighty host being advanced within view of the Scottish army, Robert began to prepare for battle, by causing a general confession to be made throughout his army, preparatory to their receiving the sacrament the day after; both of which being performed, he drew up his small army in order of battle, and placing himself in the center, his brother Edward commanded the right wing, and Sir Thomas Randolph the left, and a body of reserve was under the conduct of Walter high steward of Scotland. Edward on his part likewise divided his army into three divisions, the main body consisting of archers and pikemen, and the cavalry were posted on the wings. Thus prepared, the battle began by the English cavalry of the left wing; many of them are said to have fallen into the pits or trenches prepared for their destruction; the rest were vigorously opposed by the Scottish horse, who being determined to conquer or die, the action soon becoming general, a dreadful carnage ensued; and the rest of the English horse being pressed with a fury irresistible, were put into disorder, which occasioned their flight, and the defeat of their whole army. This was the most destructive defeat England ever received; for, according to some writers, there were no less than fifty thousand slain, and above thirty thousand taken prisoners; amongst the former, besides the earl of Gloucester king Edward's nephew, were the lords Robert de Clifford, Pagan Tiptot, William Mariscal, Giles de Argen-ton, Edmund de Maule, &c. and above seven hundred knights. That their loss was exceeding great, may be learnt from Walsingham, who tells us, that the English were so greatly dispirited thereby, that three Scotchmen would chase one hundred Englishmen, and that a hundred Englishmen durst not look three Scotchmen in the face. In this ever-memorable battle, which was fought on the 24th of June, the Scots are said to have lost only four thousand men, but no others of distinction than Sir William Wepont and Sir Walter Ross. Nor were the prisoners less conspicuous either in merit or quality, for among them were Humphry de Bohun earl of Hereford, lord Ralph de Mounthermer husband to king Edward's sister, and the lords Piercy, Nevil, Scroop, Lucy, &c. and amongst those that escaped was king Edward, who stood to the last, though Buchanan says, that he fled with the first, for he got off with great difficulty, Sir James Douglas having pursued him with a party of four hundred horse, and had undoubtedly taken him, as he did divers of the nobility who attended him, had he not been received into the castle of Dunbar by Patrick Dunbar earl of March, the governor thereof: but not thinking himself safe there, he forthwith set out for the city of York. Besides, he then made a vow (which he afterwards performed) to found and endow a house in Oxford for the reception and entertainment of twenty-four Carmelite friars, if it should please God to favour his escape.

Besides the defeat of the English cavalry, to which is ascribed the loss of the battle, there are other things said to have greatly contributed, viz. That in the engagement Sir Richard de Bohun ran at the king with his spear, which he with great dexterity evading, killed him on the

the spot. This lucky feat begot in his men such an opinion of his courage, that, thinking nothing was too hard for him, they renewed their attack in a very furious manner; and being assisted therein by Edward, the king's brother, who fell on the rear of their archers, he quickly broke them, and routed their whole army. To this victory also, a mistake of the English contributed not a little; for seeing a number of men, who were no other than the Scottish servants and attendants belonging to the camp, drawn up on the side of a hill, they took them for a fresh body of troops ready to fall upon them, which much dispirited them. The battle was no sooner over, than the castle of Stirling surrendered, which was soon followed by those of Dunbar and Berwick.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 14.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

REMARK. There are divers things worthy of observation in the transactions of this time. 1. As to what is asserted by Boece and Buchanan of Robert's having caused pits or trenches to be dug, to destroy the English horse when they advanced to attack him; that this is highly improbable, I think, appears from the place wherein they are said to have been dug, which is the narrow bottom wherein the brook denominated Banocksburn runs; the space between which and the high northern bank before the Scottish camp, being very narrow, there was neither room for pits nor ditches in that spot: besides, the high bank would, in all respects, have answered the end of a strong fence, without either pits or trenches. Moreover, the making of ditches in a bottom, in the face of a numerous and powerful enemy, could not have been concealed from them on account of the vast quantity of earth thrown out, to make them answer the purpose. Besides, trenches could not be made to secure the camp in any other place than along its southern side; for the riveret at Banocksburn, with the bottom wherein it runs, extends from the mountain full of inaccessible rocks at the western, to the eastern end of the camp; and thence, with a northern course joins a marsh, and both go on together to the river Forth, and inclose the camp on those sides. Add to this, that had there ever been any artificial trenches in those parts, the vestiges, by their great depth, would undoubtedly have been seen at this time. That which has given rise to this idle tale, I take to be owing to the deep bottom aforesaid, and divers circular dubs or natural ponds in that vicinity; but as these are all within the said Scottish camp, they could not serve as a fence to it.

Id. ibid.

And English writers, instead of telling us that there were artificial pits or trenches made on that occasion, or that any part of their army was destroyed by falling into pits or ditches, only tell us, that a great number of English horse endeavouring to ford the brook or burn, (which probably then might be swoln by a land-flood) by crouding upon one another, were drowned: which shews, that the victory at this time was not the effect of artifice or trick, but purely the result of intrepidity and bravery.

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 261.

Robert buried the dead, and equitably divided the immense spoils amongst his men; for the English brought along with them their best equipages, besides jewels and a great treasure in money, in-somuch that Scotland was enriched to such a degree, that there never had at any time before been so great riches in the kingdom: and to shew his great moderation in this time of prosperity, wherein, accord-

ing

Pere Orleans,
P. 537.

Holingshed,
Hist. p. 319.

Rym. Foeder.
tom. iii. p. 496.

An. 1315.

Chron. Lan-
necost.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

ing to father d'Orleans, he greatly foiled Edward I. king of England, sent the corps of the earl of Gloucester, nephew to king Edward, with that of lord Clifford, to Edward at Berwick. The lord Mount-hermer, because of their former friendship, he dismissed without ransom. And as Robert greatly bewailed the loss of his intimate friend and old acquaintance, lord d'Argenton, he caused his body to be interred in St. Patrick's church, (this, I think, should be St. Cuthbert's church) near Edinburgh, with great pomp and honour. And as for the earl of Hereford, and the other prisoners of note, they were exchanged for Elizabeth, king Robert's consort, Marjory his daughter, and Christina his sister, Donald earl of Mar, Thomas Murray, and Robert bishop of Glasgow, after they had continued in durance about the space of eight years. On the above battle, Tyrrel, an English historian, makes the following observation: "This battle may serve
" as one of those many examples in history, where a few resolute and
" well disciplined men have put to flight a vast number of presuming
" and insolent enemies; for the Scots were not above thirty thousand
" in all."

Edward, after this loss, did not think himself safe till he got to York, as already hinted. Robert lost no opportunity to revenge himself on his enemies, who had done him and his people so much hurt. The lords Edward Bruce, James Douglas, &c. invaded England by way of Berwick: they soon reduced the county of Northumberland, and wasted the northern parts. And without giving the English time to recover themselves, in the spring they entered the bishoprick of Durham, and plundered the town of Hartelpool: the inhabitants, to secure their best effects, fled with them on board their ships. From this place the Scots returned home with a great booty. But Robert, about the latter end of July, returning with his army into Cumberland, laid siege to Carlisle; but it being in a good state of defence, and having a numerous garrison, he raised the siege; and the besieged falling out, fell on his rear, and took the lords Murray and Bardolph prisoners.

Ireland having long groaned under English oppression, whose officers were more careful to enrich themselves than promote the publick welfare; their arbitrary proceedings bred in the Irish a general discontent, and they wanted only an opportunity to revolt. The destruction of the English army at Banockburn, induced them to think the present juncture was a proper time to execute their design: therefore they wrote to king Robert, that they were ready to throw off the English yoke, provided he would assist them. Bruce, unwilling to lose so fair an occasion to become master of that island, sent thither his brother Edward with a considerable force, which being joined by the malcontents, he subdued a great part of the country, and was acknowledged king of Ireland. Whilst he was carrying on his conquests in that country, king Robert, his brother, amused the king of England with proposals of peace; which was managed with such dexterity and address, that Edward had not the least suspicion of insincerity: for Robert, to retard matters, artfully raised difficulties till the year 1317, without Edward's discovering his artifices; nay, his want of penetration would have occasioned the entire loss of Ireland, had he not been roused by the murmurs of the people. He at length resolved to send thither a powerful supply, under the command of Mortimer; and in

the mean time, Edward Bruce proceeded with great success in reducing the country.

England being greatly distressed by Scottish invasions; Edward, on the 28th of January, held a parliament at Lincoln, for their advice and assistance to repress their depredations; wherein was granted, to that end, out of every town in England, (except the royal burghs and the king's demesns) a stout footman, to be armed with swords, bows, slings, lances, &c. at the expence of the several towns they were sent by, till they arrived at the place of rendezvous, and for the space of sixty days after, at the rate of 4 *d.* daily each man. And the same day the parliament ordered, that all the militia of the kingdom be summoned, for the same purpose, to meet at Newcastle upon the river Tyne on the 9th day of July following; and, to their support, granted a fifteenth of all their moveable effects, and the like from all the royal demesns. Of this army the earl of Lancaster being appointed general, he set out with it for the place appointed; but not being joined by the king, with the forces under his command, according to agreement, he returned home without performing any thing. This state of inaction was owing to the king's not joining Lancaster, to the scarcity of provisions, or to a treaty for peace set on foot in the beginning of summer, whereby the army appointed to assemble at Midsummer, was put off till the 1st of August. The treaty proving abortive, Robert entered Yorkshire, and wasted the country as far as Richmond, and would have burnt the town, had not the gentlemen of the country, who retired to the castle for safety, compounded for a sum of money. Whence marching westward, he destroyed and burnt the country about the space of sixty miles, carrying away many prisoners, and a vast quantity of plunder; which occasioned such a scarcity and famine, that a quarter of wheat was sold at no less a price than 40s. By these devastations, Robert having rendered it impracticable for an English army to invade Scotland through those desolate countries, he set out for Ireland, where he continued till Whitsunday in the following year, to assist his brother in subduing that country.

Robert being gone to Ireland, king Edward took the advantage of his absence, and hastened to the northern parts of England; and arriving at the city of York about the latter end of August, he issued writs for the whole power of England to join him about the beginning of October following, assuring himself, that, in such an exigency, there was no Englishman, whether laick or clergyman, but would give his assistance. And, that nothing might be wanting at this juncture, he wrote, with great earnestness, to his officers in Gascony, to send over the money granted him by the states of that province, with the utmost expedition. His army having assembled at the time appointed, in marching into Scotland, he was met by sir James Douglas, warden of the western marches of Scotland, by whom he was defeated in three several engagements. This triple overthrow is by Boece and Holingshead reduced to one battle, in which the latter insinuates that king Edward was present; adding, that in this fight three eminent English officers were slain, viz. sir Lylan a Gascoyn, sir Robert Nevil, and a third who fell by the hand of sir James Douglas, the Scottish general.

But what Edward could not effect by land, he attempted by sea; and sending a fleet to the frith of Forth, in order to make a descent in the

An. 1316.
Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.
Rot. Par. 9
Ed. II. n° 1.

Rym. Foed.
tom. iii. p.
553.
Chron. de
Lanercost.

Ibid.

Rym. Foed.
tom. iii. p. 568.

Ibid. p. 569.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

countries on either side, which landing in the county of Fife, ravaged the country. To stop their progress, Duncan, earl of Fife, assembled five hundred men, and, marching at their head to attack the enemy, no sooner came in view than he was greatly dismayed at their vast superiority in number, which occasioned his return homewards; but being met by William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, whose followers were about sixty in number, Sinclair, greatly concerned at Duncan's timidity, snatching a lance, with an audible voice desired all lovers of their country to follow him; and being readily obeyed, he charged the strolling enemy, laden with plunder, with such vigour, that he quickly routed them, and killing a number, the rest precipitately fled to their boats; but by the hurry, crowd, and confusion, many of them were lost before they reached their ships.

An. 1317.

Robert was no sooner arrived from Ireland, than he received advice that great preparations were made in England to raise an army, to assist their friends in that island against his brother Edward, then king of the country; therefore he also prepared to aid him. The army from England arriving soon after, the English found themselves in a condition to take the field. Robert perceiving that his brother, without a speedy assistance, was in danger of losing his new kingdom, began his march for Ireland with a considerable reinforcement: but having, on his arrival, received advice of his brother's army being routed, and himself slain, he returned to improve the advantages obtained in Scotland by Sir James Douglas.

An. 1318.

Walsing Hist.
Reg. Angl.
Ann. Hibern.

Edward Bruce's defeat, we are told by English and Irish writers, was owing to his being so elated with his success, that he thought himself able, with an army of twelve thousand Scots and Irish, to fight the English under lord Birmingham and the archbishop of Armagh. In this battle, he with divers baronets, and two thousand common men, were slain; and his body, after the battle, being found, was quartered, and the parts thereof sent to be put up in the chief towns within the English pale in Ireland, and his head sent by Birmingham to king Edward in England; for which he conferred on him, and his heirs, the earldom of Louth. This victory, which was obtained near Dundalk on the 14th day of October, was the only one gained by the English over the Scots in all this Edward's reign.

Rym. Feed.
tom. iii.
p. 516.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

But the victories obtained both in England and Scotland, of late, by Robert, much over-balancing this loss, he was encouraged to undertake the siege of Berwick, of which place Maurice de Berkley was governor. Robert knew that Edward had neither men nor money, and that his subjects were so averse to him, that he could not expect in time an aid sufficient to defeat his undertaking. In this extremity, Edward applied to the pope, and earnestly entreated him to interpose his authority, to procure either a peace or truce with Scotland. John XXII. who had lately succeeded Clement V. immediately granted his request, regarding this as a favourable opportunity to extend his power over crowned heads; wherefore he took upon him to settle matters between Robert and Edward, not as a mediator, but a sovereign arbiter, by virtue of his apostolical authority. To that end, he sent the cardinals Guacelin and Luca, with a legatine power: which shewed that he thought himself invested with a sovereign authority over all things, in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs. Their commission was to make peace betwixt the two contending nations, in what manner they pleased;

pleased; and to compel both princes to accept it, on the pain of excommunication, and an interdict upon their dominions. But as the pope judged such a peace could not be made without opposition, which would require some time, he ordered his legates to cause a two years truce to be published in his name, and by his authority, with power to excommunicate those that refused to observe it.

Thus furnished with so great and extraordinary a power, the legates arrived in England, where they forthwith caused the truce to be proclaimed; to which Edward paid an implicit obedience, without considering that he thereby sacrificed to the court of Rome the most valuable prerogatives of his crown. It was not so with Robert; for he, under pretence that the pope and his legates gave him not the title of king, would not permit the latter to enter Scotland, much less to proclaim the truce there; nay, he treated the superior of the Cordeliers of Berwick, sent to him by the legates, very roughly, for his insolence in publishing the truce by way of surprize, in presence of divers Scottishmen. And, instead of obeying the pope, either as to a truce or peace, he besieged and took the castle and town of Berwick. According to some English writers, it was betrayed and given up by Peter Spalding, the governor, for a sum of money; but that it was not, is manifest by Thomas de la More, and others, who positively assert that it was taken by force, and not by treachery.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.
Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angliæ.

This contempt of the pope's orders by Robert, obliged the legates to excommunicate him, and put his kingdom under an interdict; but these censures were so manifestly unjust, and partial in respect to the English, that they were justly despised by the king and the whole Scottish nation, the clergy not excepted. Robert had no sooner reduced Berwick, than he invaded England, took the castles of Wark and Harbottle by siege, surprized the castle of Middeford, and became master of all Northumberland, Newcastle upon Tyne, and a few fortresses there, only excepted, and returned to Scotland with a very great booty. And, that no time might be lost to chastise the English, in the month of May following the Scots re-entered England, ravaged the country all the way in their march to Yorkshire, where they plundered and burnt the towns of Northallerton and Boroughbridge: whence marching to Ripon, they plundered it, and made certain of the inhabitants, who held out a church against them, pay the sum of one thousand marks to save it, themselves, and the town from being burnt: and having, in their march homewards, burnt the towns of Scarborough and Skipton in Cravon, they returned to Scotland with a vast deal of plunder, and many prisoners.

Chron. Laner.
Tho. de la
More.
Polid. Virgil.

King Edward, having considered that, by Robert's contempt of the pope and his legates, his spiritual weapons were of no service to him, found means to raise a great army; which assembling at the city of York in the month of August, by his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, he ordered publick prayers to be put up, to supplicate the Almighty for success to his arms: and putting himself at their head, he marched, and invested Berwick upon Tweed on the 1st of September. To divert the siege, the king sent the earl of Murray, and the lords Randolph and Douglas, with an army into England; who, wasting the country far and near, thought to have surprized the queen in the city of York; of which she being apprehensive, luckily escaped.

Chron. Laner.
Walsing. Hist.
p. 112.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iii. p. 748.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.

The Scots, enraged at this disappointment, fell upon the country, and ravaged it with fire and sword.

An. 1319.
Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.
p. 112.

William de Melton, archbishop of York, being greatly irritated at the depredations committed by the Scots in his diocese, raised an army, consisting of ten thousand men, in which were many priests and monks; and marching to attack the Scots at Mitton, near the river Swale, on the 21st of September, the enemy fell on them with such fury, that they quickly routed them, and killed near one half of their army, though they were much superior in number. This engagement, from the great number of priests and monks dressed in their surplices, was called the White Battle.

Chron. Laner.
Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Ang.

Edward, on receiving intelligence of the archbishop's defeat, forthwith raised the siege of Berwick, in order to intercept the Scots on their return, which they being aware of, took a different rout homewards from that he expected, and arrived safe in Scotland with a great treasure in plunder. But not satisfied with this success, lord James Douglas, in the beginning of winter, invaded England, and plundered and burnt Gillesland, as far as Burgh under Stanmore; and on his return burnt the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland, not sparing the corn in barns. Edward, finding there was no end of these dreadful depredations, with much sollicitation, obtained of Robert a truce for the term of two years; which probably was granted by the Scots as a recess from their great fatigues, as well as for their having, by numerous and destructive depredations, impoverished the northern parts of England to such a degree, that there was no more plunder of value to be had. This truce, for aught I can learn, continued without a breach on either side, for the time it was made.

Rymer. Fœ-
dera, tom. iii.
p. 816.

The pope had been long teased by the king of England to compel the king of Scotland, by the terror of his spiritual weapons, to compromise all matters in dispute betwixt them. Although Robert had no reason to regard his interposition, on account of his great partiality in favour of Edward; yet, uneasy to be at difference with him, whom he believed to be the spiritual father of all Christians, he thought it his duty to undeceive him, and to prevail on his holiness, in time to come, to act impartially in all matters brought before him, touching disputes between him and Edward. In order to this, he sent Odard de Mabuiffon and Adam de Gordon ambassadors to him, with a letter written in the name of the nobility and commonalty of Scotland, at Aberbrothock, on the 6th of April, anno 1320; setting forth the origin of the Scottish nation, (as by them then believed) thereby to shew his holiness, that Edward's pretensions to the superiority thereof were entirely groundless. A copy of the letter, as rendered into English by James Anderson, and published in the appendix to his historical essays, is as follows:

Ibid. p. 848.

Append. An-
ders. Essays,
nº 13.

“ To the most holy father in Christ, and lord John, by the provi-
“ dence of God, chief bishop of the sacred Roman and catholick
“ church; his humble and devout sons, Duncan earl of Fife, Thomas
“ Randolph earl of Murray, lord of Mann and Anandale, Patrick
“ Dunbar earl of March, Malis earl of Strathern, Malcolm earl of
“ Lenox, William earl of Ross, Magnus earl of Caithness and Ork-
“ ney, and William earl of Sutherland; Walter steward of Scotland,
“ William Soules butler of Scotland, James lord Douglas, Roger
“ Moubray, David lord Brechin, David Graham, Ingleram Umfra-
“ ville,

" ville, John Monteith tutor of the earl of Monteith, Alexander
 " Frazer, Gilbert Hay constable of Scotland, Robert Keith marshal
 " of Scotland, Henry Sinclair, John Graham, David Lindsay, Wil-
 " liam Olifant, Patrick Graham, John Fenton, William Abernethy,
 " David Weyms, William Meischet, Fergus of Ardrossen, Eustach
 " Maxwell, William Ramsay, William Mowat, Allan Moray, Donald
 " Campbell, John Cameron, Ronald Chein, Alexander Seton, An-
 " drew Lesly, Alexander Straton, and the remnant barons, freeholders,
 " and whole community of the kingdom of Scotland; sending all
 " dutiful reverence, devoutly kissing his holiness's blessed feet.

" Most holy father and lord, we know, and have gathered from
 " the acts and books of the ancients, that among other nations our
 " nation of Scots was recorded with many praises, which, from the
 " greater Scythia, passing the Tyrenian sea and the pillars of Hercules,
 " and for a long time residing in Spain, among very fierce people, they
 " could no where be subdued by any, how barbarous soever: and
 " coming thence about twelve hundred years after, like the out-going
 " of the people of Israel, they purchased, by many victories and much
 " toil, these territories in the west which they now possess, having
 " expelled the Britons and destroyed the Picts; albeit frequently at-
 " tacked by the Norwegians, Danes, and English; and always main-
 " tained their possessions free of all servitude, as the histories of all
 " times testify. In their kingdom one hundred and thirteen kings of
 " their royal progeny reigned, without the intervention of an alien;
 " whose illustrious descents and exploits, though they were not other-
 " wise apparent, yet are abundantly conspicuous from this, that the
 " King of kings, and Lord Jesus Christ, after his passion and resur-
 " rection, called them, living in the outmost parts of the earth, first
 " to his most holy faith; nor would he have them confirmed by any
 " in this faith but by his first apostle, although second or third in
 " order; to wit, the most meek Andrew, brother of St. Peter, whom
 " our Saviour would have to be always their patron.

" The most holy fathers, your predecessors, being with great con-
 " cern persuaded of these things, did bestow upon this kingdom and
 " people, as the flock of the brother of St. Peter, many favours and
 " privileges. Thus our nation hath hitherto, under their protection,
 " continued free and undisturbed; until the magnificent king of Eng-
 " land, Edward, the father of the present king, did, under the pre-
 " tence of a friend and ally, invade our kingdom in a hostile manner,
 " when it wanted a head, and a people conscious to themselves of no
 " guilt or guile, nor then accustomed to quarrels and insults.

" This prince's injuries, slaughters, violences, depredations, burn-
 " ings, imprisonment of bishops, setting on fire of monasteries, plun-
 " dering and murdering of persons in religious orders, and other out-
 " rages which he exercised upon that people, without the least regard
 " to age, sex, religion, or orders, none can express, nor fully under-
 " stand, but such as experience have taught.

" From these innumerable evils, by the assistance of him who binds
 " up and heals the wounded, are we delivered by our very valiant
 " prince, king and lord, Robert, who, in delivering his people and
 " inheritance out of the hands of their enemies, as another Maccabee
 " or Joshua, cheerfully underwent troubles, toils, hardships and dan-
 " gers; whom also divine providence, and the right of succession,

“ according to our laws and customs, which we will maintain to the
 “ utmost, and the due consent and assent of us all, have made our
 “ prince and king. To him, as the deliverer of the people, by pre-
 “ serving our liberties, we are bound to adhere, as well upon account
 “ of his right, as by reason of his merit, and to him we will adhere:
 “ but if he desist from what he has begun, and shew any inclination
 “ to subject us or our kingdom to the kingdom of England, or to the
 “ English, we will use our utmost endeavour to expel him imme-
 “ diately, as our enemy, and the subverter of his own and our right,
 “ and we will make another our king, who is able to defend us; for
 “ so long as an hundred Scotsmen remain alive, we will never be sub-
 “ jected any manner of way to the dominion of England.

“ It is not for glory, riches, and honour we fight; but only for
 “ liberty, which no good man loseth but with his life.

“ Wherefore, reverend father and lord, we, with the greatest ear-
 “ nestness and humility, beseech you, that with a sincere and pious
 “ disposition, considering that with him whose vicegerent you are on
 “ earth, there is no respect of persons, nor distinction of Jew and
 “ Greek, of Scots or English; and looking with a fatherly eye upon
 “ the straits and difficulties brought upon us and the church of God
 “ by the English, your holiness would be pleased to admonish the
 “ king of England, (who should be content with what he possesses;
 “ for, of old, England used to suffice seven or more kings) that he
 “ may not disturb our peace in this small country, lying in the utter-
 “ most parts of the earth, and desiring nothing but that which is our
 “ own, since we are willing, in order to procure a peace, to do most
 “ effectually whatever may be consistent with the constitution of our
 “ government.

“ It concerns you, holy father, to do this, who behold the cruelty
 “ of the Heathens raging against the Christians, and the bounds of
 “ Christianity daily straitned, whereof the procuring cause is the
 “ wickedness of Christians, and may perceive how much it derogates
 “ from the memory of your holiness, if (as God forbid) in your time
 “ the church in any part should suffer an eclipse, or be scandalized.

“ May therefore your holiness be pleased to excite the Christian
 “ princes, who falsely pretend that they cannot go to defend the Holy
 “ Land, by reason of the wars which they have with their neigh-
 “ bours; when the true cause of their impediment is, that they
 “ reckon upon a surer advantage, and a weaker resistance, in van-
 “ quishing neighbours of less power: but he who knows all things,
 “ knows how frankly our lord the king and we would go upon that
 “ expedition, if the king of England would not disturb us; which we
 “ proclaim and testify to the vicegerent of Christ, and all Christendom.

“ If your holiness, giving too much faith to the tales of the Eng-
 “ lish, shall not sincerely believe these things, and shall not forbear to
 “ favour them in destroying of us, we are persuaded that the Al-
 “ mighty will impute to you the destruction of the souls and bodies,
 “ and the other hostilities which the English shall commit upon us,
 “ and we upon them; since that we are, and shall be, as in duty
 “ bound, obedient sons in all things to you, as God's vicegerent: and
 “ to him, as the great king and judge, we commit the defence of
 “ our cause, placing our confidence in him, and firmly hoping that he
 “ will perfect strength in us, and confound our enemies. And may
 “ the

" the Almighty long preserve your holiness in health, for the good of
 " his holy church.

" Given at the monastery of Aberbrothock in Scotland, the 6th day
 " of April, in the year of our Lord 1320, and of the reign of our
 " said king the 15th year."

Although it does not appear that the Scots, by the above letter, had prevailed on the pope to act in their favour; yet, by his letters to king Edward, he exhorted him to contribute all in his power towards a lasting peace between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and delayed pestering Robert with citations and censures, as formerly.

At this time an alliance was entered into by king Robert and the earl of Lancaster, and other confederated English lords, against king Edward, for their mutual interest, (as appears by the letters of sir James Douglas, and the articles of impeachment for high treason against the earl of Lancaster) which in an indenture was found upon the earl of Hereford, after he was killed at the pass of Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, which was of the following tenor, viz. That Robert king of Scotland, and the lords Randolph and Douglas, should, with all their forces, come to England, and join the earl of Lancaster and his confederates; that then they would live and die with them, as faithful allies, in their quarrel; saving all claims to conquest or superiority over England, Wales, and Ireland. And if it should happen that Robert, by sickness or otherwise, should be prevented from coming himself, the earl of Murray and lord James Douglas should come and act in his stead. And whenever an opportunity shall offer to compromise matters with king Edward, king Robert shall use his utmost endeavours to have a safe and honourable peace made between the kingdoms of Scotland and England, whereby Robert should, in all respects, enjoy his crown and dignity in the same quietness and freedom as the crown of England is held. This alliance soon came to nothing, by Lancaster's being routed at Boroughbridge, himself taken prisoner, and soon after beheaded.

Edward, by this success, was enabled to get a parliament that would do whatever he and the Spencers, his favourites, would have them; for in this session were granted him, towards an expedition to Scotland, a tenth of the goods of the nobility and commons, and a sixth of those of the inhabitants of cities, boroughs, and ancient demesns: where-with a very great army being raised, Edward began his march towards that kingdom about the latter end of July; and entering the country, to revenge the depredations committed by the Scots in England, spoiled all things, both sacred and profane. Thus he burnt the monasteries of Melross and Dryburgh, and killed the monks, whom either the love to their convents, debility of age, or confidence in their number of years, occasioned to stay. But a few days after, through the scarcity of provisions, and a distemper in his army, being obliged to return to England, he was closely pursued by Robert, with an army more noted for goodness than number of men, which made grievous havock all the way he marched to York; and at Ryland, forest of Blackmore, and in the neighbourhood of Malton in Yorkshire, by an unexpected assault on the monastery of that place, had like to have taken king Edward prisoner, who, in a tumultuary battle, was put to flight, and all his baggage taken. The towns of Rippon and Beverly ransomed themselves from being burnt, at the expence of 400 l.

Robert,

An. 1321.
 Rym. Fœd.
 tom. iii. p. 846.

Ibid. p. 848.

An. 1322.
 Ibid. p. 926.

Hen. Knyght.
 Chron.

Rot. Clauf.
 16 Ed. II.
 in 20 Dorf.
 in Tur. Lond.

Buchan. Hist.
 Scot. lib. 8.

Boet. Hist.
 Scot. lib. 14.

Hemingford.
 Chron.

Chron. Adam
 de Murmuthe.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iii. p.
978, 982.

Robert, after his glorious success in beating the royal army, and king Edward's narrowly escaping, (his cousin, the earl of Richmond, and Henry lord de Sully, the French envoy, having the misfortune of being taken) ravaged all the northern parts of England to the walls of the city of York, burning the towns that were not ransomed, and returned home with a vast booty. Yet such was his propensity to peace, but whether owing to his age, distemper, or inclination to leave his country in tranquillity during his son's minority, is unknown, that he treated his illustrious prisoners, the earl of Richmond and lord de Sully, with the greatest respect; and conversing with the latter, in a very familiar way, on that subject, he undertook, on his arrival in England, to endeavour an accommodation, either by a treaty of peace, or a long truce. That Sully was not forgetful of his promise, is manifest by his having got Edward readily to agree to a truce; but it being in a stile not agreeable to Robert, occasioned his writing a letter to lord Sully, of which the following is the purport:

Ib. p. 1003.

" Sir, You may remember, that, before you left Scotland, I signified
" to you, that we were willing to enter into a treaty with the king of
" England, provided that the kingdom of Scotland remain free and
" independent to us and our heirs, and that our allies suffer no preju-
" dice. But we have received from you a transcript of the said king's
" letters, intimating, that he grants a truce to the Scots in arms against
" him! a manner of writing unknown to us; for, in all former
" treaties, though he gave us the title of king, yet he stiled us chief
" or principal on one side, as he did himself on the other: whereas,
" in his present writing, he takes no more notice of us than he does
" of the meanest of our people. Wherefore we cannot agree to this
" truce, as it is penned; but, if altered, and expressed in terms less
" assuming, we are ready to agree to such a treaty: which, if approved
" of, it will be necessary to send a safe conduct for sir Alexander Sea-
" ton, sir William Mountfitchet, and Walter Twynham clerk, whom
" we design to send to England, in order to sign the articles that may
" be agreed on in our name; and we being only to stay in this place
" till Wednesday after Easter, your answer is desired without loss of
" time. At Berwick, 21st of March, 1323."

Ibid. p. 1022,
1025, 1030.

What Robert complained of, was quickly amended; and the short truce, which was only to have continued till the 12th of June, gave way to a treaty, which was concluded at Thorp near Everwyk, or York, on the 30th of May, by Thomas Randolph earl of Murray, sir John Monteith, sir Robert Lawder, William bishop of St. Andrews, and Walter de Twynham clerk, plenipotentiaries for king Robert; and Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, Hugh le Dispenser the son, Robert de Baldock archdeacon of Middlesex, sir William de Kerle, William de Ayremynne canon of York, and Geoffrey le Scrop, for king Edward; to continue for the space of thirteen years; which was ratified by Edward at Bishopthorp on the 1st day of June, and by Robert at Berwick upon Tweed on the 7th day of the same month.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.

As Robert had settled affairs with Edward, he was willing to accommodate matters with the pope; and, to that end, sent the earl of Murray and the bishop of Glasgow to Rome, to endeavour to obtain an absolution from the excommunication of his person, and interdict of his kingdom; in which he was not only vigorously opposed by king Edward, but his holiness remembering how undutifully he had treated him,

Rym. Fœd.
tom. i. p.
46, 146, &
176.

him, in refusing to comply with his orders, and denying his legates admission into his kingdom, his ambassadors were obliged to return without success. Therefore Buchanan is mistaken, when he says that their representations had effect. And the same author, with Boece, in speaking of the origin of the noble family of Hamilton in Scotland, tells us, that a certain nobleman in the court of England, named Hantoun, speaking in praise of king Robert Bruce in a lofty strain, in presence of one of the Spencers, (one of the great favourites of king Edward II.) and other persons of the greatest distinction, he resented it to such a degree, that drawing his sword, he slightly wounded Hantoun, who being prevented from revenging it by a number of persons interposing, he repaired to the same place the next day, where finding Spencer, he ran him through the body and killed him on the spot; and to avoid suffering on that occasion, fled with great expedition into Scotland, where he was graciously received by Robert, who conferred on him the lands of Cadzow by the river Clyde; and his posterity being soon after nobilitated, they, with a little variation from Hantoun, assumed the name of Hamilton.

That this is a falsity is evident, for by all the English writers of that time it is manifest, that Hugh Spencer the father, at Bristol, and Hugh the son, at Hereford, were hanged on gallows each fifty foot high. Add to this, that the noble family of Hamilton did not come from England to Scotland at this time, seeing there was a noble family of that name in Scotland before that period, as appears by Ragman's roll, that Walter Fitz Gilbert de Hamilton is one of the Scottish barons who subscribed and swore allegiance to Edward I.

Rym. Fœd.
& Prym. ad
an. 1296.

Although Robert's transactions with the pope had not the desired success, those with the king of France had better luck; for some time after, the antient league with that nation, which seemed of late to have been interrupted, was renewed, and the treaty concluded in the month of April, anno 1326, by the Scottish ambassadors, Thomas Randolph earl of Murray, Robert Keith marshal of Scotland, and Adam Murray doctor of law. About the same time, a treaty was set on foot in England for settling a perpetual peace between the two nations, but to no purpose, occasioned by the cruel and untimely death of king Edward.

An. 1326.

By the late thirteen years truce, peace being restored to the kingdoms of Scotland and England, Robert, now old and afflicted with a grievous distemper, turned his thoughts to the settling his domestick affairs, for preserving tranquillity in the kingdom after his demise. To which end he settled the crown on his son David, an infant about the age of eight years, by the consent of parliament; and in case of his death without issue, he was to be succeeded by Robert Stuart, son to Walter lord high steward of Scotland, and Margery his daughter. To the performance of this settlement he caused all his nobility to swear.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

King Edward the second being compelled to resign his crown, Edward the prince his eldest son was appointed to succeed him; and the parliament called by the father being continued by the son, they named ambassadors to treat of a peace with the Scots; but nothing being concluded, king Robert broke the truce, and sent by the English commissioners a defiance to king Edward; but, through age

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p. 314.
Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 340.

and infirmities not being able to command his army himself, he detached the earl of Murray and Sir James Douglas into England, a little before Easter, at the head of twenty thousand cavalry. Many are the reasons assigned by historians for Robert's breaking the truce, though none I think so probable as that of laying hold of the troubles in England, which deposed the king, and placed in his stead an unexperienced youth, to oblige the new king to give up his pretensions to the superiority and direct dominion over Scotland.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

By some 'tis said to be owing to the perfidy of the English ambassadors, without assigning the least reason for this charge. Others say, it was done to restore the unfortunate king Edward. Be that as it will, the defiance having highly enraged the young king, he sent his uncle the earl of Norfolk, with a choice body of troops to Newcastle upon Tyne to oppose them; and the lords Uffard and Mowbray, with a considerable reinforcement, to join the lord Lucy, governor of Carlisle, and secure the north-west parts of the kingdom; and at the same time issued out a general summons for the rest of his subjects to meet him at York well provided with horses, arms, and all military accoutrements. And as if all these preparations were not sufficient to repress the Scots, he treated with John de Beaumont, brother to the earl of Hainault, to come to his aid: pursuant to which he arrived in England, attended by five hundred choice troops, and a number of lords and knights from Hainault, Flanders, and Artois, who being soon after joined by William son to the duke of Juliers, with a body of select men, which amounted in the whole to two thousand; these joining his army, he began his march for York. Whilst Edward continued in that city, a treaty of peace was set on foot for an amicable accommodation of all differences betwixt the English and Scots, to be held on the frontiers of Scotland, to which Edward sent his ambassadors; but nothing being agreed on, he marched against the Scots about the beginning of June, attended by the flower of the English nobility, divers foreign princes, and an army of above sixty thousand men, some say one hundred thousand. The Scots, unable to stand before this vast power, retreated northwards, and having burnt the country in their progress, Edward marched in pursuit of them, being directed by the smoke of the houses and villages they had set fire to; when, after a march of two days, considering that the enemy's army, consisting of light horse, were not to be overtaken by his, he held a council of war, to consider of the most proper measures to be taken, wherein it was resolved to leave their heavy baggage and carriages behind, and march with the flower of the army (which consisted chiefly in horse) and pass the Tyne, to meet the Scots in their return homewards: but having crossed the river, and marched a short way into Northumberland, want of provisions forced them to recross the river to the bishoprick of Durham, where they had not been long, before Thomas Rokesby brought Edward notice of the Scottish army's being encamped on a hill in Waredale, not above three or four miles distant. For this intelligence Edward gave Rokesby lands to the amount of one hundred pounds per annum, with the honour of knighthood.

An. 1327.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p. 292.

Froiss. Hist.
de France, &c.
Hollinghed
Hist. Engl.
p. 326.

Froiss. Hist.

Upon this Edward marched towards the enemy, and perceiving them drawn up in order of battle, arrayed his army in the same manner, but being parted by the river Ware, neither of them durst venture to cross it without great danger; wherefore the king sent an herald

herald to the Scottish army, to let their generals know, that if they were willing to pass the river and fight him, he would retire, and give them leave to cross; but if they would not agree to that, to let him pass without molestation, and he would come and fight them. Having called a council of war to deliberate on this message, they returned for answer, "That the Scottish generals knew better than to follow the advice of an enemy, who being on the northern side of the Ware between them and their country, and of triple their number, it would be imprudent in them to accept of either of his proposals; and as they had at present, would keep their post, and he might help himself as well as he could." In this situation both armies continued for several days; but the Scots regarding this as a stratagem of Edward's to amuse them whilst he passed the river at another place, retired in the night, and encamped in Stanhope park in a more advantageous post, with the Ware in the front, having their flanks defended with large woods and bogs; of which Edward receiving intelligence, marched after them with the Ware still between.

Whilst the armies lay in sight without being able to engage, Sir James Douglas, one of the Scottish generals, passed the river at some distance from the camps, with a select band of two hundred horsemen, and entering the English camp, penetrated even to the royal pavilion, where he gave a terrible alarm, and, according to Buchanan, killed about three hundred men, and would certainly either have taken or killed the king, had he not leapt out of bed and escaped in the dark: but not succeeding, he retreated with little loss. This being the Scottish account of this affair, it will not be amiss to hear what English writers say in that respect.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.

We are told by Henry de Knyghton, that Sir James Douglas intending to take king Edward prisoner, or to kill him if he failed in the attempt, entered the English camp privately with some of the stoutest of the Scottish nation, and pretending to be an English officer going the rounds, cried, "Ha, St. George, no watch!" and coming to the king's tent, killed the chamberlain in waiting, and one of the chaplains going to wake the king, and interposing his body between him and Douglas, had likewise the misfortune of being killed; upon which the king starting out of bed, snatched his sword, and defended himself 'till the guards came to his assistance; whereupon Douglas retreated, and got off in the dark, with the loss of many of his men.

Hen. de
Knyght, de
Event. Angl.

Edward perceiving there was no advantage to be got of the Scots, having received intelligence of their provisions falling short, resolved to continue the blockade of their army, and by cutting off their communication with Scotland, obliged them either to fight, starve or surrender at discretion. But he soon found that none of these were practicable, for the Scots soon after retreated to Scotland, without its being in his power either to oblige them to fight or surrender; and as to the starving their army, that was not easily to be done, for the Scots, according to Froissart, were so abstemious and patient in war, that they lived on half-boiled flesh and drink of the stream, had small round iron plates, which they tied to their saddles, and putting them on the fire, knead a little oatmeal (which they carried behind them in little bags) into cakes, and laid them thereon to bake; which being done, they eat it with their flesh. Vessels they had none

Froiss. Hist.
Hen. Knyght.
de Ev. Angl.

to

to dress their meat in, they boiled it in the hides or skins of the beasts it was taken from.

Finding however that there was no prospect of a further advantage over Edward by way of surprize, (for ever since Douglas's attempt on their camp, they observed a very strict discipline both by day and night) and not daring to give them battle, by reason of their vast superiority in number, they resolved to return homewards: preparatory to which, in order to amuse Edward, orders were given to their army to assemble at a certain time and place, but for what purpose was unknown. However, Edward receiving advice of this, concluded they intended to surprize him by a general assault upon his camp by night: for the preventing of which he drew up his army in three divisions before his camp; and having continued in this posture during the night, received intelligence that their army began its march for Scotland in the preceding night, and having marched through the woods, must be advanced many miles on their way. To deliberate on this affair, a council of war was held, wherein it was considered, that as the Scottish army consisted chiefly of horse, there was no probability of overtaking them, and the season of the year being far spent, it was too late for another expedition; wherefore it was resolved, that the king and army should forthwith return to England. Thus ended that expedition, to the reproach of the king and English nation, and honour of the Scots; who resolving to visit them once more, raised a considerable army, entered Northumberland, ravaged and wasted the country; which the inhabitants of the other marches receiving intelligence of, ransomed themselves at the expence of a large sum of money, and obtained a truce 'till Whitsunday.

Chron. de
Lanercost.

The English, being as it were worn out by endless ravages and destructive depredations, to prevent the like for the future, and restore perpetual peace betwixt the two nations, a parliament was summoned to meet at Northampton, three weeks after Easter, wherein the following charter of renunciation was drawn up and assented to by the said parliament, viz.

An. 1328.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p. 337.

" All to whom these letters shall come, we Edward, by the
" grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aqu-
" tain, salute in the Lord everlasting. Whereas we, and certain of
" our predeceffors kings of England, have endeavoured to obtain the
" direct dominion and superiority over the kingdom of Scotland,
" which has occasioned many long, dangerous, and grievous wars be-
" tween the two nations of England and Scotland:

" We therefore considering the numerous slaughters, murders, car-
" nages, destruction of churches, and many other mischiefs brought
" upon the inhabitants of both kingdoms, in lieu of the great and
" mutual advantages that would accrue to both nations when joined
" by a perpetual peace, whereby they would be firmly secured against
" all rebels and rebellious designs; We, by the assent and consent of
" the prelates, earls, barons, and commons of our kingdom in par-
" liament assembled, will and grant for us, our heirs and successors,
" that the kingdom of Scotland remain for ever to the magnificent
" prince, Robert, by the grace of God king of Scots, our illustrious
" ally and most dear friend, his heirs and successors, separated from
" the kingdom of England by its respective marches, as in the time
" of Alexander king of Scotland, of precious memory, lately deceased,

entire,

“entire, free, and quiet, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatsoever; and whatever right we or our predecessors did in times past ask or pretend to in the kingdom of Scotland, we hereby renounce and give up for us, our heirs and successors, to the said kingdom of Scotland; and also all obligations, agreements, or compacts, made by or with any of our predecessors at any time concerning the subjection of the kingdom of Scotland, or its people, whether clergy or laity; and if any letters, charters, or instructions concerning the said obligations, agreements, or compacts shall be found, we declare they shall be accounted null, void, and of no effect.”

REMARK. English writers not searching the public records in respect to this transaction, divers of them have asserted gross untruths: for Walsingham, though he acknowledges this renunciation was confirmed by parliament, yet says, that the articles of it were unknown to Englishmen. Atwood, with his usual assurance and ignorance, asserts, that it was made without the consent of parliament; and Barnes, in his life of Edward III. says, that notwithstanding the several articles of the treaty were performed by both princes, each nevertheless severally reserved a liberty to himself, after a truce of four years, to reject the peace, provided he liked not the conditions.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.
p. 128.

Edward, to shew his inclination to a general tranquillity, in the preceding year had named plenipotentiaries to treat with those of Scotland about a perpetual peace, and to that end granted a safe conduct to one hundred Scottishmen to come to England. Pursuant to which, the commissioners having met at Newcastle upon Tyne, certain articles were proposed to be treated of in the parliament summoned to meet at York, but that not taking effect, the said renunciation was made by the parliament at Northampton as aforesaid. The additional articles were, 1. That prince David, only son and heir to king Robert, should be married to the princess Jean, eldest sister to king Edward, in consideration whereof, the above-recited charter was granted to the said Robert, and the marriage solemnized at the town of Berwick upon Tweed, on the 22d of July in the same year. 2. That no Englishman enjoy any lands in Scotland, unless he reside in the country, and renounce his allegiance to the king of England; whereby not only all those English who had lands conferred on them by Edward I. in Scotland, were included, but likewise all Edward's Scottish adherents were comprehended therein. 3. That the Scottish regalia, together with all the monuments of liberty and independency of the kingdom, and the deeds and instruments of its late subjection, be given back. Although this article does not appear to have been fulfilled, yet by the candor of Rymer, the English historiographer, they are mostly published. And that no pretence or handle might thereafter be given to future claims or disputes, king Robert, for himself and successors, not only renounced all right to the northern counties and feudatory lands held by his predecessors in England, but agreed to pay to Edward the sum of twenty thousand marks, for the damage done by his army in England in the preceding year. A very signal favour at this time appears to have been granted to Scottishmen, for the lands in England, which belonged to their ancestors before the late war, were restored to them. Thus those of Fawdon in Northumberland, and other parts of England, which belonged to Sir William Douglas,

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p.
314.

Ibid. p. 336.

An. 1328.
Ibid. p. 384.

Barnes's life
of Ed. III.
p. 350.

were delivered up to Sir James his son. A certain English writer, in speaking of the above peace, says, "That famous, or rather infamous, peace, justly accounted dishonourable to England, that the Scots themselves afterwards, by way of triumph, nick-named the queen, Joan make peace: as if the realm of England had made that match out of fear, to rid their hands of the war. They also made many insulting rhymes in derision of our nation: one whereof is chiefly remembered, viz.

" Long beards heartless, painted hoods witless,
" Grey coats graceless, makes England thriftless."

Rvm. Fœder.
tom.iii.p.350.

The pope, since the disobedience of Robert and his people to the holy see, continued partial to the English, whose rights, while under debate, he pretended he could not prejudge to king Edward; but Edward having signified to him, that all differences between him and Robert were ended, the Scottish king entreated that he and his subjects might no longer lie under his holiness's displeasure.

Reg. Majest.

Some are of opinion, that before Robert's time, our parliaments were on the same footing as at present: that this is a mistake, I think is evident, for 'till the competition for the crown, I find no where the appellation parliament, or any mention of the people but once, where, instead of populi, it ought to be read laici, which does not imply the community, though often called so. Whereas those who assembled on those occasions, were the nobility, churchmen, and officers of state. The present manner of holding parliaments by summoning the commons or burgeses, was introduced by king Robert, in imitation of that of England, to which we owe the admirable constitution of the three states, as appears from an indenture between him and the earls, barons, and communities of burghs in the year 1326, in a parliament held at Cambuskenneth; which, to supply the royal revenues much reduced by the late wars, granted him during life the tenth of the produce of the laity's lands: but this it seems not being sufficient to support the royal dignity, it was willing to re-annex to the crown the several lands it was spoiled of during the wars; and to that end summoned a parliament to meet at Perth, wherein the nobility were required to shew by what authority they held their lands, but having neither charter, nor other evidence, to shew how they came by, or by what power they held their lands, they unanimously drew their swords, and declared that by them they had obtained their lands, and by them they would keep them.

Holingshed.
Hist. p. 322.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.
Buchan. Hist.
lib. 8.

Ibid.

Although Robert was greatly amazed at this declaration, he nevertheless concealed his resentment, which they imagining to be feigned, in order to escape punishment they conspired against him, and resolved to restore to the English the castles, towns, and other fortresses under their respective governments. Pursuant to which, they sent one of their number in the habit of a pilgrim, to acquaint the enemy therewith, who being apprehended, and his dispatches taken out of his staff, the plot was discovered, and many of the conspirators secured; and in a convention held at Perth, called the black parliament, they were condemned, and suffered accordingly. Amongst those was David Brechin, (by some called Abernethy) the king's nephew by his sister, who was greatly bewailed for his gallant deportment: with him also suffered the countess of Strathern, Sir William Soules governor

nor of Berwick, Gilbert Malyerd, Richard Brown, John Logie, &c. Robert conferred their lands on his best friends.

Robert having, as it were in a miraculous manner, recovered his enslaved country, by obliging the English to restore it with all its rights and privileges, in as full a manner as they ever enjoyed it, all things being now in a state of tranquility and repose, he began to think of changing his terrestrial for a celestial crown. Preparatory to which, having confirmed the succession on his only son David, and appointed the earl of Murray his guardian, and regent of the kingdom during his minority, now wholly employed his time in preparing for his great change, in his castle of Cardross, on the western side of the river Leven, in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton; where, attended by the principal officers and chief men of the kingdom, he exhorted them to unity amongst themselves, and loyalty to their sovereign, which would be of great advantage to them in all their undertakings; and advised them, that whenever they happened to have a war with England, they should avoid a general engagement, and never venture their all upon one battle; but, by frequent incursions, skirmishes, and sudden attacks, discomfit and tire out the more powerful enemy. 2. Never to make a longer peace or truce with the English than for the space of three or four years; seeing that by living in a long tranquillity, they would be enervated, and become indolent, slothful, and effeminate, and an easy prey to their powerful enemies the English; and recommended to Sir James Douglas the performance of the vow he made to go to the Holy Land, and by going himself, endeavour the recovery of that country from the infidels, and desired him to carry his heart thither, and deposit it near Christ's sepulchre in Jerusalem*. 3. Not to appoint one person governor of all the western isles, lest, by ingratiating himself with that fierce people, he might alienate the hearts of the nation, and by setting up for himself, become their king.

Boet. Scot.
Hist. lib. 14.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 8.

Thus prepared, king Robert died at Cardross, of a leprosy, on the 7th day of June, anno 1329, after a troublesome, though triumphant reign of twenty-four years. *Robert's death.*

His first consort was Garthenay sister to the earl of Mar, by whom he had a daughter named Marjory, married to Walter high steward of Scotland, to whom she had a son, since king of Scotland by the name of Robert the second; and by his second consort Elizabeth, daughter of Henry de Burgh earl of Ulster, he had David his only son, who succeeded him. *His consorts and issue.*

As there is no other way to judge of men but by their actions, Robert by his appears to have been one of the most illustrious and heroic princes of his time, nay, probably of any other time: for he not only undertook to free his country from the slavery in which it was involved by Edward I. king of England, one of the greatest princes, both for power and military experience, of any of his time. In this great enterprize, for some time he met with very bad success, which would have broken the spirit of any man but his own: for at his setting-out, not only his consort, daughter, and two sisters were made prisoners, and kept many years in duress, but three of his brethren *His character.*

* Douglas, in his voyage to Palestine, attended by some of the nobility and other persons of distinction, landed in Spain, where a war being carried on by the king of Arragon against the Moors, he joined the Spaniards, and a battle ensuing, he had the misfortune to be killed.

were

were taken by surprize, and executed; and his fourth brother, soon after, was killed in battle. His friends were put to death and banished, his estate forfeited, and himself outlawed, and, after the loss of divers battles, forced to sculk in frightful dens, subterraneous caverns, and obscure recesses, where he was often in danger of being famished. Notwithstanding all these great trials, he determined either to accomplish, or die for the cause he had so generously undertaken. Nature and experience had made him a soldier, and adversity a man undazzled with success. His humanity equalled his courage. He is said to have come off conqueror no less than fifty-seven, and was only worsted thirteen times.

Robert is, indeed, blamed by Scottish writers for changing sides, while in a private station, and joining with the English, who fought against his country. By others he is said to have murdered Comyn for no other reason, than to get rid of a competitor to the crown, and to make way for himself: while some insinuate, that by his receiving sir John Monteith into favour, it may be reasonably presumed that he put him upon betraying sir William Wallace, who, being removed from the regency, was a great step in his favour to the crown. By the English he is charged with a breach of treaties. But these being only charges of his enemies, unsupported with evidence, they deserve the less credit.

DAVID II.

An. 1329.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 14.
Buchan. Hist.
lib. 8.

After the demise of king Robert, his only son David, an infant, in the eighth year of his age, succeeded to the crown, in the year 1329; and having that wise and sagacious minister, Thomas earl of Murray, regent of the kingdom, he no sooner renewed the peace betwixt Scotland and England, than he strenuously applied himself to accomplish a thorough reformation among the people. By the long and bloody wars in the late reign, they had been so much inured to plunder and rapine, that robbery prevailed in all parts of the country to a very destructive degree, which, by prudent measures, and proper regulations, he soon put an end to, and settled the kingdom in peace and quietness. Against murder he was inexorable; for although a certain person had received the pope's pardon for that crime, he nevertheless caused him to be hanged; alledging, that though the pope could forgive spiritual crimes, the punishment of temporal offences belonged to the king. And, for the better securing mens properties, and preventing theft, he caused a law to be made for the people to leave their implements of husbandry in the fields by night, and not to secure their effects at home with doors to their houses; for whatever should be stolen or lost, on those occasions, should be made good by the sheriffs of the respective counties, who were to be reimbursed by the king, and the king to be indemnified out of the goods and chattels of the thieves and robbers. A certain farmer, judging this law to be as vain as ridiculous, secreted some of his plough materials, and, as if stolen, applied to the sheriff for redress; which being immediately done, the sheriff, by strictly scrutinizing into the affair, discovered the fraud, seized the criminal, caused him forthwith to be hanged, and his goods confiscated, which put an effectual stop to such sinister practices. He restrained vagrants and forners from strolling about, and plundering the country; and whoever assaulted a traveller, or publick officer in the execution of his duty, it was lawful for any man to kill him. By these

By these severe laws he became as formidable to the wicked at home, as he did by his great valour and conduct to enemies abroad.

By Murray's being thus fenced both by wisdom and power, the English concluded, that, during his government, they could not easily obtain their ends of the Scots, and therefore they secretly practised to cut him off by a monk; who, under pretence of being a physician, administered to him a poisonous draught, which soon after put an end to his life. The potion was no sooner given, than the monk set out for England to acquaint king Edward, with an assurance that he could not long survive it. Edward, readily giving credit to this declaration, levied an army forthwith; and marching to Scotland with great expedition, he received advice of an army of Scots marching against him, as potent as that of his own, to dispute his entering the country. Not a little amazed at this intelligence, he sent a trumpeter to the Scots, under pretence of demanding reparation for injuries received; whereas his chief business was to inquire who commanded the army. Murray's disorder increasing, and the monk not returning, gave room to suspect treachery. The regent, dissembling the state he was in, placed himself in a chair before his tent, to give audience to the messenger, who, on his return, acquainted Edward with the condition he had seen Murray in. In consequence of this, the monk was punished as a cheat; and Edward, having left a number of troops on the borders to prevent incursions, marched back with his army: and the regent, by the violence of his distemper, being stopt in his progress, returned homewards; and disbanding his army, died at Musselburgh, in the county of East-Lothian, on the 20th of July, anno 1331.

Boet. Hist.
in Vit. David.

Buchan. Hist.
in Vit. David.

Soon after the death of Murray, Duncan earl of Mar being chosen regent, news was brought him of the arrival of Edward Baliol in the frith of Forth, with a numerous fleet of ships. According to our writers, the cause of his coming was as followeth. One Laurence Twyne, an Englishman, being obliged to fly from Scotland, for an offence committed against the bishop of Glasgow, withdrew to France; and loving to fish in troubled waters, in hopes to amend his fortune, addressed himself to Edward Baliol, son to the late unfortunate king John, represented to him the state of affairs in Scotland, and advised him not to let slip so fair an opportunity to recover his late father's kingdom: For (said he) their king is a child, surrounded with enemies, who are readier to avenge the mal-treatment of his father, than to join with him; some of whose fathers were slain in a public convention at Perth; others were banished, and their estates confiscated; some were fined, with the loss of a great part of their lands; and many of English descent, who are deprived of the lands in Scotland given them by his grandfather, would attend him in this expedition: nay, there were men enough, both needy and criminal, who, through hope of gain, or to avoid punishment, being desirous of innovation, wanted only a leader to commence hostilities. Besides, the celebrated heroes, Murray and Douglas, being both dead, there was not a man to whose government the people would so readily submit as to his.

Id. ibid.

From English authors we have a different account of this affair, who tell us, that the great revolution in Scotland, in the year 1331, was accomplished by a few English and Scottish volunteers, in the following manner: Edward Baliol, after the demise of his father, the late king

Rapin Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 414.

Rymer. Fœ-
dera, tom. iv.
p. 445, 452.

Barnes in Vit.
Edw. III.

Rapin, Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 414.

Id. ibid.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p. 536.

Ibid. p. 529.

Ibid. p. 462.

John, in Normandy, lived privately at his seat of Quimper in that province, till, for his protecting and sending away one of his domesticks, that had killed a Frenchman, he was not only disseised of his estate, but his person imprisoned by the king of France; where he continued in dures till the arrival of lord Henry Beaumont, who prevailed on the king his cousin to release him. Whereupon Beaumont, by order of king Edward III. represented to him, "That he had now a fair opportunity to ascend the throne of Scotland, usurped by the Bruces; that David's minority was a juncture that probably would not be easily met with again: in a word, that the king of England was inclined to second his endeavours." Baliol readily gave ear to this flattering proposal; and, to be certain how far he might rely on the king, came into Scotland with Edward's safe-conduct, and concealed himself during the time he treated with Edward, by the mediation of Beaumont, concerning the terms he was to engage on in this enterprize.

Edward's historian labours hard to vindicate the king in a proceeding so contrary to sincerity, and the late treaty with Scotland: but those who are not concerned to defend his reputation, will hardly deny, that, on this occasion, ambition was the sole or real motive of his conduct; and it is but too probable, that the prospect of an acquisition like that of the kingdom of Scotland, made him overlook his scruples.

The two parties coming soon to an agreement, Baliol thought he could not purchase a crown at too high a rate, to which he would not have dared to aspire, without being assured of a powerful assistance; and Edward, who minded his own more than the interests of Baliol, and intended to reap all the benefit of this undertaking, scrupled not to promise more than Baliol durst have expected. The articles of their agreement were no sooner settled, than the English nobility were told, that in serving Baliol they would please the king.

This was sufficient to engage in his party all those who had received lands in Scotland by the bounty of Edward I. and were lost by the revolutions in that kingdom. Besides this aid, Baliol might depend on the assistance of the friends of his own family in Scotland, whose interest it was to support him; for the placing him on the throne was the only means to recover the lucrative posts and offices they were removed from, after Robert Bruce's advancement.

Whilst Baliol was making preparations to invade Scotland, king Edward pretended punctually to observe the peace with that kingdom; and, seemingly for that end, issued divers orders, that were but little regarded; and, amongst others, even published a proclamation against those that were engaged in the service of Baliol. But this step being taken when they were just going to set out on their expedition, it was too late to prevent it. Edward's aim in this was to make the publick believe that he was entirely disinterested in this affair, of which he was the sole contriver. But this bungling piece of politicks had little or no weight with the people, who, considering that Baliol had Edward's safe-conduct, concluded that he was the deviser of the whole conspiracy.

Another reason for Edward's not declaring sooner in favour of Baliol, was his waiting for the payment of thirty thousand marks sterling, due to him by virtue of the peace concluded with the late king Robert Bruce; the last payment whereof he received in the month of January

January in the year, according to the English stile, 1331; but, conformable to ours, in 1332. He soon after began to act openly in favour of Baliol, who not only agreed to hold of Edward as his sovereign, and superior lord of the kingdom of Scotland, but made over to him divers of the best provinces and lands in the nation, to be held by him and his successors in property for ever.

Matters being thus settled between king Edward and his vassal Baliol, all things conspired to promote his interest, for the accomplishing of which a better opportunity could never have happened. The great generals, the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, were now both dead, and king David not full ten years of age, and the vigour of the nation was greatly enervated by the late peace. Now all things being ready for the intended expedition, Baliol with his fleet put to sea, from Ravenspur in Yorkshire, with a small army of English and Scottish volunteers, consisting only (according to English writers) of about three thousand men; but by our own historians they are said to have been six thousand in number, and arrived before Kinghorn on the northern coast of Fife, in the beginning of March. Of this the Scots receiving intelligence, Duncan earl of Fife, the earl of Carrick, and sir Alexander Seaton, assembled the country people by Tinnmouth, (said to have been ten thousand in number) to dispute their landing; which they nevertheless effected, under protection of their archers, who, incessantly shooting from on board their ships, killed no less than nine hundred of the country people, the rest having fled and dispersed.

Baliol, by this success, was joined by a number of people, whereby his army was increased to about ten thousand men. With these he marched towards Perth, where on his way were assembled two armies; one under the conduct of the earl of Mar, the regent; the other commanded by Patrick Dunbar, which, being about five miles asunder, were separated by the river Ern. Baliol, to prevent his being inclosed and surrounded by those armies, resolved to attack them separately; and by falling on Mar, the most remote, he hoped he might surprize him, as being the least apprehensive of danger. Having Andrew Murray of Tullibardin for his guide, he accordingly passed the river, and falling on the regent with great fury, after a short resistance, broke his first line, which falling back on the second, put it in great confusion: a rout soon followed, with the loss of three thousand men; and the rest precipitately flying towards Perth, many were taken prisoners, and the town given up. The loss of this battle, which happened in the neighbourhood of Duplin in Strathern, disconcerted all king David's measures; insomuch that although Dunbar, who commanded the other army, had, on advice of the regent's being beat, resolved to march against Baliol, to fight him, and endeavour to recover Perth, yet divers of his principal officers, being of a different opinion, left him, which put a stop to all further proceedings.

But before I leave this part of David's reign, I shall add the opinion of a certain English writer, concerning this battle. He tells us, that this engagement was not with the main body of the Scottish army, as asserted by other writers of the same nation, but with their camp-boys and servants who looked after their horses; in the pursuit of whom, by the flame or light of a house, casually set on fire, they discovered the Scottish army advancing towards them in two large bodies. The English perceiving they could not avoid fighting, without great danger, boldly

An. 1332.

Hen. Knyght.
de Event.
Angl.
Buchan. Hist.
in Vit. David.Tinnmouth
Hist. Aur.Buchan. Hist.
in Vit. David:Scala Chron.
MS.

Hen. Knyght.
de Event.
Angl.

boldly advanced, and falling on the regent with great fury, broke his front line; which falling back on the second, put it in great disorder; whereupon redoubling their efforts, and pressing violently upon them, they put them to the rout, and killed about fourteen thousand men on the spot. Amongst the slain were the earls of Mar, Carrick, Monteith, and Athol, with twelve barons, and eight hundred military tenants: whereas, on the English side, there only fell two knights, thirty-three esquires, and few or none of the common sort. This victory being obtained on Wednesday the 11th of August, near Gledfmore in the neighbourhood of Perth, that town immediately surrendered. But the Scots imagining they could retake it, before it was supplied with many necessaries of war, which it greatly wanted, Patrick earl of Dunbar, and lord Archibald Douglas, invested it with an army of forty thousand men; and to facilitate the reduction of the place, sent their admiral, sir John Crab, with ten Flemish ships, to burn the English squadron lying before the town, in the river Tay; but Crab miscarrying in the attempt, and having the misfortune to lose most of his own vessels, soon put an end to the siege. Baliol appointed Macduff earl of Fife, (who, on his success, had revolted to him from David) governor of the town. Macduff soon after betrayed his trust, and restored the town to David.

Id. ibid.

Tinmouth
Hist. Aur.

REMARK. Surely never were men more mistaken than English writers are, in respect to this expedition of Baliol, when they affirm that he gained no less than four battles by a handful of men. As to the number of men, I shall not dispute, though it might be easily controverted: but as to the number of battles, I think it may, with no great difficulty, be shewn, that they were only two in number. Rapin, and others, give the command of two armies to Macduff earl of Fife, and sir Alexander Seaton, (who, according to the writers of that time, were jointly with the earl of Carrick in command of the army, which in vain opposed Baliol's landing at Kinghorn.) Hence Edward's army marching to the abbey of Dunfermline, about seven miles westward, found there great store of provisions, and other necessaries of war: whence returning towards Perth, Edward passed the river Ern, and, surprizing the regent's camp, cut off and destroyed his army. This was the second battle. The third is mentioned by Scala Chronicon, which though Tyrrel calls a true and modest account than those of some others, I think it as wild and ridiculous as any of the rest. Indeed it is a pretty invention to say, that this mighty action with the camp-boys happened by night; for by day it may be supposed they would not have stood to be attacked. Nor is it more probable that the Scottish army, in two large divisions, would have been discovered on its march by the flame of a house: if it was, the house must have been of a huge magnitude, to raise a blaze to discover the march of an army at any considerable distance; or that the army so discovered must have been but a few yards from the discoverers, which would have been but of little or no service to them.

Buchan. Hist.
in Vit. David.

Baliol's army, by his success in the defeat of two armies, and defection of a third, was so greatly increased in number, that he resolved either to gain the Scots by favour, or reduce them by force. Previous to which, being in the neighbourhood of Scone, he repaired to the abbey-church of that place, and assumed the crown on the 24th of September, anno 1332, which put a period, as it were, to David's reign;

reign; for his friends regarding all as lost, for the security of his person, and that of his consort, conveyed them to France, there to remain with king Philip during his nonage, or till a turn of fortune in his favour.

EDWARD.

Baliol was no sooner crowned, than he set out for the southern parts of Scotland. In the mean time, the adherents of David, having formed a resolution either to restore their country to its former liberties, or perish in the attempt, chose sir Andrew Murray, nephew to the late king Robert, regent of the kingdom, in place of the earl of Mar, killed at the battle of Duplin. This was no sooner done, than messengers were dispatched to all parts of the kingdom, to confirm their friends, and excite the people to revenge the injuries done to their country. The first who assumed arms, on this occasion, were Robert Keith, Alexander Lindsay, and James and John Frasers, whose parents were killed at the battle of Duplin: they invested the town of Perth, which, having been strongly fortified by Baliol, was resolutely defended by the earl of Fife, the governor, for the space of three months. For this and his desertion, he and his family were soon after committed prisoners to the castle of Kildrummy on the river Don, in the country of Mar; and Andrew Murray of Tullibardin, for his treacherously discovering the passage or ford in the river Ern, through which the English marched to the battle of Duplin, was put to death. By this relation, English writers are convicted of having falsely accused Macduff with having betrayed Perth to the Bruceans; which is a manifest untruth, as appears by the gallant defence he made for so long a time.

Sir Andrew Murray, thus chosen regent, soon after marching southwards, attacked Baliol in the neighbourhood of Roxburgh, put part of his army to flight, but, being too eager in the pursuit, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, and a victory snatched from him, which he had seemingly almost obtained.

Baliol soon after arrived at Anan, the chief town of Anandale, and mansion-seat of his family, situated near the northern side of Solway frith, to receive the homage of the nobility; who were so greatly surprised at the amazing turn of fortune in his favour, that even Alexander Bruce, lord of Carrick, and illegitimate cousin to king David, submitted to him. Baliol, by this great success, imagining he had nothing to fear, now lived in mirth and jollity, as in the time of a most profound peace; of which the regent receiving intelligence, he sent Archibald Douglas lord of Galloway, and John Randolph earl of Murray, at the head of one thousand horsemen, to endeavour to surprize him and his men. These arriving at Anan in the night of Christmas-eve, made a furious assault on Baliol and his troops, drowned in sleep. Now all being in the greatest confusion, hurry, and distraction, Baliol, almost naked, escaped on horseback, without either bridle or saddle; and crossing the frith to England, arrived at Carlisle in Cumberland, where he was kindly received and entertained, during the Christmas-holidays, by lord Dacres, the governor of the place, and the sheriff of Cumberland: whence going to Westmorland, he was most honourably entertained at Appleby-castle by the lady Clifford: from hence he removed to Lancashire, where he resided for some time with the lady

Buchan. Hist.
in Vit. Edw.

Hen. Knyghts
de Event.
Angl.
Buchan. &
Boet. Hist.
in Vit. Edw.

Gysnes, his kinswoman, who plentifully supplied him with all things suitable to his quality. Amongst the many that were killed in this surprize, was Henry Baliol, the new king's brother; and amongst the prisoners were Bruce earl of Carrick, and John Moubray, &c. Carrick, through the intercession of his friend John Randolph, was pardoned, and reserved to die with honour in the cause he had deserted. By this surprize, Baliol not only lost all he had got in Scotland by the several battles fought by him, but he was expelled the kingdom.

We are told by Knyghton and Walsingham, two English writers, that Baliol, by his great success over the earl of Dunbar, lord Douglas, and other Scottish noblemen in the interest of king David, was allured into a state of security, to such a degree, that he entered into a truce with David till the Candlemas following; wherein it was agreed, that plenipotentiaries from both princes should meet at the town of Anan, to establish a firm peace and union betwixt them. This proved fatal to Baliol's affairs; for thinking himself secured by this treaty, he sent the greatest part of his forces into winter-quarters, which the Scots taking advantage of, surprized him, with the few noblemen that attended him.

REMARK. That the above truce is an invention either of Knyghton or Walsingham, I have reason to believe, on the following considerations: 1. All our own writers are silent in that respect, and acknowledge it to have been only a surprize. 2. Had it been a truce, Baliol would undoubtedly have acquainted king Edward with the horrid scene, and set forth how perfidiously he had been betrayed. In such a case, Edward (Baliol being his own creature) would undoubtedly have revenged it on the Scots. But as this transaction is not, in the least, mentioned (that I could discover) in that noble collection of the publick acts published by Rymer, in his *Fœdera Angliæ*, I think it may justly be presumed, that such a transaction never happened. Besides, we are told by a very candid English writer, "That all this relation, concerning the truce, depends on the credit of our English historians; for the Scottish make it no more than a bare surprize upon Baliol in time of open war, without any truce appointed, or meeting agreed on, between them, as ours relate."

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Immediately after Baliol's expulsion, the nobility having joined the lord Archibald Douglas, just chosen regent in the room of Murray, they began to provide for the security of the kingdom against king Edward, who, being Baliol's patron, was making great preparations for his restoration: wherefore they repaired the fortifications of the town and castle of Berwick, and appointed sir Alexander Seaton governor of the former, and the lord Patrick Dunbar commander of the latter; and William Douglas, lord of Liddisdale, was sent to secure the western parts of the kingdom.

Edward, having now pulled off the mask, began to act openly in favour of Baliol: first, by trifling and frivolous pretences, alledging the Scots had violated the treaty of Northampton, and then by ordering an army to rendezvous at Newcastle upon Tyne, in their way to Scotland. To avert the storm, Douglas the regent spared neither excuses, entreaties, nor submissions; but all to no purpose. However, as a large sum of money was wanted for that expedition, Edward called a parliament to demand a subsidy, under pretence that great troubles

troubles were arisen in Ireland, which he represented to be so very dangerous, that there was a necessity for sending an army thither to quash them; wherefore the money required was readily granted. But whilst the army was marching to embark, they received orders to march directly to Scotland, Edward having represented to the parliament, that it was dangerous to leave the northern counties of England defenceless, whilst their neighbours were in arms; and affirming that his presence was absolutely necessary in those parts, 'twas resolved to defer the Irish expedition.

Previous to Edward's entering on action, it is necessary to premise a few things that occurred before the commencement of the war, viz. he obliged Baliol to ratify a contract agreed on between them, containing the terms whereon he was to be admitted king of Scotland, which was of the following tenor:

" That the kingdom of Scotland, with the adjacent isles, which
 " always held of the crown of England, Edward I. as superior lord
 " thereof, had adjudged them to John Baliol, father to the present
 " king Edward Baliol; but the said king John being, for some excesses
 " committed by him, deprived of the kingdom, it devolved to his
 " superior, Edward I. king of England: but he being hindered from
 " taking possession thereof by sir (king) Robert Bruce, who had no
 " right at all to it; and now we king Edward, by permission of the
 " most excellent prince and dear sovereign, Edward, king of Eng-
 " land, and with the aid of some of his people and forces, having
 " recovered our inheritance, and being crowned king of Scotland and
 " the Isles, hereby declare we have paid our homage to the said king
 " of England, who holding our hands between his own, we said, I
 " Edward, by the grace of God, king of Scotland and the islands
 " thereunto belonging, become your liegeman for the said kingdom
 " and isles, against all persons whatsoever.

Rym. Fœd.
 tom. iv. p.
 536, 537, 538.

" And the said king having received our homage, we, for the great
 " honour and profits arisen to us from the permission and succours
 " abovementioned, grant to the king of England, his heirs and suc-
 " cessors, the yearly revenue of 2000 *l.* in land, to be assigned on
 " the borders of Scotland, to be annexed to the crown of England for
 " ever; part of the said 2000 *l.* per annum, being the town and county
 " of Berwick upon Tweed. And farther, grant and oblige myself to
 " attend the king of England in person at the head of two hundred
 " men, and my heirs and successors at the head of one hundred men,
 " in the province of Gascony, or elsewhere, at my own and their ex-
 " pences, as often as they shall be demanded. Likewise I promise to
 " take to wife, Joan, sister to the king of England, if her marriage be
 " not consummated with David Bruce; and to provide for her a join-
 " ture of 500 *l.* sterling, within five months after her marriage: and,
 " in case of non-performance, to pay to the king of England the sum
 " of 10,000 *l.* sterling, towards the marriage or entertainment of his
 " said sister; and" (in some measure, to make king David an amends
 " for the loss of his crown and consort) " to provide a maintenance for
 " David.

" And for the better securing to the king of England, his heirs and
 " successors, the service of the aforesaid auxiliaries, or men at arms,
 " from us, our heirs and successors, we, in case of non-performance,
 " oblige

“oblige us, our heirs and successors, in lieu thereof, to pay to the
 “king of England, his heirs and successors, the sum of 2000 l. sterl-
 “ing, whenever the same shall be demanded. And, in case of
 “failure in this respect, we empower him, his heirs and successors, to
 “seize all the cities, towns, castles, manors, lands and tenements,
 “within the kingdom of Scotland, with the profits arising thereby,
 “to be detained and applied by him and them to their use, till pay-
 “ment be made.”

Rym. Fœd.
 tom. iv. p. 539.

And, at the same time and place, Baliol, by another writ, obliged himself, his heirs and successors, to assist king Edward, and his heirs, with the whole power of Scotland, to march to any part within the bounds of England, Wales, and Ireland, as often as he shall be required. This was to be done in consideration of Edward's having obliged himself, and his heirs, to maintain Baliol, and his heirs, on the throne of Scotland. The above letters patents are both dated at Roxburgh, the 23d of November, 1332.

An. 1333.

But that Edward III. without a sufficient reason, might not be said to have made war against David, his innocent and injured brother-in-law, a minor, reduced to the greatest extremity by his secret practices, in abetting Baliol, his vassal; he sent the lord Basset and sir William de Denham his ambassadors, to demand of David the restoration of the town and castle of Berwick, his right by inheritance, having been enjoyed both by his father and grandfather; and to summon him to come and do him homage for Scotland, as his rightful lord, and superior of that kingdom. To which David, by advice of his council, returned the following answer:

Froissart. Hist.
 cap. 26.

“That he was greatly amazed at their master's unreasonable de-
 “mands, since it does not appear that ever the crown of Scotland was
 “held in homage, or other service, of that of England. That his
 “father had recovered the town of Berwick by the sword, from Ed-
 “ward II. his father, which he was resolved to keep, since his father
 “would not do homage either to his father or grandfather. And de-
 “clared with a protestation, “that he intended to keep the peace of
 “Northampton; and hoped the king their master would not give ear
 “to evil counsellors, who endeavoured to stir up discord between
 “them; but rather suffer him to enjoy the ancient rights and liberties
 “belonging to his crown, for his sister Joan his consort's sake.”

Rym. Fœd.
 tom. iv. p.
 536, 537, 538,
 539.
 Tyr. Hist.
 Engl. vol. iii.
 p. 276.

REMARK. There being divers things, in the transactions above-mentioned, worthy of observation, I shall, from the national records of England, shew that the deeds above specified were granted to the king of England by Baliol in the year 1332; whereas Edward's ambassadors, Basset and Denham, were not sent to demand homage of David till the year 1333. Than which nothing can shew a greater act of hypocrisy in Edward, when the year before all things were agreed on, thoroughly settled, and ratified between him and Baliol, in respect to his accession to the crown of Scotland, at the expence of his injured brother-in-law, king David; who was thereby deprived of the crown, to make way for Edward's possessing himself of it.

Rym. Fœd.
 tom. iv. p. 540.

And Edward, to conceal his insidious designs as long as conveniently he could, in his letters to the pope, of the 15th of December, entreats him not to give credit to the false suggestions industriously propagated against him, insinuating that his long residence at York was with a view

view to encourage and promote Baliol's designs against David. And, to put out of dispute that Edward was the aggressor, he soon after declared, that he was resolved not to keep the peace any longer that was made in his minority, by the queen his mother and lord Mortimer, without his consent. This, to call it no worse, is a very great mistake; for he ratified the treaty at York on the 1st day of March, anno 1328. Now as in this treaty the peace is said to be perpetual, for the good of both nations, it is sufficient to refute the numerous falsities asserted by English writers, who call it only a four years truce, to screen Edward from the guilt of breaking it, which they imagine not near so criminal as the breach of a perpetual peace.

All things being ready for a vigorous prosecution of the war, Edward, by a new embassy to David, again demanded the restitution of the town, castle, and district of Berwick; which being again refused, the ambassadors defied and declared war against him. Pursuant to which, Edward ordered his army to rendezvous at Newcastle upon Tyne, against Trinity-sunday following; previous to which he sent a strong reinforcement under the command of Henry, son to the earl of Lancaster, to join Baliol in Northumberland; whence marching to Berwick, they blocked it up, and waited the king's arrival to besiege it. Edward being now in the field, a dismal scene commenced; for Archibald Douglas, the regent, entered England at the head of three thousand men, and marching to Carlisle, plundered and destroyed the country; and, in particular, Gillesland, belonging to lord Dacres, where he laid waste above thirty miles in circumference. And sir Anthony Lucy entering Anandale with eight hundred men, plundered and burnt wherever he went; and returning by way of Lochmaben, William lord of Liddisdale, governor of the castle, falling out upon him with his small garrison, had the misfortune of being defeated, and taken prisoner.

Froissart Hist.
cap. 26.
Hen. Knyght.
de Event.
Ang. col.
2562.

However, the Scots continuing to harass the English by frequent incursions, occasioned Edward's issuing divers proclamations to the inhabitants of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and the bishoprick of Durham, to remove their effects to places more remote from the enemy; and loudly complained to the French king and the earl of Flanders, that the Scots had divers times with great armies invaded England, plundering, burning, and destroying wherever they came. To the former he declared, that he would have had regard to his request in favour of the Scots; but they having broken the peace made with Robert Bruce, and committed such excesses, by plundering, murdering, burning and destroying, that he was obliged to repel force by force: and to the latter he complained, that divers of his subjects had combined with the Scottish rebels, and had done his people great damage both by sea and land.

Rym. Fæd:
tom. iv. p.
551, 552, 557.

Edward having mustered the whole power of England at Newcastle upon Tyne, and being joined by a number of foreigners, marched with this huge army towards Berwick upon Tweed; and investing it both by land and water, carried on the siege for five weeks with great vigour; but finding he could not employ all his vast power therein, and that the Scots had no army in the neighbourhood to molest the besiegers, he left an army sufficient, under the command of Baliol, to prosecute the siege; whilst he, with the rest of his forces, marched into the country, took the castle of Edinburgh, and crossing the frith,

Froissart Hist.
c. 26. fol. 16.

An. 1333.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p. 564,
565, 566, 567,
568.

destroyed the town of Dunfermling; and passing the river Tay, over-ran the country as far as Dundee: then extending his devastations westward to Dunbarton-castle, on the river Clyde, ten miles below Glasgow, he returned to Berwick; when the governors of the town and castle, after a vigorous defence of about four months, entered into an agreement with Edward, that, provided they were not relieved before Tuesday the 20th of July, they would surrender on the terms of their lives and effects being saved; for the performing of which, twelve hostages were delivered to king Edward. By this capitulation, sir William Keith, the governor of the town, (and not Alexander Seaton, as is falsely asserted by our own and most other writers) was allowed to go and acquaint Douglas, the regent of Scotland, with these terms, and the state of the town. Douglas, at the head of the Scottish army, at length appeared in view of the English camp, which finding, by its advantageous situation, and great superiority of number, he was not in a condition to attack, he retired: but on his receiving advice of the queen of England's being in the castle of Bamburgh in that neighbourhood, he crossed the river Tweed, and marched thither with great expedition, in hopes either to surprize her, or draw Edward from the siege of Berwick. But having miscarried in his design, by the queen's removal, on receiving intelligence thereof, he plundered and ravaged the country for many miles.

Here having received Keith's message, he perceived there was no saving of Berwick, but by exerting himself to the utmost, and therefore began his march to that place. Edward receiving advice of this, he, notwithstanding the time for surrendering the town was not expired, according to the capitulation, summoned Alexander Seaton, the governor, to give it up immediately, otherwise he would hang his two sons, then in his power; the one a prisoner of war, taken in a sally; the other, one of the hostages for performance of the capitulation: and, to shew him there was no time to be lost, Edward had caused a gibbet to be erected in view of the town, and ordered his sons to be placed before it; the sight of whom shocked Seaton to a very great degree: and being amazed at the message, he returned for answer, That, according to the terms of the capitulation, the time for surrendering the town was not elapsed; and as he was in honour bound to fulfil the agreement, Seaton entreated he would either be pleased to wait the expiration of the time, or restore his hostages: but all in vain!

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Now appeared a piteous scene: the mind of Alexander was strongly agitated by a double duty; first, by nature to his children, and then by justice to his king and country; but nature rebelling against principle, had a strong propensity to save his sons. In this lamentable case, his wife, a woman of a masculine spirit, and mother of the unfortunate young men, addressed herself to her husband, and reminded him of his duty to his king and country, the honour and dignity of his family, and the great trust reposed in him by the nation; earnestly intimating to him, that if, on this occasion, he should, by his natural tenderness for his children, be moved to betray his trust, by giving up the town, an indelible reproach and infamy would be intailed on him and his innocent posterity; whereas if, by the perfidy and cruelty of king Edward, they should suffer innocently, that would beget in the people the greatest aversion of the bloody tyrant who unjustly murdered them, as it would excite in the people grief, pity, and compassion for them

in all times coming. Adding, that if they should be put to death, we have others remaining; and as neither of us are too old, we may have more children; and if they escape death at this time, it may not be long ere they be obliged to submit to fate by casualty, time, or other accident. She also told him, she had often heard those men commended by the wife, who had given up themselves and children a sacrifice for their country; and if he should give up the town, he would not only betray his country, but be never the more certain of his sons lives; for it could not be expected that a tyrant, who could be guilty of a breach both of his honour and faith, would have the least regard to his word: and begged of him not to prefer an uncertainty to a certain and perpetual infamy. By this speech she composed her husband's mind a little; and, in order to prevent his beholding the horrible spectacle, prevailed on him to remove to a more distant place.

Now as this tragical story is by English writers regarded as a false and ridiculous invention of Hector Boece, to vilify king Edward, we are told by the authors of the Lanercost and Scala Chronicles, that after the expiration of the fifteen days truce, made with the Scots at Berwick, upon the terms above recited, the Scottish army, during that time, being unable to relieve the town, Edward summoned sir Alexander Seaton, the governor, to surrender the place, which he refused, in hopes of being relieved by the Scottish army, then arrived in sight of the place, by alledging evasions in the articles of the said contract. This deceitful allegation so irritated the king, that, by the advice of his council, he caused his son, the hostage, only to be executed. Tyrrel observes, that by Scottish writers it is allowed that sir Alexander Seaton, on his surrendering the town, was compelled to do homage to king Edward, which he never would have done, had Edward used him in so cruel and barbarous a manner, by causing both his innocent sons to be hanged.

Chron. de
Lanercost.
Scala Chron.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.
Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 379.

The place where the gibbet was erected was on the English side of the river Tweed, about a quarter of a mile north-west from the castle of Berwick, in view of the garrison and inhabitants of the town, and is at present denominated the Hangman's nook, Hangman's dike-nook, or Hangadike-nook.

REMARK. One thing, which gives room to suspect that the tragical story of Seaton's sons is an invention of Boece, is his not knowing who was governor of Berwick at that time; for sir Alexander Seaton was not then governor of that place, as is manifest by the capitulation, or agreement made between king Edward and the governor of that town; for his name, instead of being sir Alexander Seaton, was William Keith, as published in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p.
566.

On the approach of the Scottish army to Berwick, under Douglas the regent, on the 19th of July, Edward removed his camp from the neighbourhood of Berwick to the top of Halidun-hill, about two miles distant; the news of which, and that of his having put to death Seaton's sons, say Scottish historians, enraged the Scottish army to such a degree, that they loudly cried out to be led to revenge. The general, inflamed with the same indignation, ordered the army forthwith to march, without considering that, by attempting to save one town, he ran the risk of enslaving the whole kingdom. The English army was not only superior in number, but was posted with every advantage, to overcome an army of a much greater force. The Scots, in marching

ib. p. 568.

up

Barnes's Hist.
Edw. III.
p. 79.

up the hill to begin the attack, were opposed by eight bodies of archers, who, shooting incessantly, had almost overpowered them, before they reached the main body of their enemies, when it was no difficult matter for the English to overcome them; though it is acknowledged by other writers, that they fought with great intrepidity till their general fell, when a total rout ensued. That which added greatly to their misfortune was, the servants who had the care of their horses riding off with all expedition to save themselves, which depriving their masters of an opportunity to escape, and being pursued by the English cavalry, a dreadful carnage ensued, although by frequently rallying, they rendered it much less than it otherwise would have been.

Ibid. p. 78,
79, 80.

REMARK. It is an easy matter for any one to exaggerate the number of forces employed in war against his country, and to diminish that of his own nation. This, Barnes, biographer to Edward III. has done, in the present war, to some purpose, by giving us, seemingly, as accurate an account of the Scottish army as if he had received it from the war-office in Scotland, with all the particulars; but, as it is long, it shall suffice to acquaint the reader, that it consisted, according to him, of sixty-five earls and lords, one hundred and forty knights, three thousand six hundred and fifty men at arms, and sixty-four thousand two hundred common men; in all, sixty-eight thousand five hundred and fifty-five men: whereas the English army only amounted to about a fifth part of their number. Of the Scots were killed thirty-five thousand, and seven hundred and twelve taken prisoners; of the English only seven, or at most fifteen, were killed; amongst whom was one knight, and one esquire. This is an account so amazing, that probably it is not to be paralleled: for by Barnes, and the author of the anonymous MS. quoted by him, we are told, that the courage of the Scottish nation was never called in question; that in this battle they fought with the greatest intrepidity, till their general was cut off; and that, after being broke, they frequently rallied, and disputed the point with their pursuers. After these declarations, I think, 'tis scarce probable, that the Scots lost near thirty-six thousand, and the English only fifteen men. Be that as it will, I shall endeavour to shew that the English army, in this battle, must have been more numerous than that of the Scots.

MS. vet. Ang.
in Bibl. ccc.
cap. 224.

Id. ibid.

As king Edward I. Edward's grandfather, had often invaded Scotland with an army of above one hundred thousand men, Edward III. being resolved to tread in his steps, broke the perpetual peace concluded with Robert Bruce; and it may be justly presumed, that he brought an army along with him as powerful as any of those brought by his grandfather. And as the arms of England seem not to have been deemed sufficient on this occasion, it was joined by numbers of foreigners and Irish. This ill suits with Barnes's telling us, that the English army was but about one to five of the Scots. Were this true, it would demonstrate, that Edward's army, including both foreigners and Irish, only amounted to about thirteen thousand six hundred and eleven men; which our authors not considering, have unluckily told us, that Edward, on his return to England with his army, about three weeks after the battle of Halidun-hill, left with Baliol twenty-six thousand men, to reduce the parts of Scotland in possession of David and his friends. Add to this, that Barnes has likewise told us, that the parliament held at York, about the beginning of March, unanimously

advised the king to provide such a force of men and arms, as were sufficient not only to reduce Berwick, but to compel the king of Scotland to sue for peace, and oblige him to render him the accustomed homage for that kingdom; in which they all faithfully promised to assist him, both with purse and person.

And a little after we are told by Barnes, that during the siege of Berwick, king Edward arrived with a well-appointed army, which, by the manner of expression, seems to imply a great host, and being soon after joined by the lord Dacres with a gallant army from Ireland, the three must certainly have made up a very great power, and probably have doubled that of the Scots. For it is not to be supposed that Edward would have risked a small army on so hazardous an attempt as the conquest of Scotland, wherein the English had so often suffered incredible losses.

Besides Barnes, before he published the very improbable relation of the loss of the Scots and English at the battle of Halidun, ought to have considered what on another occasion he said concerning the Scots being overcome by Baliol after his landing at Kinghorn, viz.

“Neither doth it seem honourable nor reasonable, that by so small forces their king should be driven to such desperate courses; nor is it agreeable to other circumstances or authors, and it is utterly contradicted by Froissard, who lived near those days, and took great care, and was very impartial in collecting his history.”

By the loss of the battle of Halidun, the fate of Scotland was as it were decided in favour of England; for the town and castle of Berwick not only immediately surrendered to Edward, but Patrick earl of March, late governor of the castle, declared in favour of him: and most of the people of distinction in and about Berwick having sworn fealty to him, he annexed it to the crown of England for ever. Baliol was so elevated with this success, that he proposed to the unfortunate king David, that, provided he would resign the crown and all his pretensions to it, he would allow him all the paternal estate of his family to live on.

King David, by the loss of the battle of Halidun, being reduced to great straits, and little appearance of safety for him in Scotland, withdrew with his consort to France, under the direction of Malcolm Fleming, where he was kindly received and royally entertained by king Philip for many years in the castle of Galliard, on the river Seine, where he renewed the antient league betwixt Scotland and France, which consisting of six articles, are as followeth:

1. That a firm and perpetual alliance and confederacy shall be maintained between Scotland and France.
2. That whenever the English make war either in France or Scotland, they shall mutually succour one another.
3. That when the English make war in France, the Scots shall assist them with ships of war at the expence of the French; the French to perform the same in case of a war between Scotland and England.
4. That neither the Scots nor French shall for the future aid or assist the English with men, money, victuals, or advice, without the consent of the kings of both nations, under the penalty of being declared guilty of high treason.

6 Q

5. That

Barnes's hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 73.

Barnes's life
of Edw. III.
p. 72.

Boet. Hist.

An. 1333.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p.
594.

Chron. de
Lanercost.

Barnes's life
of Edw. III.
p. 81.
Favin's The:
Hon. vol. ii.
p. 79.

5. That the French shall neither make peace or truce with the English, without the king of Scots be comprized, named, and allowed therein.

6. That the covenants and conditions abovenamed shall be confirmed from king to king, and at each change or succession of them, that their pragmatistical sanction shall be sealed and confirmed reciprocally on both sides.

Froiss. Hist.
cap. 33.
Fab. Chron.
p. 200.

Pursuant to the above treaty, Philip soon after dispatched to the assistance of the Brucean interest in Scotland, divers men of war under the command of Arnold d'Andreghan, and sometime after a squadron consisting of ten ships of war, which being driven into Flanders by storm, received so much damage, that the admirals were glad to return home without assisting their friends.

Rymer's Fœd.
tom iv. p. 576.
Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.

By king Edward's great success in the late battle, Baliol was restored to his kingdom, who now set out at the head of twenty-six thousand men, to reduce those parts of the kingdom in the interest of king David; and having succeeded in his undertaking, returned to Perth, where, about Michaelmas, he summoned a parliament to meet him. To this king Edward sent Henry de Piercy, Randolph de Nevil, William de Sharishull, and Thomas de Bamburgh, to take care of his interest, and to which repaired all the English and Scottish nobility, who had lands given them by Edward I. who now put in their claims to have them restored, which was not only done at the expence of lawful proprietors, but they repealed all the acts, ordinances, and grants made in the reigns of Robert Bruce and David his son, late kings of Scotland, and declared them null and void. Whatever had been done in favour of the English king Edward, was ratified and confirmed.

An. 1334.
Hen. Knyght.
de Ev. Angl.
Rymer. Fœ-
dera, tom. iv.
p. 591, 592,
593, 594.

Although Edward returned about the beginning of February from Roxburgh to Edinburgh, during the sitting of Baliol's second parliament, he nevertheless appointed commissioners to attend the parliament, (among whom was Sir Geoffry Scroop, chief justice of England) to see all the previous contracts, agreements and promises he had made with Baliol, ratified and confirmed in parliament, which was not only performed by Baliol and his agents, by consent of parliament, but he did homage to Edward in the most ample manner, by declaring, that he Edward, (Baliol) by the grace of God king of Scotland, and islands thereunto belonging, became his liegeman for the said realm of Scotland and the isles, and that he would be true and faithful to his most dear lord the king of England, and to his heirs as sovereign lords of Scotland and the isles, against all persons whatsoever; and bound and obliged himself and his heirs in all times coming, to do homage and fealty to him and his successors, on the change, removal, or death of every king on either side; at which time was likewise confirmed the gift of the town, castle, and county of Berwick upon Tweed, the twelfth day of February.

Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.

Matters being thus settled, Edward returned to England and held a parliament at York, which no sooner broke up, than he came back to Scotland, and on his way thither being met at Newcastle upon Tyne by Baliol, he, in consideration of the great expence and trouble he had been at in restoring him to his inheritance, granted to Edward, his heirs and successors, an annual revenue of two thousand pounds sterling; but he it seems not thinking that a sufficient return for the service

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p.
514, 515,
516.

service done, Baliol, in lieu thereof, gave him the town, castle, and county of Roxburgh, the town, castle, and forest of Jedburgh, the town and county of Selkirk, with the forests of Selkirk and Etrick, the town and county of Edinburgh, the constabularies of Haddington and Linlithgow, the town and county of Peebles, the town and county of Dumfries, together with the town, castle, and county of Berwick, as already mentioned, with all their appurtenances, knights fees, and services, with the advowsons of all churches, chapels, religious houses, the temporalities of vacant bishopricks, with the subjection and government of the people therein, and their appurtenances whatsoever; to be for ever dismembered from the crown of Scotland, and annexed to, and held by that of England.

REMARK. By Edward's making Baliol give up the best and most fruitful provinces of the nation, without which Scotland scarcely deserved the name of a kingdom, room is given to believe, that Edward intended to compel Baliol to surrender the kingdom to him, as John Baliol his father was by the mal-treatment of Edward I. to resign his crown, and to live ever after as a private man. The nobility in the interest of king David, incensed at Baliol's pusillanimity, soon after expelled him a second time; and Edward was so far from carrying his point, that a long and expensive war was entailed on England, and Edward was at last forced to desert the imaginary king, and approve of the restoration of David his injured brother-in-law.

By the abovementioned homage and pernicious alienations, it now also plainly appeared to the people, that Baliol was only Edward's tool; they therefore resolved to throw off the yoke of him that had so visibly betrayed the interest of the nation; in which they were encouraged by certain differences among the nobility, which happened on the following occasion.

James Moubray, who was possessed of a great estate in Scotland, dying without heirs male, Alexander his brother imagining himself to be heir at law, commenced a process against his daughters for his lands: the ladies were assisted by lord Henry Beaumont, (who had married one of them) Sir Richard Talbot, and David Strabolgie earl of Athol, (by Boece and Buchanan erroneously called Cumin) but Baliol siding with Alexander, in order to gain him to his interest, adjudged the lands to him. This being highly resented by the opposite party, they loudly complained of partiality in the decree; but finding that complaints did not avail, they left the court, and repaired to their seats, Beaumont to his strong castle of Dundarg in Buchan, and possessed himself not only of all the controverted lands there, but seized upon all the other possessions in that neighbourhood. Strabolgie withdrew to Athol, where he fortified divers places for his defence; and Talbot, endeavouring to escape to England, with some of his friends and a numerous attendance, was attacked by a party of Bruceans, divers of his company slain, himself taken, and committed prisoner to Dunbarton castle, where he continued in duress till ransomed.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Baliol perceiving a confederacy forming against him by the malecontents, who were some of the most potent men in the kingdom, and dreading the consequence, reversed the sentence given in favour of Alexander Mowbray, and restored the lands in dispute to Beaumont, now earl of Buchan, promised to redeem Talbot, and gave to the earl of Athol large possessions belonging to lord Robert Stuart, heir-apparent to

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

to the crown of Scotland, (on whom it was settled by his late uncle king Robert Bruce, in case of the demise of his son David without male issue) whom to remove, Baliol did all he could, by causing strict search to be made for him; of which his friends William Heriot and John Gilbert receiving intelligence, they conveyed him privately (then a minor) from the isle of Bute to the castle of Dunbarton, where he remained some time safe in the custody of his sincere friend Sir Malcolm Fleming the governor.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

The person of Robert Stuart being thus secured by his friends in the castle of Dunbarton, the earl of Athol, Baliol's general, entered his lands of Renfrew, took the country, and, securing the fortresses, crossed the frith of Clyde to the isle of Bute, reduced it, fortified the castle of Rothsey, and appointed Alan Lisle governor of the island. To put a stop to Athol's progress, Robert high steward of Scotland, in the fifteenth year of his age, confederated with Colin Campbell of Argyle, surprized the castle of Dunon, which encouraging the inhabitants of the neighbouring island of Bute, they armed themselves, and being opposed by Alan Lisle governor of the isle, they fought, defeated and killed him, and took John Gilbert governor of the castle of Rothsey prisoner. This being followed by a general desertion of the people of Renfrew, occasioned almost an universal insurrection in the southern and western parts of the kingdom. For Thomas Bruce earl of Carrick, with the inhabitants of Kyle and Cunningham, and William Caruthers, with those of Anandale, joined Robert Stuart; and John Randolph earl of Murray, being just returned from France, gave them great assurance of assistance from thence, and Godfrey Ross sheriff of Air prevailed on a number of gentlemen to join them; and the vassals of Andrew Murray, the late regent, following their example, drew in the rest of Clydesdale.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

By these happy beginnings the Scots being now masters of a large track of country, were encouraged to form a sort of government amongst themselves, and chose Robert Stuart and John Randolph regents of the kingdom; the former, though yet very young, had in several expeditions given proof of his great abilities to serve his country, and the latter in all respects was worthy of the great characters borne both by his father and uncle; and being joined by Andrew Murray earl of Bothwell, the late regent, just returned from his durance in England, since his being taken prisoner of war at Roxburgh, the regents called an assembly to meet at Perth, on the first day of April next ensuing, where a difference happening amongst the nobility, nothing was effected.

Ibid.

The earl of Athol, Baliol's general, being greatly intimidated at this sudden turn of affairs, fled into Lochaber, whither being pursued, he was forced to surrender; but upon his swearing fealty to king David, he was not only discharged, but Stuart appointed him his deputy, which he had no reason to repent, seeing he ever after continued faithful to the Brucean interest. But as to Baliol, according to Abercromby, what he was doing during those transactions is unknown, for all authors are silent: the contrary however is manifest, for had he taken the trouble to inspect Buchanan on that head, he would have told him, that king Edward being suspicious of his deportment, took him along with him to England, where at Ravenshelm (or

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. ii. p. 40.

(or Ravenskelthe) castle in Yorkshire, he passed his time till king Edward could go to his assistance. Walsing. Hist.
Ypod. Neust.

The Bruceans having reduced Strabolgie earl of Athol, were now resolved to punish Beaumont earl of Buchan; to which end the regent sent the lord Andrew Murray, and Sir Alexander Mowbray with a considerable force against him: they besieged him in his strong castle of Dundarg, which he was obliged to surrender, and with it himself a prisoner, and he was detained in dures till ransomed by king Edward for four hundred marks. Barnes's Hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 87.

The next transaction in point of time is the siege of the castle of Lochleven, and not, as asserted by Buchanan, in the year after, than which nothing can be more absurd: for in that year king Edward invaded Scotland with a mighty army, and traversed the country as far as Caithness, without meeting with any opposition; wherefore it cannot be presumed that the long siege of the castle was carrying on at that time, when Edward marched by in its neighbourhood, the report of whose formidable power was sufficient to have made a fortress of a much greater strength than that of Lochleven to have yielded, for, by its small dimensions, it appeared to me not capable of containing above twenty or thirty men at most, and therefore could not be of such consequence as our writers would make us believe. An. 1334.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Be that as it will, this siege, or rather attack, 'tis said, was carried on by sir John Stirling, who omitted nothing that might contribute towards its reduction, but all in vain, by the gallant defence made by Alan Vipont the governor, till Stirling at length bethought himself of an admirable stratagem, by raising the water in the loch, either to drown the garrison, or oblige them to surrender, which was performed as followeth: the lake or loch which surrounded the castle, being fed by divers brooks from the neighbouring parts, uniting at the eastern end of the loch, formed a narrow river which ran thence to the sea; across which he erected a very strong dam, which stopping the current, the loch filled apace, which the garrison observing, the governor concluded that he must either destroy the dam, or be compelled to give up the castle in a short time. To put his design in execution a fine opportunity offered, for the anniversary of St. Margaret, late queen of Scotland's festival approaching, the people from all parts crowded to Dunfermline, the place of her repository, to pay their adorations at her shrine; to which Stirling, with certain of his officers, repaired out of an excess of religion rather than policy. Of this Vipont taking the advantage, sent some men in boats by night to break down the dam, which being but poorly guarded, they soon accomplished, and being returned to the castle, embarked most of the garrison, went on land, attacked the besiegers in the absence of their officers, routed them, and raised the siege; while the destruction of the dam occasioned an inundation, that carried along with it to the sea men that slept in the fields, horses, huts, tents, &c. Id. ibid.

REMARK. This relation for divers reasons seems to be a flourish of Boece. 1. The vast quantity of water required to raise the lake or loch to about fifteen or more feet higher than its usual height, would have required a long space of time. For as to what is said to hasten the design, by turning the courses of a number of rivulets and brooks into the loch, it is not in the least probable; for the grounds on each side rising to a considerable height above its level, the work

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p. 636.

Knyght, de
Event. Angl.
col. 2565.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p. 628.

Ibid. p. 641,
643.

Ibid. p. 652,
654, 666.

would have been attended with an immense expence, that would by no means have answered, to the advantages expected from this petty castle, or little tower, which was only fit for a prison, and not a gar- rison sufficient to distress the neighbourhood : for the natural currents, by which the lake is supplied with water, come all from the western parts ; nay, the expence of a dam, to confine so large a quantity of water, would have cost more than many times the worth of so mean a place as the castle of Lochleven. 2. That the siege of this castle could not have been carried on, either by Baliol or his troops at this time, is manifest by their both being then in England, as appears by Edward's declaring they were on the sixth of March anno 1335 ; at which time he granted Baliol permission to have both a constable and marshal in England, for the punishment of offences committed in his family during their stay in England.

King Edward on his receiving advice that the Scots were again in arms, that they had expelled his king Baliol, taken lord Talbot prisoner, and besieged Beaumont earl of Buchan, in his castle of Dundarg, was enraged to such a degree, that notwithstanding of his having formed a resolution to accompany the French king and other christian princes to the holy war, he nevertheless changed his mind, and resolved on an expedition to Scotland, to punish the people in such a manner that it should never be in their power to rebel again ; and the better to enable him to prosecute his design, the parliament granted him a tenth from the clergy, merchants, and burgesies, and from lords and knights a fifteenth. And the more to embitter the English against the Scots, in all his letters he endeavoured to defame them by the most detestable and opprobrious epithets of perfidious, treacherous, and rebellious Scots ; although it is notorious that he had first broke the perpetual peace concluded between him and the late Scottish king, Robert Bruce.

And to rivet in his own people a bad opinion of the Scots, when he arrived at York on his march to Scotland, in his letters to the arch- bishop of York, to invoke the Almighty for success against the Scots, he calls them arrogant and furious knaves, that have taken arms against him, and committed innumerable depredations both in Scot- land and England : and as if neither the aid of parliament nor publick prayers were sufficient to procure success against the hardy Scots, he wrote to the states of Ireland to raise what troops they could to assist him on this occasion : nor content with these, he obtained foreign assistance from the earls of Juliers, Namur, and Mountbelgard ; all of whose forces when joined with his own, must have made a very great army. So it is not to be wondered at, that Edward met with no op- position in his march through Scotland, by a handful of men, whose business it was to take all the advantages they could to relieve their distressed country, but not to offer themselves a sacrifice to king Edward.

Philip king of France, apprehensive that king Edward by his vast preparations, would subjugate his old friends and allies the Scots, sent ambassadors to England, to endeavour to obtain a truce for those of the Brucean faction, which was granted by Edward, from the fourth of April to the 24th of June following ; during which, divers over- tures were made for peace by the French and Scottish ambassadors assembled at Newark, which being no ways acceptable to Edward, who

who was prepared in the best manner for war, occasioned Philip's not only winking at his subjects taking English ships, even in the mouth of the river Seine, but he ordered ships of war to be fitted out in all the ports of his kingdom with the utmost expedition.

Rym. Feod.
tom. iv. p. 652.

Edward, alarmed at this, sent orders to his seneschal of Gascony to fit out and man all the ships of war in that dutchy, to prevent the French fleet's going to assist the Scots, and summoned a council of the chief men in the kingdom to meet at London, to concert measures to hinder their making a descent; and having laid an embargo on all vessels above the burden of forty tons, he ordered them to be fitted and manned with all expedition to put to sea. The French in the mean time having failed on their expedition, were soon overtaken by a violent storm, which driving them on the coast of Flanders, they received so much damage, that they were glad to return to their own ports. This, for ought I can learn, is the first assistance destined by France to support the Brucean interest in Scotland.

Ibid. p. 656,
658.

The above truce was no sooner expired, than Edward, regardless of all that was offered to him by the French, Popish, and Scottish ambassadors in favour of peace, marched with his army to Newcastle upon Tyne, where being joined by Baliol and his host from Carlisle, they marched to invade Scotland on both sides, Edward with his army to the western parts, who entered Anandale on the 12th day of July, and Baliol on the east entered by way of Berwick; while the English fleet of about one hundred and fifty sail appeared on the coast of Scotland; at a time too when Scotland was rent into factions; and the Brucean interest unhappily weakened, by the earl of Athol's quarrelling with lord William Douglas, and John lord of the isles revolting from David Bruce, and setting up for himself as independent sovereign; Robert Stuart too, one of the regents, was confined at home by an indisposition; so that the earl of Murray, the other regent, with his compatriots, &c. were the only persons to deliberate and take such measures as were proper on this dreadful occasion, which they wisely did, by retiring to their usual recesses, whereby Edward had an opportunity of marching through the country without molestation. Having penetrated to the extreme boundary of the island, nay, by some English writers it is said beyond Caithness, which is the most northern land of Scotland, washed by the Deucalionian ocean, without seeing an enemy, or any other adventure than his burning the city of Aberdeen on his return; and returning in triumph to Perth, after some time he set out for Roxburgh, where he received advice of the earl of Dunbar's defection; this obliged him to winter there, to prevent the bad consequences that might attend it, being accompanied by the pope's nuncio, who came to mediate a peace between him and David Bruce, his greatly injured brother-in-law.

During Edward's northern expedition, his brother John of Eltham earl of Cornwall, and lord Henry Lucy, with the forces of Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, plundered and wasted the western parts of the kingdom in the Brucean interest.

Although Edward had not the satisfaction of seeing the enemy according to expectation, his vassal Baliol had better luck, by taking the castle of Cambermouth in Athol, to which a casual fire greatly contributed; in which were made prisoners the lord David Marshal, his lady, the widow of the late lord Archibald Douglas, and the wife of
fir

An. 1335.
Hen. Knyght.
de Ev. Angl.
col. 2566.

Holinghead's
Chron. p. 898.

Barnes in Vit.
Edw. III.
p. 96.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p.
654, 657, 658.

Ibid. p. 660,
670.

Knyghton,
col. 2568.

fir Philip Mowbray. The Welshmen in Baliol's army by this success, and want of opposition, became so furious, that they spared neither age nor sex, but massacred and burnt all wherever they came; and the Newcastle mariners, who entered the frith of Tay with part of the fleet, being of the same disposition, burnt the town of Dundee. And, about the same time, Darcy, chief justice of Ireland, with a fleet of fifty-six ships, plundered and wasted the isles of Arran and Bute. But the main fleet, with provisions for the army, had not so good luck; for, after having spoiled the monastery of St. Columbain, and Inchcolm in the estuary of Forth, it was dispersed by a storm, and much shattered.

This misfortune happened not alone; for a considerable body of foreigners, under the conduct of the earl of Namur, (by Scottish authors, through mistake, called earl of Guelders) and his brother, on their march from Berwick to join king Edward at Perth, were attacked in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, by the earls of Murray and Dunbar, when so fierce a battle ensued, that, had not the Scots been reinforced during the action by William Douglas, 'tis thought they would have been defeated: but, having obtained the victory, Namur, after a short retreat, surrendered himself and his men prisoners of war; when Murray, the regent, out of respect to the bravery of those troops, not only granted them their liberty, but, out of an ill-timed generosity to Namur, their leader, as a relation of the French king, conducted him to the border of England; whence, on his return, he himself was made prisoner by the garrison of Roxburgh. This accident, added to the losses already sustained by the Scots, that of their being deprived of a good general and able regent, being well known to king Edward, he was detained a prisoner in England for divers years after.

Edward, by his great power and success, having formed a resolution not to end the war till he was absolute master of Scotland, divers of the greatest men, having no hopes of relief, submitted to him; whilst others rather chose to be exposed to the greatest extremities, than submit to the English yoke. Yet Knyghton, an English writer, tells us, that most of the Scottish nobility, at this time, submitted to Edward, on the following terms: "That they should obey Baliol their king during life. In the interim, David with his consort were to reside privately, and be honourably entertained at London; and, after Baliol's demise, was to succeed to the crown of Scotland: and that they would not only oblige king David to come to the parliament, to be held at London the Michaelmas following, but likewise to stand to king Edward's award; and at present do homage to Edward as his superior lord."

This assertion of Knyghton seems to be a mistake, as doth in a great measure appear by the treaty of Perth; for the contracting parties there appear to have been only the two kings, Edward and Baliol, the earl of Athol and lord Robert Stuart, and their commissioners; who, instead of treating in a national manner, appear to have concluded a private treaty only; which, being little regarded by the Scots, was never fulfilled by them, and no way affecting the publick, was not worth the regarding. No more is the charter of homage, said to have been given by David to Edward for the kingdom of Scotland, with the advice and consent of a parliament held at Edinburgh. And such is the propensity of some to fable, that Dr. Brady has published this spurious charter,

charter, which by the candid English historian Tyrrel is refuted, by shewing that king David was then in France, where he had been for several years, both before and after that period: nor indeed, had he been present, durst he, during the dispute between him and Baliol for the crown, have made such condescensions.

The campaign was no sooner over, than Edward, having ordered the castles of Edinburgh, Perth, and Stirling to be fortified, and appointed Strabolgie, earl of Athol, governor of the kingdom under Baliol, returned to England in triumph. Now Athol, though a Scottishman, had joined with Edward, to revenge some indignities offered him by certain of his countrymen; therefore he no sooner got the command of the army, than he laid siege to the castle of Kildrummy, on the river Don, in the county of Mar; of which the earl of Dunbar and sir William Douglas, commanders of the loyalists, receiving advice, hastened to its relief; which Athol no sooner heard of, than he raised the siege, and marched against them; and meeting in the forest of Kilblane, a fierce battle ensued; and although Dunbar and Douglas were far inferior in number to Athol, (the latter being said to have had three thousand men, and the former only eleven hundred) they routed his army, and killed him.

This earl, whose proper name was David Strabolgie, by Scottish writers erroneously called Cumin, was likewise an English earl, and had large possessions in that kingdom. The loss of Athol so enraged his father-in-law, the lord Beaumont, that, to revenge his death, he put all those of the Brucean party, he could come at, to the sword, that had been at the battle of Kilblane. Edward too, irritated to the last degree for the loss of his general and men, threatened revenge against all the Brucean party. But being at last prevailed on by the king of France to enter into a treaty with the Scots, on the 1st of November, he named plenipotentiaries to treat with sir Andrew Murray, regent of Scotland; who, in the space of eight days, agreed on a short truce, which, at the desire of the French king and the pope, was frequently renewed till Ascension-day, in the month of May, anno 1336. One of the conditions of the truce was, that the Scots should raise the sieges of the castles of Lochindown, and Couper of Fife. During the truce, divers attempts were made to convert it into a perpetual peace, to which end plenipotentiaries were named on both sides. Those sent by the Scots were sir Andrew Murray, sir William Keith, Robert Lawder, and William Douglas, to whom a safe-conduct was granted by Edward, with forty horse for their retinue; as was also a safe-conduct to Alexander bishop of Aberdeen, John abbot of Couper, John Monipenny, &c. who, with the like number of forty gentlemen in their retinue, were sent from France by David. But the commissioners breaking up without success, Edward, having resolved to revenge the death of Athol, held a parliament at London, and another at Northampton, who granted him an ample supply to carry on his war against the Scots. In the following spring, Edward sent the earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Arundel, and other English noblemen, with twenty thousand men, into Scotland; and wrote to Baliol to carry with him the lord Henry Plantagenet, lately appointed lieutenant-general of the English army in Scotland, and to take the field forthwith.

In the mean time, the Scots, having received supplies from France, were encouraged thereby, and laid siege to divers fortresses, took the castles

Tyrr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 388.

Ford. Chron.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Rym. Fœd. 7
tom. iv. p. 674.

Ibid. p. 676,
681, 685, 690,
691.

Ibid. p. 690,
691.

Holinghead,
Hist. Scot.
p. 902.

An. 1336.
Barnes's Hist.
p. 102, 103.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

of St. Andrews and Bothwell; and investing those of Lochindores and Stirling, attacked the latter with great violence, to reduce it before help could arrive: making a general assault, they were repulsed with great loss, and the death of their brave commander, sir William Keith. And the siege of Lochindores was carried on with such vigour, that the lady Catharine Beaumont wrote to king Edward to hasten to its relief; who arriving soon after, at the head of a powerful army, on his fourth and last expedition to Scotland, saved the castle: whence marching southwards, he burnt the town of Aberdeen, and carried death and destruction wherever he went, against Athol's enemies. But these cruelties, it seems, fell far short of those committed by his brother, John of Eltham, who, in his march through the countries of Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, put all to the sword he could come at, and burnt the church of Lefmahago with a thousand persons in it; for which, according to Boece, he was killed by Edward his brother. This is false; for all English writers agree, that he died a natural death in Scotland; and it were absurd to imagine, that Edward would have put any person, much less his brother, to death, for cruelty against the Scots.

An. 1337.
Walsing. Hist.
p. 118.
Barnes's Hist.
p. 102.

The forces sent into Scotland under Plantagenet, consisting of twenty thousand men, laid siege to the castle of Dunbar, which was vigorously defended for the space of nineteen weeks, under the command of that noble virago the countess of Dunbar, who, by her address and generosity to her men, encouraged them to behave on all occasions with intrepidity; and on the enemy's advancing, under cover of a machine called the sow, to attack the wall, merrily said, that unless they looked well to their sow, she would soon make her cast her pigs; which she soon after did, by destroying the machine, out of which the men with difficulty escaped to their army. And when the English, at a great expence of blood and treasure, had almost brought the castle to surrender, sir Alexander Ramsay attempted its relief; and with a supply of forty choice men, and store of ammunition, passed by sea through the English fleet by night, and joining his men to part of the garrison, made a brisk sally on the besiegers, who, fearing nothing less, not only received a considerable loss, but imagined the garrison were in a much better condition than they had believed them to be. Ramsay having returned by the same way he came, without being discovered, it confirmed their opinion, and induced them to raise the siege in an inglorious manner.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p. 704.

Barnes's Hist.
p. 103, 106.

At this time a treaty of peace was proposed; to which end Edward not only named plenipotentiaries to treat in his name, but granted his safe-conduct to Pierre de Neville, the French ambassador, and to Adam bishop of Brechin, Walter Moffet, and Garcenet Bisset, sent by king David from France to negotiate for him: but the treaty, through Edward's obstinacy, breaking off without success, the Scots must have been undone, unless a powerful diversion had been made in their favour; to which end, Philip the French king sent an army to attack king Edward's dominions in France, which entering Gascony, surprised and plundered a number of towns and castles, and put many of the inhabitants to the sword; and at the same time gave the command of his fleet to king David, who, sailing to the coast of England, landed in the isles of Guernsey and Jersey, committed great ravages, and taking a number of ships at sea, greatly distressed the English commerce:

merce: of which Edward, then at Bothwell in the western part of Scotland, receiving advice, loudly complained of the barbarous cruelties committed by the Scots against his people both by sea and land, infomuch that an embargo was laid on all ships throughout the kingdom, to prevent their sailing, and becoming a prey to the French.

In the mean time Edward summoned his principal nobility, both spiritual and temporal, to meet him at London, to provide for the honour and safety of the nation, more especially considering that his predecessors were always lords at sea. And, being still in Scotland, he caused the town of Perth to be fortified, at the expence of the abbies of Aberbrothock, Couper, Lindores, Balmerinock, Dunfermline, and St. Andrews; and having appointed governors for divers of the principal fortresses in the kingdom, returned to England; on which occasion an English historian has made the following remark, viz.

“ Edward’s four expeditions into Scotland gained him, no doubt, a great reputation; but, it seems, that part of his glory might have been disputed, by the consideration of the superiority of his troops, which were more numerous, better disciplined, and more amply provided with things necessary, than those of the Scots.”

Edward was no sooner gone, than Murray the regent, with his little army, appeared again, and reduced the castles of Dunnotter, Kineff, Lauriston, Kinklevin, and others on the northern side of the river Tay; which shews, that whatever the powerful Edward gained in summer, the Scots now recovered in the winter; as was generally the case during the long and bloody wars carried on in Scotland, both by Edward I. and III. Hence, though Edward’s several expeditions into this kingdom are by English writers called conquests, ’tis manifest that he, after an immense expence of blood and treasure, had gained very little; which occasioned an English historian to make the following observation, viz.

“ It might give cause of the greatest admiration to imagine, how it was possible for that barren part of the isle, so often wasted, to breed so many men as had been slain in battle within these fifty last years, and yet still to be able to bring armies into the field, both to maintain their own contests, and to defend their liberties and that poor ground they inhabited.”

The amazing resistance Edward met with in Scotland, prevented his putting his grand design against France in execution. He was once more induced to try if, by any means, he could prevail on Philip, the French king, not to concern himself farther in the affairs of Scotland; and, the better to accomplish his design, only demanded of Philip,

“ 1. That a perfect peace and amity should inviolably be maintained by both kings, to the utmost of their power. 2. That all the towns and castles taken from the English in Gascony be restored. 3. That Philip shall swear never to aid or assist the Scots against the English.”

We are told by Edward’s biographer, that Philip was so well pleased with these proposals, that he ordered the treaty to be proclaimed the next day at Paris: but soon reflecting on the injustice of the third article, he sent for the English ambassadors, and declared to them, “ That he could not, either in honour or equity, desert his friends the Scots, they being his confederates, and just men; nor ought he to esteem king Edward worthy of his friendship, while he continued war against them. That himself was, as all kings ought to be, a

“ friend

Rym. Fœd.
tom. iv. p. 722,
723.

ib. p. 724.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

Rapin Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 416.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

Each. Hist.
Engl. p. 349.

Barnes’s Hist.
Edw. III:
p. 92.

Id. ibid;

“ friend to justice, from which he should never swerve, either for
 “ affinity or advantage, or any other consideration whatsoever; but
 “ that he would, to the utmost of his power, molest all the disturbers
 “ of the peace of Scotland. For, said he, there never will be perfect
 “ peace and quietness in Christendom, till the king of France shall
 “ stand as umpire between the realms of Scotland and England: and
 “ therefore he briefly told the ambassadors, that, having better con-
 “ sidered of it, he was resolved to conclude nothing as to peace with
 “ England, unless king David also might be comprehended in the
 “ same league, so as that he might be restored to his kingdom, and
 “ Baliol wholly excluded.”

Rym. Fœd.
 tom. v. p.
 160.

Id. ibid.

Irritated at this, Edward publicly declared, that the zeal expressed by Philip was only trick and hypocrisy; and that the vast preparations made by him, under pretence of going to the holy war, were really designed against a Christian prince. Adding, that he was ever willing to live in amity with king Philip, to whom he made such offers as he thought would not have been rejected: three were marriages, viz. between his eldest son, the earl of Chester, and a daughter of Philip; another between king Philip's son and his own daughter, to whom he was willing to give whatever should be desired; and the third betwixt his brother John, earl of Cornwall, and a lady of the blood of France. In a word, he offered to purchase Philip's friendship with whatever sum of money he should think fit to ask; and a quadriennial truce to the Scots, notwithstanding of their having broken former ones, and ever since the sacrilegious tyrant, Robert Bruce, had usurped upon the lord Baliol, and continued to disown his superiority. Adding, that the Scottish commissioners, sent to treat with him, were simple, ignorant, and rude, and in derision told him they would agree to no truce. But when he sent to acquaint Philip, that, if the quadriennial truce was agreed to, he would accompany him in the intended expedition against the infidels, Philip, instead of giving audience to his ambassadors, plainly told them, he would defend and support the Scots to the utmost of his power.

Boet. Hist.
 Scot. lib. 15.

Edward, on this, having declared war against France, Murray, the regent, soon after receiving advice of a considerable body of the enemy being in the neighbourhood, he, with the earls of March and Fife, marched to Panmuir; where a battle ensuing, four thousand of the English were cut off, with the lord Henry Mountford. This victory had a very good effect, by not only occasioning the surrender of divers castles, and other fortresses, but the defeat of several parties that were marching to their relief. Yet the Scots were not in all places alike successful; for they were obliged to raise the siege of Stirling, and their design against the castle of Edinburgh miscarried.

An. 1338.
 Rym. Fœd.
 tom. iv. p.
 820, 823.

Barnes's Hist.

The campaign drawing towards an end, the cardinals Pedro and Bertrand were sent by pope Benedict into England, to compromise matters between the kings of England and France, and of consequence betwixt Scotland and England; and that the latter might be dispatched with expedition, Edward, in the preceding month of October, named plenipotentiaries to treat with sir Alexander Seaton and Laurence Preston, the Scottish commissioners; who having soon agreed on a truce, it was to commence in the month of February, and continue till the 24th of June following. It was accepted by the Scots, but rejected by the French. Wherefore Edward continued his military prepara-

preparations with great diligence; and having determined to command his army in Flanders in person, he appointed Richard earl of Arundel Rym. Fœd. vol. v. p. 27, 28, 29, 30. general, and Gilbert de Umphraville earl of Angus lieutenant-general of his army in Scotland; to which authority he joined a plenipotentary power, to accommodate matters in an amicable way.

Sir Andrew Murray, one of the regents, dying at this time, was succeeded by his colleague Robert high steward of Scotland; who, by his great valour and conduct, bravely maintained the interest of his exiled nephew, king David; in which he was gallantly seconded by William Douglas, and other lords, who still retained an inviolable fidelity for their lawful sovereign: and entering upon action, on the expiration of the truce, the first attempt was made by lord William Douglas, who having reduced the county of Teviotdale, it was given to him and his heirs, in reward for his great service in the royal cause. But happening soon after to be attacked and surrounded by sir Thomas Barclay at Blackburn, he had the misfortune to be defeated, and his whole party cut off, none escaping but himself and three more, who cut their way through the enemy. And though, by this great disaster, he had resolved not to engage upon unequal terms for the future, he nevertheless, at divers times, attacked parties much more numerous than his own with great success. Encouraged by these attempts, he assaulted the rear of the English army on its march; and although he had the misfortune of being dangerously wounded, he carried off a large convoy of provisions, whereby he was enabled to take and fortify the castle of Liddale. And after defeating sir Laurence Vaux, encountered sir William Abernethy, by whom he was worsted no less than five times in one day; yet returning to the charge, he at last routed his army, and took him prisoner. After these exploits, Douglas was sent to France, to lay before king David the state of his affairs in Scotland, and to solicit assistance towards the operations of the approaching campaign.

An. 1338.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

King Edward's absence, and the season of the year inviting to action, Stuart, the regent, was encouraged to lay siege to the strong town of Perth, which he carried on for the space of three months with great vigour; but being in want of provisions and necessaries for continuing it, he was about to raise it: but Douglas, in the mean time, arriving from France with five ships, under the command of Hugh Handpile, with a supply of men, and provisions of all sorts, the siege was continued, and the governor obliged to surrender the place, after a gallant defence of four months. The loss of this fortress obliged Baliol to quit the centre of the kingdom, and retire to the borders, where he sheltered himself in the places he had resigned to the English.

An. 1339.
Hen. Knyght.
de Event.
Angl.

Edward, in the interim, returning from France, called a parliament, and having confirmed the Magna Charta, and charter of forests, they granted him the necessary aids to carry on his war in France; whilst Baliol, and many of the chief nobility, and other persons of distinction in England, undertook to raise men at their own expence, for carrying on the war in Scotland. All men of interest and power were, on the first warning, to set out for the northern parts of England, to defend the borders against all incursions from Scotland: and to prevent the Scots from being supplied with provisions from England, corn of all sorts was prohibited to be sent to Scotland. And for the better preventing the Scottish designs against England, the earl of Angus was

An. 1340.
Barnes's Hist.
Edw. III.
p. 180.

impowered to raise the forces of the counties of York, Nottingham, Derby, and Northumberland.

Froissart. Hist.
c. 55. fol. 3.
Barnes's Hist.
Edw. III.
p. 199, 200.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

The Scots, in the absence of king Edward in France, judging it inconsistent with their interest to agree either to a truce or peace, and having received a fresh supply both of men and money from France, took the field, and reduced most of the Scottish strengths in possession of the English; insomuch that they were dispossessed of all but the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roxburgh: the first whereof they became masters by a stratagem of the lord William Douglas's contrivance, which being differently related by Boece, Buchanan, and Froissart, I shall insert the heads as follows.

Sir William Douglas desired one Tours to feign himself an English wine-merchant; who, according to his instructions, provided two casks of delicious wine, and other presents, for the governor of the castle, of whom he obtained leave to dispose of the rest of his wine, and other provisions he had, amongst the garrison, at a moderate price: and to prevent his being discovered by the Scots, (of whom he seemed to be much afraid) he was ordered to bring his goods early the next morning. In the mean time, Douglas caused twelve of his best men to put on sailors habits, over their armour, and placed them in the neighbourhood of the castle, to remain there till the signal was given them to come along with the provisions to the castle; Douglas and sir Simon Frazer, in the same mean habit, attending the first cart, and the others were to follow at some distance. Being arrived in the neighbourhood, Douglas, on a call, being by the porter let into the fort before the castle-gate, and perceiving the keys of the castle hanging on the porter's arm, he immediately dispatched him, took the keys, opened the castle-gate, and, to prevent its being shut, caused their carriages to be overturned in the gateway, and, by blowing a horn, gave the signal for their men to advance; who having joined them, they soon became masters of that fortress. This is Buchanan's relation of the surprize of the castle of Edinburgh, which varies a little from that of Boece, but by what authority he has not told us. But as Froissart's, a foreign writer, relation is deemed preferable to both of them, his account is as followeth.

Froissart Hist.
cap. 55.

Sir William Douglas, with his accomplices, having shipped on board a vessel, laden with provisions, two hundred highlanders, landed them in a harbour (Leith) in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh; and disguising about twelve of them in a ragged clownish habit, put over their armour, laid the rest in ambush amongst the ruins of an old abbey (Holyrood-house) near the foot of the hill; whilst those in the clownish dress, towards break of day, drew up the hill twelve horses laden with provisions, while Douglas and sir Simon Frazer, dressed in the same habit, walked before; and approaching the castle, Douglas called to the porter, and told him, seemingly in great fear, that they had brought corn, oats, and fuel, which, if they had occasion for, he would sell them at a moderate price. The porter answered, they were in great want of such goods; but being so early, he durst not awake either the governor or his steward, but he would let them into the fort, where they might safely stay till they got up. Being come into the fort, Douglas perceiving the keys of the castle hanging on the porter's arm, killed him forthwith, took the keys, opened the gate, and, on entering, hamstringed their horses, who, with their burdens, falling in the gateway,

gateway, prevented those within from shutting the gate; and giving a signal to their people in ambush, by blowing a horn, they ranged themselves within the gate, to defend the passage till their men entered; who, with the greatest expedition, marching from the abbey to their assistance, were discovered by the centinels of the castle, who alarming the garrison of their danger, all hastened to the gate, where a fierce skirmish ensued between them and Douglas and his twelve men, who, behaving with the greatest intrepidity, defended the gate till their men arrived; and soon after becoming masters of the castle, slew all therein, except the governor Richard Leigh, and six English esquires, who were made prisoners; and having settled orders for the garrison, Douglas appointed sir Simon Vesey governor.

Soon after a truce being agreed on between the kings of England and France, wherein the Scots were comprehended, and which if they did not accept of, they were to receive no assistance from France, there was a cessation of arms till the 24th of June following. But the war breaking out again between England and France, Edward sent an army to the northern parts of England, under the conduct of Baliol, to prevent incursions into those parts. Wherefore the Scots, on the 25th of June, the day after the expiration of the truce, under the command of sir William Douglas, invested the strong castle of Stirling. The news of this enraged king Edward to such a degree, that he summoned his nobility and gentry to meet him at Berwick, with their respective troops, at a time prefixed; which being punctually performed, he put himself at the head of this formidable army, consisting of near sixty thousand men. This, from the commencement of the siege, Douglas being apprehensive of, carried on his approaches with the greatest vigour; and by dividing his army into four bodies, employed one of them in continual assaults, which allowing the besieged no time for repose, they were at last obliged to capitulate on the terms of having their lives saved, with an allowance of their swords and one suit of apparel.

Edward having received this disagreeable news at Berwick, returned to Newcastle, where he staid above a month, in expectation of the arrival of his fleet with provisions for his army; which being overtaken by a violent storm, that lasted several days, was rendered unserviceable for the rest of the year, wherefore his army could not enter Scotland. But the Scots being ignorant of the condition of the English army, for want of provisions, Edward was freed from his present difficulties; for having threatened the Scots and their country with desolation, after having secured themselves and their little army in the forest of Jedburgh, they sent ambassadors to him at Newcastle upon Tyne, about the beginning of December, to desire a truce for six months, upon the following terms, viz. "That they would send to their king David in France, and assure him, that unless he returned to Scotland by the first of the approaching month of May, with a power sufficient to defend Scotland against the English, they, Stuart the regent, Douglas, and others of the principal Scottish nobility, his adherents, would submit to king Edward, and renounce their fealty and allegiance to him and his posterity." These terms, so much to the disadvantage of the Scots, and honour of Edward, were readily agreed to. Having thus settled his affairs in Scotland, he set out on his return to London with the greatest satisfaction.

A certain

Rym. Foed.
tom. v. p. 205,
206.

Ibid. p. 271.

An. 1341.

Froiss. Hist.
cap. 70.

Id. ibid.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Froiss. Hist.
cap. 73.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. ii. p. 79.
Hen. Knyght.
de Event.
Angl.

A certain Scottish writer, for some reasons of his own, seems to be of opinion, that at this time there was no truce made between king Edward and the adherents of king David; but that there was, is manifest both by the English and our own writers, who shew, that in the winter of this year Edward kept his Christmas at the abbey of Melros, as the earl of Derby did his at Roxburgh.

The terms of this truce put the French king under a necessity of assisting David, his ally, in a better manner than he had done hitherto, for fear of being deprived of the advantages procured him by the frequent diversions made in his favour by the Scots; and having furnished David both with men and money, to enable him to fulfil the agreement made by his people with king Edward, he set out from France for Scotland, where he arrived soon after.

An. 1342.
Froiss. Hist.
cap. 93.

The Scottish nobility, on the conclusion of this truce, sent sir Robert Vesey, sir Simon Frazer, &c. to France, to acquaint king David with what they had done; but he being sailed for Scotland before their arrival, landed with his queen at Inverbervy, in the county of the Mearns, on the 2d of the month of July.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Here Buchanan is guilty of a blunder; for, by the treaty concluded by the Scottish nobility with king Edward, David was to be in Scotland by the 1st of June, on the forfeiture of his crown and kingdom of Scotland, both of which, in case of failure, were to come to king Edward.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

However, David and his consort being arrived at Inverbervy, after an exile of about nine years, he was received by his people with the greatest demonstrations of joy; whence being conducted to the town of Perth, he was congratulated on his happy return by Stuart the regent, the nobility, and chief men of the kingdom, whom he not only received in the most kind and grateful manner, for their loyalty, bravery, and sufferings on his account, during his absence, but he rewarded many of them according to their merits. Amongst these was the celebrated general sir Alexander Ramsay, who, for his great services both to his king and country, had the government of Roxburgh and county of Teviotdale conferred on him. This promotion of Ramsay was so highly resented by lord William Douglas, that he vowed revenge. An opportunity soon after offered; for Ramsay holding a council in the church of Hawick in Teviotdale, Douglas assaulted him there, wounded him, killed divers of his domesticks, seized his person, committed him prisoner to the castle of Hermitage, and, in the most cruel and barbarous manner, starved him to death. Douglas absconded, to avoid punishment, till Stuart, the regent, not only procured his pardon, but obtained the government of Roxburgh and Teviotdale for him. About the same time William Bullock, a faithful friend to David, was put to the same kind of death by David Barclay. These shocking facts occasioned great disturbances in the nation, which were at length, by the intercession of friends, happily accommodated.

Id. ibid.

Matters thus settled at home, David, contrary to the advice of his nobility, (on account of the great scarcity and dearth of provisions) declared war against England, raised an army, and, having appointed Thomas Randolph general, marched with him in disguise, to prevent his being known to be king. These, entering England, ravaged and wasted Northumberland for the space of two months, and returned home with great spoil. And soon after returning on a second expedition

tion to England, he assumed the command of his army, without disguise. The English, being inferior to him in number, durst not risk a general engagement; but by frequent skirmishes and attacks, he obliged them to keep close together, and thereby prevented their doing so much damage as they otherwise would have done. The only loss the Scots sustained in this incursion was in a party commanded by five of their knights, which being defeated, their commanders were taken prisoners. This put an end to the expedition, without the performance of any signal feat by David. However, that no opportunity might be lost to distress the enemy, he set out in a short time on a third expedition to England; but the roads, by incessant rains, being rendered impassable both for men and carriages, no action of moment happened; yet, that it might not be said that he had made a fruitless invasion, he demolished a few castles on his return.

Now as the three expeditions, by our historians said to have been made this year into England, seem to have been performed without any great hurt to that nation, or advantage to our own, it will not be amiss to hear what Froissart, a foreign writer, says on that subject. He makes them, instead of three, to have been only one expedition, by telling us, that king David in this year invaded England with a mighty army, consisting of no less than sixty thousand foot and three thousand horse, ravaged and wasted Northumberland, and besieged Newcastle upon Tyne; which being gallantly defended by sir John Nevil, the governor, who by night sent out a party of three hundred lances, surprized the general's quarter, killed a great many, and taking the earl of Murray the general prisoner, sent him to the tower of London for security. This action so enraged David and the whole army, that a vigorous assault was given to the town, but without success; wherefore David, to lose no time, by advice of his council, marched off; and entering the bishoprick of Durham, laid it waste to the gates of that city, which he immediately invested, and being only defended by the citizens and neighbouring people, who fled hither with their best effects, they took it by storm, within the space of six or seven days, putting all to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. And having spoiled the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and carried off all its plate, jewels, and rich decorations, the army began its march homewards, laden with a vast booty.

Froissart, Hist.
cap. 75.

Ib. cap. 76.

And marching in the neighbourhood of the strong castle of Wark, belonging to the earl of Salisbury, whereof his brother William Montague was governor, and wherein was the countess his lady, David would have passed without meddling with it; but Montague, observing his train to consist of a vast number of horses and carriages laden with plunder, resolved to have a share of it; and sallying out at the head of forty horse, fell upon the baggage in the rear, carried off one hundred and twenty horses laden with spoil. This enraged David to such a degree, that he ordered an assault to be forthwith made on the castle; but the garrison, by the great encouragement given, and brave example of the heroick countess of Salisbury, made a vigorous defence; which, together with the advice of king Edward's approach at the head of a mighty army, made David, to save his rich booty, march off; and crossing the river Tweed, continued his rout to the forest of Jedburgh, to attend Edward's motions.

Ib. cap. 77.

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 463.

Froiss. Hist.
cap. 77.

An. 1342.

Froiss. Hist.
cap. 78.

An. 1343.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. v. p. 357.

Dugd. vol. ii.
p. 143.

REMARK. This relation is by some English historians much doubted of, seeing it is mentioned neither by English nor Scottish writers. Tyrrel thinks that the Frenchman confounds the battle of Durham, in which David was taken prisoner, with the transactions of this year. But that this is a mistake of Tyrrel's, and not of Froissart's, I think, is evident, by king Edward's arriving with his army at the castle of Wark but a few hours after king David had left it; and whose troops, being greatly fatigued by long and quick marches, he rested there one night, to refresh them; and the day after continued his rout in pursuit of the Scots, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of Jedburgh-forest, into which David and his army were retired; and remaining there encamped for three or four days, divers skirmishes happened between parties of both armies, with a variety of success: and though the advantage, by English writers, is generally ascribed to themselves, they cannot help acknowledging that great harm was done them by the intrepid Douglas. Now, by Edward's pursuing David at this time, and the several skirmishes that happened between parties of both armies, it is manifest, that both Edward and David were then in their respective armies: whereas in the battle of Durham, which happened about four years after, only king David was present, and king Edward was with his army in France.

Be that as it will, there were certain great men in both armies, who endeavoured to accommodate matters between the two kings. Their good offices had so happy an effect, that a truce was agreed on for the space of two years, provided Philip the French king approved thereof; for David was so strongly attached to him, that he would do nothing in that way without his consent, which if not granted, the truce was only to continue till the 1st of May. At the same time it was agreed between the kings, that the earl of Murray should be released, both from his imprisonment and ransom, provided David could prevail on Philip to discharge the earl of Salisbury, then a prisoner to him. This truce being assented to by Philip, David readily agreed to it, that his people might have time to recover themselves from their great sufferings, and that the farmers might have an opportunity to cultivate their grounds, which, during their great calamities, had lain almost neglected. Edward, for his part, more readily agreed, because, say historians, the season for action was almost past, and he had numerous armies to maintain in divers parts abroad, besides his other vast expences: yet surely he must have had other reasons for not taking vengeance of the Scots, for the great injuries lately done him in England.

Whatever be in this, Edward's affairs in Scotland were not now in such a condition as he wished for. His war with the Scots was very unreasonable, in regard to his measures in France; wherefore he accepted of the mediation of pope Clement VI. who sent two cardinals, by whose mediatorial office the former truce was not only confirmed, but prolonged to three years betwixt him, Philip, and their allies. But some differences happening between the kings of England and France soon after, Edward, to prevent the Scots from assisting Philip, intended to commence war against them, and to prosecute it in such a manner, that they should be forced to ask for peace in the most submissive terms: but many of his nobility being of a different opinion, they prevailed on him to send Richard bishop of Durham, Ralph lord Nevil, John Striveling, &c. to treat of a truce with David, no doubt a separate one, exclusive

exclusive of Philip, as will in some measure appear by David's answer, viz. "That he neither could, nor would make a peace with England, without consent of the king of France; that it was one of the articles of the last truce, and must ever be so, that no treaty between Scotland and England can be binding, without the allowance of the king of France." Edward was so greatly irritated at this brisk answer, by one whom he had obliged to fly his kingdom, that in great wrath he vowed, he would for some time mind no other business but the war in Scotland, till he had reduced that kingdom to so low a condition, as should be remembered while the world endured: and immediately summoned all his military tenants to attend him at the town of Berwick upon Tweed, at the approaching Easter, exclusive of his troops appointed for his war abroad.

REMARK. Surely never any thing could discover the perverseness of a man's nature more than this rash vow of Edward; by it he sacrificed his honour, and spurned at justice, by the breach of the treaty concluded by him on the 20th of the preceding month of February, about a month after Easter, for no other reason that I can learn, but David's being more honourable than himself, by his not agreeing to betray his ally the French king. Nor indeed is this to be wondered at in Edward, for if we consider his great cruelty, in the unparalleled murder of Seaton's son, an hostage at Berwick upon Tweed, during the siege of that place; and his employing Henry Piercy, Maurice Berkley, and Thomas Lucy, to treat with lord William Douglas to betray both his king and country. To Douglas's honour be it remembered, that he disdainfully rejected all the rewards offered him by Edward; which shews, that Edward stuck at nothing that was bad, to satiate his ambition and revenge.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. v. p. 379.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. v. p. 379.

Pursuant to king Edward's summons of array, his troops from all parts of England assembled with great diligence, and forming a mighty army, were joined by Edward, who forthwith began his march for Scotland. The Scots took the field, and laid siege to the strong castle of Lochmaban, before Edward's arrival at Berwick; of which he receiving intelligence, sent the earls of Derby, Gloucester, and Northampton, with a considerable force to its relief. In the mean time, John bishop of Carlisle, and Thomas son of lord Lucy, hastening to its relief, this, together with the gallant behaviour of sir William Selby the governor, and the near approach of Edward's army, obliged them to raise the siege.

Walsing. Hist.
p. 50.

Edward, arriving soon after at Berwick, forgot it seems his rash vow, revived the terms of the aforesaid treaty, and the truce was renewed for two years, which was assented to by the French king. During this treaty, divers skirmishes happened, in one of which near Berwick, Ralph lord Nevil of Raby was taken by the Scots, and carried prisoner to Dunbar, where he was soon after ransomed.

Froiss. Hist.
cap. 90, fol.
45.

This truce seems not to have been better kept than the former, for Edward having called a parliament to meet at Westminster on the 9th of June, among other things he acquainted them, that the Scots, who were allies to his French enemies, had openly declared, that whenever the king of France gave them notice, they would not in the least regard the truce, but would immediately march into England, and do all the mischief they could. That they were as good as their word is evident, by Edward's asserting in the following month of August,

An. 1344.
Rot. Parl. in
Tur. Lond.
Cla. 18 Edw.
III. part. 1.
m. 14.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. v. p. 424.

August, that the Scots had invaded England divers times : for the repressing of whom he gave the command of his army to Baliol, with orders forthwith to march and stop their progress ; for which end the parliament not only granted him a sum sufficient, but likewise a supply necessary to prosecute his war in France.

An. 1345.
Rym. Fœd.
tom.v. p. 453,
454.
Walsing. Hist.
Reg. Angl.
p. 156.

Barne's Hist.
Edw. III.
p. 328.
Godw. Catal.
Bishops, p.
678.
Dugd. vol. i.
p. 565.

Rym. Fœder.
tom.v. p. 534.

An. 1346.

Hen. Knyght.
de Event.
Ang. col.
2589.

Encouraged by this, Edward on the 26th of May following declared war against Philip, which the Scots no sooner received advice of, than they entered England by Westmoreland, and crossing the river Ulles, burnt Penrith, Carleton, and other places in that neighbourhood. But John bishop of Carlisle, with the lords Lucy, Piercy, and Nevil, and the troops of Lancashire, having agreed to surround them, and deprive them of subsistence, they were greatly distressed, especially by want of forage. To supply this defect, sir Alexander Strachan having set out with part of his men, was attacked by Carlisle, Lucy, and Ogle, who routed his party and killed himself ; the rest of their army having received advice of the approach of two other bodies of English troops, to reinforce the rest, and being in great want of provisions, the bishop taking advantage, obliged them to fight, and gave them a memorable overthrow : but as this is not mentioned by any other writer that I can learn, 'tis not to be depended on. However, we are told by another author, that this loss disposed king David to agree to a truce which immediately followed ; and, for its better conservation, the bishop, &c. were appointed commissioners to see it punctually observed. Nevertheless, this truce proved of no long continuance, for Edward in his declaration of the 20th of August, in the following year, tells his people, that the Scots, during his absence abroad, had invaded the northern parts of England, and committed the most horrid ravages, devastations and cruelties by fire and sword ; and that, in order to a second irruption, they were bringing forces from the isles, and elsewhere ; for preventing of which, and defence of the kingdom, he commanded all the serviceable men in England to be raised, under the severest penalties, for defence of the country.

On the 24th of the month of August in this year, king Edward having routed the French, and entirely destroyed their army at the memorable battle of Cressy, in the province of Picardy in France ; whence marching to Calais, he laid siege to that almost impregnable fortress ; all ways and means were thought of to raise the siege, but without success, 'till at last it was judged, that nothing could so effectually accomplish the desirable end as an invasion on England.

This invasion was solicited by Philip the French king, who by his ambassadors represented to David former obligations, and the long and strict alliances that had subsisted betwixt the kings of France and Scotland to their mutual advantage, and that now he should not fail to invade England with all his power, to oblige Edward to raise the siege of Calais ; that he had now an excellent opportunity, by Edward's being abroad with the chief power of England ; as he likewise had to revenge the injuries so often done them by the English ; that he ought not to mind the truce lately concluded with Edward, but shew a strict regard to the sacred amity and friendship that had continued for so many ages between their predecessors, and lately confirmed by themselves. To these solicitations were added a large sum of money,

money, with a promise of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bows to reinforce his army.

Edward on receiving advice of this embassy, sent to David the lords Moubray, Ross, and Lucy, to treat of a peace; and the better to obtain it, not only offered to deliver up to him the town and castle of Berwick, but likewise to give up Edward Baliol his competitor, the cause of the late wars. To deliberate on these offers a parliament was summoned to meet at Perth, in which appeared a diversity of opinions, some being for rejecting, and others for accepting these offers; among the latter was the lord William Douglas, on account of an unlucky quarrel that happened between Reginald (this is a mistake of Buchanan, his name being John) lord of the isles, and David earl of Ross, in which the latter slew the former, with seven of his friends; on which occasion Ross with his followers fled homewards for security, as did also the friends and followers of Reginald for fear of a civil war, which proved a great loss to the royal cause, by the withdrawing of so many of its friends. However, David's interest prevailing in parliament, it was carried for a war against England; pursuant to which, an army was forthwith raised, and those from the northern parts of the kingdom rendezvoused at Perth, about the beginning of October following; whence marching southwards, they were joined at Edinburgh by the troops levied in the southern parts of Scotland, and the whole, according to English writers, when mustered, amounted to three thousand men at arms, knights, and esquires; thirty thousand men on galloways, or little horses, and five thousand Genoese cross-bows, besides French auxiliaries; whence marching to Roxburgh, they passed that strong fortress without loss of time, and arrived on the frontiers, but before they left Scotland, David created many knights; the famous Douglas he made an earl, and committed to his charge the leading of the second division of his army.

The Scottish army for the intended invasion was divided into three bodies, the first whereof was under the conduct of the lord Robert Stuart, and Patrick earl of March; the second was led by John earl of Murray, and William lord Douglas; and the third David himself commanded, with the French auxiliaries.

Thus prepared, David entered Cumberland, and laying siege to Liddel, took it by storm, and put most of the garrison to the sword; but sir Walter Selby the governor, before he would deliver his sword, according to English writers, treated with a Scottish knight to save his life with those of his children; which being agreed too, David, instead of confirming the same, caused two of his children to be strangled before his face, and, without allowing him time for confession, though he earnestly begged it, caused him to be beheaded, notwithstanding the intercession made for him by the knight who agreed to save his life. If this be true, it is such an instance of barbarity, that it ought to transmit his name to future times with indelible infamy.

Be this as it will, David continuing his march to Lanercost, plundered the abbey, and entering Northumberland, laid all waste with fire and sword, saving the towns of Hexham, Corbridge, Durham, and Darlington, which he reserved for storehouses in his way to York, not expecting to have met with resistance before he reached that city. As the monks on this occasion were great sufferers both in their persons and estates, they compounded with David for the sum of one thousand

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. v. p. 530.

Barnes's Hist.
Edw. III.
p. 376.
Du Chesne,
p. 666.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

Stow's Chron.
p. 243.
Holinshed
Hist. Scot.
p. 240.

Hen. Knyght.
de Ev. Angl.
col. 2590.
Stow's Hist.
p. 243.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. v. p.
524.

Giov. Villani,
lib. 12. c. 75.

Barnes's Hist.
Edw. III.
p. 378.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Barnes's Hist.
Edw. III.
p. 380.

and pounds sterling to be paid the next day, to be indemnified thereafter in their persons and lands. All other persons he made pay a penny for their heads, and the same sum for each foot, otherwise to be put to the sword; which I think is more probable than that told us by our own historians of his having destroyed all as he advanced; nay, Boece says, that he spoiled all the lands belonging to the abbey of Durham, and arriving with his army at Bear-park, near Nevil's cross, a few miles from the city of Durham, where he encamped, and daily sent parties out, which committed the most shocking depredations and slaughter, destroying wherever they came with fire and sword, sparing neither young nor old, church, chapel, or monastery. How could he make them compound, if he destroyed all?

To withstand the abovementioned invasion, king Edward summoned all men in England capable of bearing arms, to assemble in defence of their country under the severest penalties, which being performed with the greatest dispatch, they met at the time and place prefixed, when Philippa the royal consort, mounted on a white courser, put herself at their head, and riding along the several lines, desired them to exert themselves in defence of their king and country, assuring them, that she would remember all those that deserved well on this occasion, as if the king were present. This army, according to a foreign writer, consisted of twelve hundred men at arms, three thousand archers, seven thousand common men, and a choice band of soldiers sent over by Edward from Calais, amounting in the whole to sixteen thousand men. It was divided into four brigades; the first was commanded by Henry lord Piercy, by some said to have been general; the second by William archbishop of York; the third by Thomas bishop of Lincoln, and the fourth by Edward Baliol, Edward's king of Scotland; who, according to Buchanan, arriving much sooner than David expected, fell upon a body of horse sent out to forage, under the command of Douglas, who, having lost five hundred men in the action, was put to flight, and returned to the camp; and David Graham having with a party of five hundred horse flanked the English archers, in hopes to have broke them, being received with a vast flight of arrows, was forced to give way, and having with great intrepidity renewed the charge divers times, was compelled to retreat to the army. However, this unhappy beginning did not in the least intimidate David, who, commanding a charge to be sounded, Robert Stuart, the late regent, attacked the archers sword in hand with such fury, that they were obliged to open to the right and left to let them pass, and falling on the main body of the English, maintained the fight with great vigour, and laying violently about them with their battle-axes and broad swords, restored the battle in a great degree. This Baliol observing, and knowing that the chief strength of the Scots lay in this manner of fighting, advanced with four thousand horse on a full trot, fell on Stuart with great violence, and obliged him to give ground, and retreat, according to English writers, before it was too late, without great loss; adding, that it had been well for David, had he followed his example, since he might thereby have reserved himself and army for a better opportunity.

REMARK. The account given us by a foreigner, that this army only consisted of sixteen thousand men, seems to be as false as wild; for after Edward had summoned all the men capable of bearing arms in

in the kingdom to appear for its defence, it is ridiculous to imagine, that they only amounted to sixteen thousand, including the choice troops sent from Calais. And as to what is said of Piercy's being general of the army, I cannot give into it, for I think it is not in the least probable, that king Edward would have appointed him commander in chief, since, when absent, he used to confer the command of his army that acted against the Scots, on Baliol their imaginary king; and as he was dignified with a royal title by Edward, it can scarcely be presumed he would have debased himself to serve under a subject. Wherefore I am of opinion, that it is more probable he was general of the army than Piercy, who by Boece is called earl of Northumberland, whereas it is manifest that his grandson was the first earl of that family.

David, disdaining to follow those whom he regarded not as cowards, but as traitors and deserters, (for he was jealous that his nephew, Robert Stuart, retreated with a design that he should be cut off, to make way for him to the crown as the next heir) fought with the greater resolution, being determined either to restore the battle, or not survive it; but Baliol advancing with a body of fresh troops, flanked the body commanded by David, whilst the English van pressed hard upon his front, which so discouraged and disabled the Scots, that they were no longer able to resist, and giving way were soon routed; yet the English dared not to risk the victory by a rash pursuit, lest prince Robert and the earl of March should rally and re-assault them, as a considerable body of the Scots was then in view.

Although David had the misfortune of being defeated, he failed neither in the duty of a good general or valiant soldier, but frequently rallying his men, encouraged them both by words and actions; in so much that those nearest him being ashamed to forsake so gallant a prince, continued fighting desperately, till not above eighty were left alive with him; and being greatly concerned at the unhappy event, was unwilling to outlive the loss of his nobility, and others his loyal subjects, pushed forward to meet the like fate, when John Copeland, a Northumbrian gentleman, at the head of a hundred men at arms, knowing him, required him to surrender; but instead of complying, though grievously wounded, and his arms beat out of his hands, to provoke Copeland to kill him, struck him with his gauntlet in the face, and beat out two of his teeth; but at last being taken, Copeland, accompanied by his friends, and attended by his servants, conducted him to the strong castle of Ogle in Northumberland, of which he was governor.

The left wing of the army, which was commanded by the earls of Murray and Douglas, perceiving all was lost, fought with such desperation, that few escaped, Murray being killed, and Douglas taken prisoner. This battle, which happened on the 17th of October, in the neighbourhood of Nevil's Cross, and vicinity of Durham, continued for the space of three hours, viz. from nine o'clock in the morning till noon, in which were slain John Randolph earl of Murray, the earl of Strathern, David Hay lord constable, Edward Keith lord marshal, lord Straquitrin chamberlain, and the lord chancellor of Scotland; with the lords Philip Meldrum and John Stuart; Alan Stuart, Maurice Murray, John Crawford, William Haliburton, Reginald Kirkpatrick, Patrick Herring, sir Michael Scot, sir Alexander Gordon,

Barnes's Hist.
Edw. III.
p. 380.

Hen. Knyght:
Event. Angl.
col. 2590.

Barnes's Hist.
Edw. III.
p. 381.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

Ibid.

Hen. Knyght.
de Ev. Angl.
col. 2591.

Gordon, sir William Frazer, sir John Lindsay of Glenesk, sir Thomas Vaux, sir Dougal Campbell, sir Alexander Ramsay the king's standard-bearer, and sir Alexander Bodeval; besides divers French knights, viz. sir Humphry Blois, sir Robert Maltalent, sir John de la Moir, and sir John Bonville; and the number of common soldiers killed, are said by some to have amounted to fifteen thousand, and by others to twenty thousand. The event of this fatal battle proved very pernicious to the Scots, for by it not only the castles of Roxburgh, Hermitage, and many others were surrendered to the English, but they were obliged to quit claim to all the lands they held in England, and to give up the counties of March, Teviotdale, Liddale, and Lauderdale, whereby they enlarged their borders to Cockburnspath and Soltrahill. And Baliol, not contented with the recovery of his paternal possessions in Galloway, over-ran the counties of Anandale, Liddale, and all the country near the river Clyde, destroying all by fire and sword, as he likewise did the county of Lothian, by the assistance of Piercy.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.
Knyghton,
col. 2591.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. v. p. 554.

Barnes's Hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 383.

The number of prisoners taken was very great, amongst whom were the king, the earls of Fife, Monteith, Sutherland, Wigton, Carrick, and Douglas; with the lords James Douglas, Robert Vesey, William Kinaiston, William Ramsay, Malcolm Fleming, David Barrant, John St. Clair, and William Moubray, besides those of lesser note; some of whom having agreed with their captors for their discharge, returned home; which was no sooner known to king Edward, than he commanded that none thenceforth be discharged without his permission; and for their greater security, ordered the chiefs of them to be committed to the tower of London, castle of Windsor, Winchester, and other prisons throughout England. But John Graham earl of Monteith, and Duncan earl of Fife, having sworn allegiance to him and Baliol, they were tried and condemned as traitors, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, their heads to be set upon London bridge, and their quarters to be put up and exposed in the towns of York, Newcastle upon Tyne, Carlisle, and Berwick upon Tweed. On the former this sentence was executed, but the latter being related to the blood-royal, his execution was deferred till further orders; and as king David was the principal, the queen insisted upon his being delivered to her: to which end she dispatched a pursuivant, with a command to John Copeland to bring him to her; to whom he returned for answer, "That the king of Scots should be safely kept, and that he would be answerable for him; but was resolved to deliver him only to his sovereign the king of England." The queen, nettled at this refusal, acquainted the king therewith, then before Calais; Edward thereupon commanded him to attend immediately, to answer for the mal-treatment of his consort. Copeland readily obeying the king's command, committed his royal prisoner to the custody of Ralph lord Nevil, and others his friends, and set out for Calais, where being arrived and introduced to the king, he excused himself in so handsome a manner for not delivering his royal prisoner to the queen, that Edward, instead of receiving him with resentment on that account, welcomed him in the most gracious manner, and, after having ordered him to return to England, and deliver king David to Philippa, he, in consideration of the many great and faithful services done by Copeland, created him a baronet, and, for the better support

support of his new dignity, conferred on him and his heirs for ever, in his own neighbourhood, lands to the amount of five hundred pounds yearly; and till he had an opportunity of settling them, ordered the sum of four hundred pounds sterling to be paid him annually out of the customs of his city of London; and one hundred per annum out of his customs in the town of Berwick upon Tweed; and as a compensation for the twenty men at arms Copeland maintained at his own expence, in the army at Durham, Edward granted him during life one hundred pounds sterling, to be yearly paid him out of the customs of his port of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Sir John Copeland (now we must call him) being returned to England, attended the queen at York, to whom, in presence of the council, he made so handsome an excuse for not delivering his royal prisoner at her desire, that both she and the council were well satisfied.

It being resolved to remove king David from the castle of Ogle to the tower of London, an indenture tripartite was prepared for that purpose, signed by the lords high chancellor and treasurer, and Thomas de Rokeby high sheriff of Yorkshire, on the 2d of January anno 1347. Now, all things being ready for that purpose, John Darcy la Piere, constable of the tower of London, was sent down to conduct him thither, for which service he was allowed twenty shillings sterling per day during his absence. The preparations made on this occasion appear to have been very great. For Sir John Copeland having assembled his relations, friends, and domesticks, who being joined by the militia of the northern counties of England, made up an army of above twenty thousand, under the leading of the lords Nevil and Piercy, and sir John Copeland, who conveying him to the limits of Yorkshire, lord Nevil delivered him to sir Thomas Rokeby, and being conducted by Rokeby at the head of the said troops to London, there, mounted on a stately courser, he was received by the lord mayor, aldermen, and the several coporations in their formalities with great solemnity, amidst an excessive multitude of spectators, who crowded thither from all parts to behold this triumphant spectacle; whence proceeding to the tower of London, he was by Rokeby delivered to John Darcy la Piere the constable, to be kept in safe custody. The whole was performed by the king's command.

By the fatal battle of Durham, the king's captivity, and great loss of the nobility, Scotland was reduced to a very low condition; inso-much that the English in the preceding year, under the conduct of Baliol, not only recovered divers castles and counties on the Scottish borders, but extended their limits to Cockburn's path and Soltrahill, with little or no resistance. Although Robert the high steward of Scotland was again chosen regent, yet it was not in his power to withstand them. Baliol judged this a proper time, not only to recover his paternal dominions in Scotland, but to reduce the kingdom itself to his obedience. To which end, in the spring he entered the country by the way of Carlisle, at the head of twenty thousand men; whilst the lords Piercy and Nevil, by contract with king Edward, agreed to act under him with a certain number of troops, with which entering the country by way of Berwick, they carried all before them without opposition, and joining Baliol, marched together towards Perth; but as

Rym. Foed.
tom. v. p. 542.

Speed's Hist.
p. 580.

An. 1347.
Rymer's Foed.
tom. v. p. 539.

Ibid. p. 551.

Barnes's hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 384.
Ashmole, p.
656.
Ex Rot. Scot.
in Tur. Lond.
20 Edw. III.
mem. 2.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.

Rym. Foed.
tom. v. p. 545.

Knyght. de
Event. Angl.
col. 2592.
Barnes's Hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 400.
Rymer's Fœd.
tom. v. p. 588,
589, 590.

to what they say of a truce granted at this time to the Scots by Baliol, on their paying him nine thousand pounds sterling, it is certainly a mistake; for the truce concluded at this time was between the kings of France and England by the pope's mediation, on the 28th of September 1347, which was to continue till the 28th of July, in the 1348, in which all their allies were included; and the Scots in particular, with this condition, "That if they did not accept of and observe the said truce, it should nevertheless continue in its full force between the English and French." Now, as in this truce Baliol's name is not mentioned, I think it is not in the least probable, that any other truce was granted at this time to the Scots. Besides, as Baliol in fact was only a nominal king, it is not to be presumed that he durst have granted to the Scots in the Brucean interest, a truce without king Edward's permission.

Ibid. p. 623,
636, 643, 660,
672, &c.

An. 1348.
Ibid. p. 618.

Ibid. p. 625.

Knyght de
Event. Angl.
col. 2597.

Be this as it will, the truce concluded between England and France, was, by the same mediation, from time to time prolonged till the 24th of June 1355, during which a proposal was made by the Scottish nobility to king Edward to ransom their king, and to send ambassadors to treat with him for that purpose; which Edward approving of, sent them a safe conduct for John bishop of Murray, and Adam bishop of Brechin, Robert Erskin, and William Meldrum, with their attendants and domesticks. This pass was dated at Westminster, the 24th day of April. But the Scots it seems judging it proper to increase the number of their plenipotentiaries, Edward at the same place, on the 30th of July following, granted them another pass for the bishops of Murray, Brechin, and Caithness, Robert Erskin and Andrew Douglas knights, William Meldrum of Bachynnanbet, and John Wigmer burghers of Edinburgh, with their attendants and servants, to the amount of one hundred, with the like number of horses.

These passes entirely destroy the idle tale of Knyghton, who tells us, that Edward, on his being applied to by the Scottish nobility for the aforesaid purpose, returned them for answer, "That as they had, in defiance of the truce, unjustly invaded England in his absence, he expected satisfaction for the damage done, before he would treat with them for the ransoming their king." This answer was so highly resented by the Scots, that drawing together a number of troops they entered England, committed great depredations by fire and sword, took a number of captives, and ransomed them at excessive rates. At which the English seeming little concerned, they proclaimed a tournament to be held at Berwick, whither the Scots, to shew their bravery, repaired in great numbers; when falling into an ambuscade, many of them were cut off, and the English entering Scotland, ravaged the country far and near, and carried off a great booty.

An. 1349.
Ibid. col.
2600.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

We are again told by the aforesaid writer, that at this time the truce was again violated by the Scots, who, without regarding the dreadful pestilence then reigning in England, as dangerous to themselves, considered it only as a particular judgment on that nation, but on their invading the country were soon made sensible of the contrary; for being seized by the direful malady, it carried off some thousands of them, and many being killed in their retreat homewards, the rest carried the plague along with them, where it raged to such a shocking degree, that it swept away about one third of the people.

This

This dreadful and unparalleled distemper, according to most writers, had its rise in the eastern parts of Asia, occasioned by sulphurous eruptions from the earth, which, rolling along in smoky clouds, emitted great flames, impregnated with such a pestiferous stench, that it quickly destroyed all sorts of animals within the space of above six hundred miles; and continuing its course westwards, over-ran the rest of Asia and Europe, in opposition to all that could be devised to stop its progress; for neither spiritual nor temporal means availing, all gave way to its furious rage, many countries being entirely desolated, and others lost above half their inhabitants; whilst those who came off the best, lost a third or fourth part of their people. In short, the destruction was so great, that the people in Asia said to have been cut off by it, amounted to twenty-three millions eight hundred and forty thousand. And by the dreadful ravages committed by it in Europe, there could not have been many less; for in one year, in one cemetery in London, (now the Charter-house) were buried above fifty thousand, besides those interred in the several burying-grounds belonging to churches and monasteries; in the city of Paris, fifty thousand; and in divers others, numbers incredible, viz. in Venice one hundred thousand, in Lubeck ninety thousand, in Florence sixty thousand, and in other places according to the number of their inhabitants. This, by all writers, is reckoned the most destructive pestilence mentioned in history.

Hen. Knyght.
de Event.
Ang. col.
2598.
Barnes's Hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 431.
Mezeray ad
an. 1348.

Now although Scotland, by this terrible plague, and their late grievous misfortunes, was reduced to the greatest misery, yet the people could not abstain from domestick mischief; for David Barclay, who slew Bullock some time before, was now aiding and assisting in the murder of John Douglas, for which William Douglas of Lidsdale, a prisoner in England, caused him to be slain by his tenants: which, on his return to Scotland, he did not long survive; for he was killed, as he was hunting, by William Douglas, son of Archibald, newly arrived from France, for this and the murder of the celebrated general sir Alexander Ramsay. Nor were the highland clans free from jars among themselves.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

REMARK. That the above relation of Knyghton's, of the Scots having invaded England at this time, is false, for divers reasons: 1. It is not in the least probable, that the Scots would have risked their own lives, by making incursions into a country afflicted with the most dreadful plague that ever happened, when parents avoided their children, children their parents, and all men their friends, as if, by an intercourse, they were sure of immediate death. But the more effectually to refute this relation, instead of there having been any act of hostility committed between the two nations, from the 6th of August in the preceding year, to the latter end of December, anno 1355, there appears to have been the greatest tranquillity; as is manifest, by there having been no less than forty-three publick transactions betwixt king Edward and the Scots, during which time there is not the least appearance of any difference having happened between the two kingdoms.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. v. p.
632, 634, 646,
654, 657, &c.

One of the said transactions was a negociation between the kings of England and France, which at length ended in the prolongation of the truce aforesaid, till the 1st of April in the following year; to which Edward the more willingly agreed, on his being convinced, from the obstinacy of the Scots in support of their king, though a prisoner in England,

Ibid. p. 779,
781.

England, that it would not be an easy matter to reduce Scotland, so long as he was at war with France. This consideration inclined him to patch up a peace with the Scots, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity to renew the war. But a peace not being to be had, without the release of their king, Edward, to settle this point, named commissioners to treat with the Scots. This negociation, which continued for some time, ended at last in a treaty, concluded at Newcastle upon Tyne, on the 13th of July in the present year; whereby Edward agreed to release David, for a ransom of ninety thousand marks sterling.

Rym. Fœder.
tom.v.p. 791.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

During the remaining time of the truce, matters continued in a state of tranquillity and repose between Scotland and England: but it expiring on the 24th of June, anno 1355, the war was renewed again; for Philip the French king being dead, and his son John come to the crown, he perceived that a rupture between him and king Edward was inevitable; wherefore he sent Eugene de Garantier, with forty cavaliers, ambassador to Scotland, to prevent the Scots, in their low circumstances, from concluding a peace with England. These brought with them forty thousand crowns in specie, to levy troops withal; which, instead of being employed in that service, the nobility divided amongst themselves, and resolved to carry on the war in the ancient manner, by sudden incursions and brisk attacks: of which the English no sooner received advice, than they entered Scotland, and destroyed the county of Lothian.

Id. ibid.

To revenge this, Patrick earl of March, and William earl of Douglas, assembled a considerable army; and having placed a part of it in ambush, sir William Ramsay (by Buchanan called David) of Dalhousy, with part of the host, crossed the river Tweed, and burnt the town of Norham; and returning with a considerable booty, was attacked by the decoyed English, who, falling into the ambuscade, were surprized and defeated. Flushed with this success, and being joined by Thomas earl of Angus, and the party under his command, they marched by night to Berwick, to surprize it; but being discovered by some of the garrison, a sharp conflict ensued, wherein, after considerable loss, they became masters of the town: but having attacked the castle, were beat off with no little slaughter.

Barnes's Hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 486.

Rym. Fœd.
tom.v.p. 828,
829.

An. 1356.

Knyghton,
col. 2611.
Rob. Avesb.
cap. 103.

King Edward, then abroad in France, on the receipt of this news, hastened home with great expedition, to recover the town of Berwick, and save its castle; and being arrived at London, after a few days stay with his parliament in that city, set out for Scotland, on his ninth expedition: and arriving at Durham on the 23d of December, in this year, he wrote to the sheriff of Yorkshire, and others, to raise all the men within their respective jurisdictions, from the age of sixteen years to that of sixty, for the defence of England, against his enemies the Scots, who then had a great number of troops assembled on the borders, ready to invade the kingdom. The forces ordered, being arrived at Newcastle upon Tyne at the time prefixed, Edward began his march towards Berwick upon Tweed; which the Scots in garrison there being apprized of, and rightly judging that they were not in a condition to withstand him, they demolished the walls, burnt the town, and marched off. Which, I think, is a relation much more probable than the story told us by Knyghton and Avesbury, of their having waited Edward's arrival, who invested the town both by land and water;

water; and having then entered the castle (which still held out for him) with his guards, intended, by letting down the drawbridge across the castle-ditch, to attack the town on that side: and, if all these great preparations should miscarry, sir Walter Manny was to be employed in springing a mine, prepared by certain miners brought by him from the forest of Dean. And that the Scots, being greatly intimidated at those vast preparations, offered to surrender on the terms of life, limb, and liberty to depart; which being granted by Edward, they marched out accordingly. This, I think, is not in the least probable; for Edward was not of a disposition to have granted the Scots such terms, after they had occasioned him so much pains, in bringing him from France to Scotland at this juncture.

Tyr. Hist.
Engl. vol. iii.
p. 591.

King Edward, having repossessed himself of the town of Berwick, and left a force sufficient for its defence, marched his army farther into Scotland, with a resolution to reduce it to such a state of subjection, that it should not be in their power to rebel again. And being arrived at Roxburgh, accompanied by his imaginary king Baliol, who had indeed the command of his troops in Scotland, though they were so few that not being able to make any progress, he spent his time in a melancholy manner, with a pension of five marks daily allowed him by Edward, with a small addition for his extraordinary expences. Besides, there are many other mortifying instances of his servile dependence on Edward, particularly the frequent pardons he obtained for hunting in his forests; and plainly enough appears to have been only the shadow of a king, made use of by Edward to accomplish his ends. In the interval, he now determined to throw off the mask, and openly avow his intentions; which he did by obliging Baliol to resign all his right and pretensions to the crown of Scotland, for a pitiful annuity of 2000 *l.* sterling yearly!

Holinghead,
Hist. Scot.

Rapin, Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 429.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. v. p. 870.

This resignation proved fatal to king David, who had the mortification to see himself more closely confined, and to lose the hopes he had conceived of recovering his liberty. But to be a little more explicit on the affair of Baliol's resignation, it is necessary to have recourse to the publick acts of those times; in which it appears that Baliol, on the 20th day of January, resigned to Edward the kingdom of Scotland, with the isles thereunto belonging, and all the rights, royalties, privileges, laws, dignities, golden crown, &c. And at the same time Baliol, by a separate deed, made over to king Edward all his paternal dominions in Scotland, England, the isles, and province of Galloway, with their appurtenances. Thus the brave, though unfortunate, prince Baliol was so duped by king Edward, that he became the mock of the people and the play of fortune; and at length was obliged to sacrifice his all to the ungenerous Edward, who made him his tool, to obtain his ambitious ends. But, not satisfied with his all, he endeavoured to destroy his reputation, by putting the following reasons for divesting himself of his royalty and paternal dominions, into a formal deed under his hand and seal.

Ibid. p. 832,
833, 835, 836,
837, 838, 839,
840.

Ibid. p. 845.

“ That considering the great risk men run, in regard to their precious and immortal souls, by the great ravages, depredations, and slaughters committed by them, occasioned by the frequent and obstinate rebellions of the Scots; who, at the instigation of the devil, had so often revolted against the king of England, their superior lord; and, instead of assisting himself, as in duty bound, that many

Ib. cap. 834;
835.

“ of the nobility, his own relations, had made leagues and affociations
 “ against him, attacked his person, and endeavoured his ruin, not-
 “ withstanding his propensity to peace and quietness, which he had
 “ never been able to accomplish ; nor could he now hope, by reason
 “ of his great age and weakness of body, to compass those desir-
 “ ends. But as he dreaded that, after his demise, new troubles would
 “ arise concerning the succession to the crown, since it was well known
 “ that the Brucean family had no right to it, he thought that his
 “ cousin and superior lord, Edward king of England, by his great
 “ power, was the fittest person to subdue the rebels, and by his cle-
 “ mency to protect the good, which he himself had experienced by
 “ the gracious acceptance of his homage for the kingdom of Scotland,
 “ when he might have taken it into his own hands ; and that ever
 “ since he had conferred on him good offices, without number ; and
 “ as, by an union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, he
 “ would be enabled to reduce his enemies both at home and abroad ;
 “ he, for that reason, had made over to him the crown, kingdom,
 “ and islands of Scotland. Dated at Roxburgh, the 30th of January,
 “ 1356.”

Knyght. de
 Event. Angl.

By this infamous conveyance, his heirs were not only stripped of all pretensions to the crown, but of all the family inheritances, and himself was reduced to the state of a private man, in which he lived till the year 1363 ; when, according to Knyghton, he died at Doncaster in Yorkshire.

REMARK. What induced Edward at this time to prevail on Baliol to resign the crown of Scotland, I know not, unless it were the inflexible obstinacy of the Scots, who would neither admit of Edward's superiority over them, nor be under the government of his mean-spirited creature Baliol ; who not only acknowledged his superiority over Scotland, but did him homage and fealty both for the crown and kingdom as his vassal ; which was the greatest detestation to the Scots, who, rather than submit to that state of slavery, were determined to sacrifice their all : of which Edward being fully convinced, was now willing to get out of the destructive and unprofitable Scottish war ; but as that could not be done with honour, while Baliol remained king, he, I imagine, prevailed on Baliol to resign both his crown and kingdom, seemingly without constraint or compulsion, whereby he would be empowered, in an honourable way, to treat with king David, both for his ransom, and restoration to his crown and kingdom, without abandoning Baliol, whom he had artfully drawn in to justify his usurped superiority.

Rym. Fœd.
 tom.v. p.846.

Knyghton,
 col. 2611.

Be that as it will, Edward, by Baliol's resignation, being fully possessed (as he imagined) of the sovereignty of Scotland, endeavoured to persuade the people that he would now become their gracious prince ; and, to shew that he would, he published a declaration, setting forth, that he would not, in the least, encroach on or alter the laws of their country. But the Scots, so far from listening to what he said, would hear of nothing but what tended to the redemption of their king David. By a certain English writer we are told, that during Edward's stay at Roxburgh, the earl of Douglas, with others of the Scottish nobility, came to treat with him concerning a peace, as if they designed to yield to him ; and the time for commencing the treaty being on the 8th day thereafter, the Scots, in the interval, having carried off and secured

secured their provisions and best effects, Douglas sent to assure king Edward that he would never submit to him. Irritated at this, Edward, dividing his army into three large bodies, burnt and destroyed the country, which being destitute of provisions, the English were reduced to great necessity; for being, as it were, surrounded by Scottish parties, they cut off all that presumed to stir from their camp. Edward's fleet, with provisions for his army, having greatly suffered by a violent storm at sea, he, to revenge this disaster on the Scots, destroyed Edinburgh and Haddington, with other towns in the neighbourhood, with many churches and religious houses; insomuch that the time when this desolation happened, the Scots called the burnt Candlemas.

Barnes's Hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 491.

As to what is said of king Edward's being crowned at Scone, on Baliol's resignation, as mentioned in an ancient English manuscript in the library of Christ's church college in Cambridge, it is entirely false. The author is laughed at by the writer who cites it, seeing Edward never used that title, nor is the same mentioned in any other writer.

From 1347, the year after king David's captivity, to that of 1357, divers embassies were appointed, and commissioners named, to treat of David's ransom and liberty; but all without success, till the resignation of Baliol in the preceding year. David, on this occasion, having obtained permission of Edward to return to Scotland, on his giving twenty of the principal men of his kingdom as hostages, to secure his return to England, in case of not obtaining what he went for, viz. to prevail with his people to agree to certain conditions insisted on by king Edward for his delivery, posted to Scotland. But not succeeding, he returned to Berwick; where being exchanged for his hostages, he set out for his former prison, the tower of London. One of the aforesaid treaties, which was concluded by the plenipotentiaries on both sides, and ratified both by king Edward and Edward his son, prince of Wales, was not approved of by the Scots, for what reason I cannot learn, though it appears to have been a much better one than they had reason to expect in their low circumstances: nay, they were soon after glad to accept of one much more to their disadvantage, and, instead of ninety thousand marks sterling, they were now obliged to pay one hundred thousand marks for David's ransom.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. v. p. 799,
800.

Previous to the account of this treaty, it is necessary to observe, that the Scots not approving of the former one, is supposed to be owing to their unwillingness to conclude it without the French king's approbation: but he being taken prisoner by the prince of Wales, at the battle of Poitiers in France, a truce, by the mediation of the pope, was agreed on between England and France for the space of two years; in which although the Scots were not included, yet, by the same mediation, the commissioners on both sides met, on the 3d of October, at Berwick upon Tweed. Those for Scotland were William bishop of St. Andrews, Thomas bishop of Caithness, Patrick bishop of Brechin and chancellor of Scotland, Patrick earl of March, sir Robert Erskine, and sir William Levingstone. On the behalf of England were John archbishop of York, Thomas bishop of Durham, Gilbert bishop of Carlisle, and the lords Piercy, Newill, Scroop, and Musgrave, who agreed on the following articles:

1. That king David shall be ransomed and released for the sum of one hundred thousand marks sterling, to be paid within the space of

Ib. tom. vi. 52;
p. 53, 54, &c.

ten years, viz. ten thousand marks yearly; the first payment to be made the following Midsummer at Berwick upon Tweed.

2. That a firm truce be kept between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and the isle of Man, during the space of ten years, or till the whole ransom be paid; and that Edward de Baliol and John of the Isles, as allies of the king of England, be included in this truce.

3. For the performance of this treaty, David shall deliver twenty hostages to the king of England, the same with those of the treaty in the year 1354, viz. the eldest sons of the steward of Scotland, with those of the earls of Sutherland, March, and Wigton, and of the lords Cuningham, Graham, Levingstone, Erskin, Fullerton, Stuart of Darnley, Hay of Loclinwart, Gray, Wemys, Kennedy, Berkley, &c.

4. If the money was not paid at the times agreed on, king David shall return into England, and render himself a prisoner, there to remain till his whole ransom be paid; and in case he were prevented from going thither, he shall send in his stead the lord steward of Scotland, the lord Douglas, and Thomas Murray; and failing of them, three others of the highest quality. To the performance of which, David not only swore, but declared himself infamous, and to be degraded from all honour and dignities, and commanded his subjects to expel him, as unworthy to be their king, if ever he infringed it.

5. The king, together with his nobility, both temporal and spiritual, and merchants, bind and oblige themselves, as principal debtors, for the said ransom money, under the penalty of incurring the censures of the church, and to be deprived the communion of the faithful, in case they should not pay the said money at the terms abovementioned.

The other articles of less consequence I omit. This treaty was ratified two days after by king David, and the Scottish deputies from the nobility, royal boroughs, and clergy, in the most solemn manner; and was confirmed in the parliament held at Scone, on the 6th of the following month of November; and two days after was ratified by king Edward.

Barnes's Hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 529.
Knyghton,
col. 2617.
n^o 40.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. vi. p. 52,
53, 54, &c.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

As to what is asserted by Barnes, from Knyghton, that in the first article of this treaty is set forth, that king David should promise never to bear arms against king Edward in England, it is a manifest untruth; as also is that of his promising not to advise or assist his subjects to that end. However, the peace being proclaimed, David was released from his ten years captivity, and conducted by divers of the English quality to the frontiers of Scotland, where he was received at Berwick by the chief of the Scottish nobility. And having, soon after his arrival, summoned a parliament, to inquire into the behaviour of his principal officers in the battle of Durham, he made his nephew, by his eldest sister, Robert high steward of Scotland, and late regent of the kingdom, the first example of his severity, for deserting him there, by repealing the act of parliament which intailed the crown upon him and his heirs, and settling it upon his other nephew, son to the earl of Sutherland by his youngest sister. But he dying soon after in England of the pestilence, (being an hostage for the king's ransom) Robert, thereupon reconciled to his uncle, was restored to his right. How far this is true, will be examined afterwards. David also rewarded all those who had contributed towards the interest and welfare of the kingdom, during his absence.

As the Scots, by the abovementioned treaty, were obliged to pay the sum of one hundred thousand marks for their king's ransom, in the space of ten years, the first annual payment of ten thousand marks was duly paid on the 24th of June. But David wisely considering, that by the long and destructive wars, famine, pestilence, the disuse of agriculture, and want of commerce, the kingdom was reduced to such a great degree of poverty, that it was not possible for him to be punctual as to the second payment, and to avoid the dreadful penalties to be incurred, in case of non-payment at the terms appointed, sent Jean his consort, sister to king Edward, with a noble train into England, to endeavour to obtain of her brother a prolongation of time to pay the money in. But Jean's intercession not having the desired success, David, about the latter end of autumn, repaired thither himself, to try what he could do in that respect; but all that could be obtained was, that king Edward, at his sister's entreaty, prolonged the time of the second payment from the 24th of June till the Martinmas following. However, a free commerce between the kingdoms of England and Scotland was allowed of, and the Scottish youths were permitted to study in the universities of England, at David's request.

This is the time, as some writers say, that king Edward, to display his glory, sat at table, in the Christmas-holidays, between the kings of Scotland and France, with his crown on. His historian has endeavoured to clear him of this piece of ostentation, by saying that the kings of France and Scotland were never prisoners in England at any one Christmas; which is, however, contradicted by one of our modern writers.

David, unwilling to incur the dreadful penalties aforesaid, endeavoured to his utmost to raise money to pay his ransom: but his own people not being able to raise the sum, he, on the 10th of May, sent sir Robert Erskine, sir John Grant, and Norman Lesly, his ambassadors to France, to renew the ancient league with that nation; who arriving at Paris on the 15th of June, prince Charles, the regent of the kingdom, in the absence of his father, then a prisoner in England, appointed sir Simon de Bucy and John Chalemart commissioners to treat with them. Being met, the former delivered to the latter a copy of the treaty concluded at Berwick upon Tweed, with a concise account of the long and destructive war carried on by their king and country against the English; with a declaration, that had not their king absolutely refused to renounce his alliance with France, he might, long ere now, have obtained his liberty on much easier terms; but relying on the assistance of France, he had only treated with the king of England for his redemption, for which he had agreed to pay the sum of one hundred thousand marks sterling; and, to secure the payment, had given as hostages many of the principal men of his kingdom, who could not be discharged till the whole sum was paid; and that, during the terms of payment, a peace was concluded between the two nations for the space of ten years, which while it continued, they could not justly renew the war, though their inclination thereto was ever so strong: but were the money paid, and their hostages discharged, they could justly recommence hostilities. Now as France, when required, is obliged to be aiding and assisting to Scotland, they demanded such succours as were necessary in the present juncture.

An. 1358.
Rym. Feed.
tom. vi. p. 91.

Ibid. p. 73,
75, 82.

Barnes's Hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 549.
Hen. Knyght.
col. 2619. n. 2.

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. ii. p. 123.
An. 1359.
Barnes's Hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 550.
Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. ii. p. 123.

Ibid. p. 124.
MS. penes
com. de Win-
ton.

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. ii. p. 125.

To this the French commissioners returned for answer, That by the ancient league the Scots were to conclude neither peace nor truce with England, without including the king and kingdom of France therein: that France being now at war with England, and the king himself, with a number of the chief nobility prisoners there, the French were not in a condition to assist the Scots so effectually as they would: but, if the Scots would renew the war against England, they were willing not only to advance to them the sum of fifty thousand marks sterling, but would give up an article in a former treaty, whereby they were obliged to supply the French with five hundred men at arms, with the like number of archers. This treaty was concluded by the plenipotentiaries in the royal palace at Paris, and ratified by the regent on the 29th of June, anno 1359. But whether this treaty was carried into execution is very uncertain, for divers reasons.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. vi.
p. 142, 143.

1. Although it appears that the second part of king David's ransom was now paid at the towns of Bruges, Calais, and Verizy, yet the money cannot be supposed to have been advanced by the French, since the regent was not obliged to pay the quota he engaged for till the Easter following; and by that time there was such a change in the affairs of France, that he was not in a condition; for, at that period, Edward king of England was before the city of Paris with an army of an hundred thousand men, intent on the conquest of the whole kingdom. In the mean time a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain happening, which killed six thousand of his horses and a thousand of his men, he imagined it to be a judgment sent by heaven to punish him, for not making a peace with the French on equitable terms; wherefore he resolved to conclude a treaty with them on more easy conditions, which being soon after agreed on, the French wickedly gave up the Scots, and renounced their alliance with them. This infamously separate treaty was ratified on the 24th of October at Calais, by the kings of England and France; the latter whereof paid to the former the sum of three millions of crowns for his ransom.

An. 1360.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. vi.
p. 234, 235.

An. 1362.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. vi.
p. 361.

David, disappointed of money from France, left no means untried to pay the remainder. To gain time for that purpose, being then at London, he proposed to treat about a final peace; and, to that end, named William bishop of St. Andrews, Patrick bishop of Brechin, sir Robert Erskin, Walter Wardlaw archdeacon of Lewis, and Norman Lesley, his commissioners. And Edward, although some time before he had concluded a peace with France, considering with himself the vast resistance made by the Scots, the great damage done him and his predecessors in a war for the space of about seventy years, and that nothing was to be obtained of them but hunger and hard blows, named commissioners to treat with those named by David, who, at Westminster, on the 27th of November, anno 1363, in presence of both kings, drew up an indenture of the following purport:

Ibid. p. 426,
427.

1. That, towards a perpetual agreement and happy union of the two nations, the king of Scotland shall propose to the states of his kingdom, that, in case of his demise without heirs of his body, they would agree and consent, that the king of England or his heirs should succeed to the crown of Scotland; and, if they could be prevailed on to agree, the king of England, in consideration thereof, promised to give up to the Scots the town and castle of Berwick upon Tweed, the castles of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Lochmaban, together with the circum-

circumjacent countries, and all the lands in his or his relation's possession, that belonged to Robert Bruce, late king of Scotland, and father to the present king David.

2. That Edward would remit and forgive the remaining part of king David's ransom, (eighty thousand marks sterling) and give up all the hostages, obligations, and monuments concerning the said ransom.

3. That he would give ample satisfaction to the earl of Athol, the lords Beaumont, Piercy, Ferrers, as heirs of Talbot, and to all others, for their claims and possessions in Scotland, granted since David was a prisoner in England; and those who are in possession of the said lands, they and their heirs, to enjoy them in a quiet and peaceable manner, without disturbance.

4. That he would restore to, and put the king of Scotland in possession of, all the lands and dominions held by his ancestors in England, (which were the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Huntingdon, and the palatinate of Chester, with divers other lands and rents; for which they were to do homage and fealty to the king of England and his successors, for the said counties, lands, and rents only.

5. That the name, stile, or title of the kingdom of Scotland shall, in all times coming, be preserved with honour, and a proper deference, without union or annexation to the kingdom of England. [Which plainly demonstrates this to have been a federal, and not an incorporating union.]

6. That after the sovereign's being crowned king of England, he shall repair to Scotland, to be crowned at Scone, on the royal seat or throne, (called the marble chair) which shall be sent from England for that purpose.

7. That he shall hold his Scottish parliaments within the kingdom of Scotland, and no where else.

8. At his coronation, he shall swear to maintain the church of Scotland free and independent of all archbishops whatever, other than the see of Rome: also to maintain the laws and statutes made by the good kings of Scotland; and that he would neither call nor suffer any Scottishman to be called out of the kingdom of Scotland, to any judicatory whatsoever.

9. That he should suffer none of the ecclesiastical dignities or revenues within Scotland, to be conferred on any but Scottishmen.

10. That all prelates, earls, barons, and freeholders, shall be maintained in all the rights and privileges they then enjoyed.

11. That earl Douglas shall be restored to the lands enjoyed by his father and uncles in England.

12. That no grants made by the present king David, or his predecessors, be repealed.

13. That the merchants of Scotland shall have liberty to traffick in England, and to purchase wool, on paying a duty of half a mark upon each sack.

14. That the king, wherever he happens to be, shall have a council of Scottish peers, to direct the affairs of Scotland.

15. That no taxes shall be imposed on Scotland, other than those enacted by the best of their kings.

16. That the Scots shall not be obliged to serve in war, or keep the field, at their own expence, above forty days at a time; and if, on an exigency

exigency of affairs, they were required to continue longer in the service, they shall be paid out of the exchequer, according to their several ranks and quality.

17. That, as soon as the king shall be crowned at Scone, the articles of this agreement shall be read both to him and the people; the former taking an oath to keep them inviolable.

18. In a word, the king of England was willing, by the advice of his council, to grant whatever else the three communities of Scotland should ask, for their further security.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. vi. p. 427.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Barnes's Hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 551.
An. 1364.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. vi. p. 451.

Ibid. p. 464,
465.

Ibid.

The indenture thus drawn up, and both kings withdrawn from the assembly, without signing it, the English commissioners asked those of Scotland, what return the Scots would make to the king of England for the town, castle, and district of Berwick, with other castles and lands given up to them, in case their king should have heirs of his own body to succeed him. The answer not being recorded, I cannot ascertain it; yet, notwithstanding of these great advantages proposed by the English to the Scots, to bring about a federal union between the two nations, they were not sufficient to prevail on them to give up their independency; for the above treaty was no sooner brought before them in parliament, than the members, in a tumultuous manner, expressed their detestation of it, not permitting it to be brought to a vote; than which nothing can be more unaccountable, when their country was reduced to a very great degree of misery, by a destructive war of near seventy years continuance.

These transactions then proving abortive, king David, with his new consort Margaret Logy, (his queen Jean having died in the year 1358) repaired, by king Edward's licence, to England, to visit the shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury, probably to implore the saint's intercession, to obtain of God children by his new queen. Be that as it will, she continued childless. And the ten years truce drawing towards a conclusion, David began to think of retrieving his credit, and securing his hostages: the only way to accomplish this, was to renew the truce; to which end he sent William bishop of St. Andrews, sir Robert Erskin, Walter Wardlaw, and Gilbert Armstrong, his plenipotentiaries to London; who, on the 20th of May following, agreed on the following terms:

1. That as the king of Scotland and his people had failed in the yearly payment relating to the king's ransom, they, to avoid the penalties incurred thereby, shall become debtors to the king of England in the sum of 100,000*l.* sterling, payable within the space of twenty-five years, at the rate of 4000*l.* yearly.

2. That a truce be kept between the two nations during the said twenty-five years, unless that either or both the kings should chuse to renew the war.

3. That the truce concluded at Berwick, on the 3d of October, 1357, shall be prolonged till the approaching Candlemas, and from that period to the year 1370. In the interim, means shall be used to bring about a final peace; but, if that cannot be effected, the truce shall nevertheless be continued, conformable to the first and second articles; and, if the king of England renews the war, the obligation given him for the sum of 100,000*l.* sterling, shall become null and void; and whatever may be paid of that sum by the king of Scotland, during the four years prolongation of the said truce, the same shall be deducted

deducted out of the sum of eighty thousand marks, the remaining part of the sum due for king David's ransom, according to the first agreement; and the king of England, before he begins a new war, shall give half a year's notice thereof to the king of Scotland.

4. That if the king of Scotland, after the expiration of the said four years truce, shall think fit to renew the war, he shall give half a year's notice to the king of England of his design, and be obliged to pay the sum of 100,000 *l.* sterling, according to the late truce.

This treaty was ratified by David at Edinburgh on the 12th of June, and by Edward at Windsor on the 20th of the same month.

Matters thus settled between the kings of England and Scotland, David, by the publick records of England, during the four years truce, appears to have been very punctual in his annual payments of the remaining parts of his ransom. But in the year 1369, a war having broke out between England and France, king Edward was told, that the Scots, whom he dreaded more than the French, had renewed their ancient alliance with France. But this renewal is not mentioned by any of our own writers, that I can learn; and the transactions then between the two nations, refute its existence.

For David, on this occasion, no doubt, remembering how basely he had been served by the French king, who, in the late treaty with Edward, had deserted and offered him, as it were, a sacrifice to the great power of England; on the 20th of July, by the advice of his council, renewed the truce with Edward for the space of fourteen years: in consideration whereof the king of England remitted the sum of two thousand marks yearly of the remaining part of his ransom, which still amounted to fifty-six thousand marks sterling; whereby, instead of paying yearly 4000 *l.* he was only to pay four thousand marks per ann. till the debt was discharged. But still being unable to pay that sum punctually, he repaired to London the year after; where, in a treaty with Edward, the annual payment to be made by him was prolonged from Candlemas to Midsummer. Arriving soon after from London, he was seized with a fever, and died, say historians, in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 7th of May, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, and forty-seventh of his age. Both are mistakes, as appears by an incontestable authority, which says, that David swore to and signed the deed, with many of his nobility, for prolonging the truce aforesaid, at Edinburgh, on the 20th of July, anno 1369; and another at London on the 4th of June, in the year 1370, both in the fortieth year of his reign. Besides, by a much better authority than either Boece or Buchanan, we are told, that David signed near twenty other charters, anno 1371, in the forty-first year of his reign.

It was David's great misfortune that his father died while he was an infant; and still a greater evil, that Edward king of England, his brother-in-law, sacrificed every thing to his ambition; for soon after David's accession to the crown, he broke the sacred treaty concluded between him and the late king Robert, and ratified in the most solemn manner in parliament, by which he renounced, in the strongest terms, all his pretended right of superiority over Scotland; yet nevertheless he clandestinely encouraged Edward Baliol to put in for the crown of Scotland, only to secure it for himself; for he obliged his dupe, Baliol, to resign it, with all his pretensions, to himself, for a pitiful annuity of 2000 *l.* sterling. Yet he was at last obliged to give it up to David,

Rym. Fœd.
tom. vi. p. 464,
465.

Barnes's Hist.
of Edw. III.
p. 740.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. vi. p. 632,
633.

An. 1370.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 15:
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. vi. p. 632,
633.

Edit. Haw-
thornden's
works, an.
1711.

K. David's
character.

and acknowledged him right and lawful king of Scotland, after an immense expence of blood and treasure, and no less than nine expeditions into Scotland.

All things being ready for Edward's first expedition, the regents of Scotland, to secure their infant king and his younger consort, conveyed them to France, where they were royally entertained for many years. This was a great misfortune, for he was brought up as it were a stranger to the laws and customs of his own kingdom, which he often found of great disservice to him. Being returned to Scotland after an exile of nine years, it was not long before he made divers invasions into England, in the last of which he had the misfortune of being taken prisoner at the battle of Durham, and continued in captivity for the space of eleven years.* In all his misfortunes, he was never known to shew the least meanness of spirit or dastardly behaviour, and, on all occasions, shewed himself to be an accomplished though an unhappy prince; and it may justly be said, that had he had another country, another enemy, another education, and other circumstances of time, he might have proved as glorious a monarch as any of his predecessors. He had issue by neither of his queens.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.

Upon the demise of king David II. the male branch of the family of Bruce being extinct, Robert Stuart high steward of Scotland, and grandson to Robert, by the title of Robert II. succeeded to the crown on the 22d of February anno 1371, by right of blood, and not, as asserted by Boece, by election of the nobility assembled at Linlithgow.

Robert II. being the first king of the race of Stuart, 'tis necessary to premise a few things concerning his family, which is by all writers agreed to be of a royal extract, but in what degree is unknown; as is also the origin of their house, by the great diversity of opinions. However, 'tis undoubted that he was descended of Bancho thane of Lochaber, who, with his three sons, were murdered by the usurper Macbeth, about the year 1043. But Fleance, his fourth son, escaping by favour of night, fled to the court of Malcolm Canmore in Cumberland; whence retiring to that of Griffith ap Lewellin prince of North Wales, (according to Camden, our genealogies, sanachies, and 'tis said the Welsh bards) he married his daughter Nesta, on whom he begot a son named Walter; but being a man of parts, he drew on him the hatred of the Welsh nobility, who being apprehensive of his engrossing the love of their prince, and the chief posts at court, they not only by false insinuations brought on him his father-in-law's hatred, but caused him to be murdered by ruffians engaged for that purpose, in the 25th year of his age. Walter his son no sooner came of age, than he revenged his father's death by killing the murderer, for which he was obliged to fly the country; and at length arriving in Scotland, was graciously received by king Malcolm, who not only bestowed on him certain lands, but constituted him high steward of the kingdom.

Walter dying in the year 1093, left six sons and three daughters. Alan the eldest son, who succeeded him both in office and estate, dying about the year 1153, was succeeded by Walter his eldest son: he, according to the custom of the times, was very liberal in bestowing benefactions on religious foundations; and dying in the year 1177, was succeeded by his eldest son Alan, who was as profusely liberal in his donations to the lazy monks as any of his predecessors: and, after his return from the holy war, signalized himself against the Moravian

ravian rebels, having, in a bloody conflict in the neighbourhood of Inverness, killed Roderick their general with his own hand. He dying anno 1204, was succeeded by his son Walter of Dundonald, probably so stiled from its being the place of its birth, though in common his title was high steward of Scotland. This appellation, which at first was restricted to the office, is now converted into the surname of the family.

Walter, for his great abilities and numerous services done the government, was by Alexander II. appointed justiciary of the kingdom; in which he continued till the year 1241, when he died; and being succeeded by his son Walter, Robert I. for his great services, conferred on him his daughter Marjory in marriage, in the year 1315, together with many lands and baronies; but Marjory the year after returning from Paisley to Renfrew, had the misfortune by a fall from her horse to lose her life: being far advanced in her pregnancy, the Cæsarian operation was performed on her by an unskilful hand, who in the performance wounded the infant in the eye with his instrument, who, when advanced to the throne, was called King bleared-eye; and in commemoration of the misfortune of his mother, a cross was erected on the spot where the accident happened, which at present is improperly called Queen bleared-eye's cross.

On the demise of king David II. Robert Stewart his nephew succeeded him in a quiet manner, the act of succession in favour of the earl of Sutherland's eldest son being reversed by the death of that youth, then a hostage in England, as before related. However, the truth of this relation may justly be questioned, for first, it is not mentioned in the writings of any of our historians (that I can learn) previous to that of Fordun's continuator, Boece and Buchanan; nor since by any writer I have seen. Nay, immediately after the battle of Durham, in which the king was taken prisoner, Robert, instead of being mal-treated by his sovereign, was constituted regent of the kingdom; who during his regency, for the space of about eleven years, exerted himself to the utmost of his power for David's relief; which being at last accomplished by agreeing for his ransom, he sent John, his eldest son, as one of the hostages into England, to secure the payment of the ransom, and if needful, was to send all his other children successively as sureties till that debt was fully discharged. Secondly, he also engaged himself, that in case of non-payment of the ransom; or if David should refuse to surrender himself a prisoner to Edward, with two other lords to surrender themselves in his stead.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. vi. p. 48.

But, lest the above relation should prove insufficient to defame Robert, the same writers have charged him with a crime of a very high nature, that is, of spoiling his lawfully-begotten children by Eupham Ross his consort, of their inheritance, and conferring the succession to the crown on his son John, a bastard (say they) by Elizabeth Mure; which, if true, would justly have rendered him odious to God and men; nor could he reasonably expect a confirmation of his iniquitous scheme by parliament, (had he had never such an inclination) seeing never men were more tenacious of their rights and privileges than they. Besides, such a step as this might have involved the nation in a war, to its own destruction. But divers of our antiquaries and best historians having taken into consideration the dishonour done to king Robert II. by this fable, have, by sundry acts of parliament,

ment, and many charters, effectually refuted it, by shewing that John earl of Carrick, son to Elizabeth Mure, was Robert's eldest son, and true and lawful heir to the crown, as Elizabeth Mure, instead of having been Robert's concubine, was his first and lawful consort and queen: but as the writings and records by which this is evidenced, are too numerous and prolix to be treated of in a work of this kind, it shall suffice to mention one act of parliament made at Scone on the 27th of March anno 1371, containing a declaration, the most solemn that could be devised, or perhaps ever was made in any nation; which not only confirms Robert's own right to the crown, but acknowledged John earl of Carrick, steward of Scotland, to be his eldest son, and true and lawful heir to the crown. Accordingly, the prelates, earls, states, &c. in parliament assembled, with hands uplifted towards heaven in the most solemn manner, severally and unanimously swore, that if the said John earl of Carrick do survive his father king Robert, that he shall succeed him as his first-born, true, and lawful son and heir; and farther declared for themselves and successors, that the said John should be their king, and that they would assist and defend him against all men whatsoever.

Archives in
parl. house.

To this memorable act, to distinguish it in a more eminent manner, fifty-two seals of the chief men of the kingdom are affixed; which, together with the instrument, are still to be seen in the national archives in the lower parliament-house at Edinburgh.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

It may, perhaps, be alledged, that Robert's declaration in parliament in favour of John, might prevail on the states to comply: 'tis therefore necessary to observe, that that could not be the case, for had Robert had the strongest inclination to have imposed upon them, it was not in his power to have done it, for they, and all the rest of the kingdom, must have known, as well as himself, whether Elizabeth Mure was his consort or concubine. Besides, it no where appears, that I can learn, that either Euphame Ross, (by Boece and Buchanan falsely said to have been Robert's first queen) or her son the earl of Strathern, ever disputed John's accession to the crown, which they undoubtedly would, had they known him to be a bastard.

Robert no sooner came to the crown, than he met with some opposition from William earl of Douglas, who claimed the kingdom as a descendant by the female line from Dervegild, the sister of John Baliol. This being in direct opposition to the Brucean family, was rejected by all true lovers of their country, nay, even by the best friends of Douglas, the earl of March, Murray, &c. who prevailed upon him to give up his claim; in consideration whereof, Robert, to secure him in his interest, gave Eupham his daughter in marriage to his eldest son.

The affairs of the succession and coronation, and Douglas's pretensions, were no sooner over than Robert began to take the state of the nation into consideration. His predecessor David having, in July anno 1369, prolonged the truce with England for the space of fourteen years, it secured to the English the possession of the fortresses of Berwick, Roxburgh, and other strengths on the borders, during that time: the nation was still indebted to England in the sum of fifty-six thousand marks sterling, the remainder of king David's ransom, four thousand marks whereof were annually paid on the 24th of the month of June: and although Robert not only resolved to pay the money due to England, but religiously to observe the truce; he nevertheless
judged

judged it necessary to be upon his guard in case of a rupture with England, whose king, Edward III. through his ambition, he had great reason to dread. Pursuant to which, he appointed Walter bishop of Glasgow, sir Archibald Douglas, and sir James Douglas, knights, with Adam Tynningham, his plenipotentiaries to France, to renew the antient league. Their commission bears date the 31st of March, in the year 1371; being arrived at Paris, they concluded a treaty of the following tenor.

“ That the king of France should require the king and kingdom
 “ of Scotland, to maintain their alliances with the king and kingdom
 “ of France, to whose prejudice the several truces with England had
 “ been made; which being of themselves null and void, should be
 “ so declared by the pope, who, for the same reason, should dispense
 “ with the oath taken by the Scottish king and nation: and, that the
 “ said king, pursuant to former obligations, shall make war against
 “ the king and kingdom of England; and for the better enabling
 “ him to carry on the said war, and to pay the remainder of the late
 “ king David's ransom, the king of France agreed to pay to Robert
 “ the sum of ten thousand golden nobles, and to send to Scotland
 “ arms for five hundred men, and five hundred serjeants; and during
 “ the space of two years, should defray the expence of five hundred
 “ men at arms, and a thousand veterans, and more if necessary; and
 “ the money appropriated for those ends, to be yearly paid in the
 “ Augustine church at Bruges. All the other supplies the king and
 “ kingdom of France are by treaties obliged to pay to Scotland, were
 “ to be continued.”

But this treaty did not take effect, by what means I cannot learn; for although divers incursions were made by the borderers on both sides, yet a war did not rekindle between the kingdoms during the life of Edward III. king of England. In the mean time a treaty was concluded by the ambassadors aforesaid, and ratified by Charles the French king at the castle of Vincennes, on the last day of June anno 1371; and since, by Robert king of Scotland, at the castle of Edinburgh, on the 28th of October in the same year.

By this treaty the truce with England was to be inviolably maintained; and it was expressly provided, that neither the kings of Scotland or France should make war against England, till the expiration or violation of the said truce. It was likewise stipulated, that it should not be in the power of the pope to release the king of Scotland or of France from their mutual obligation of assisting one another against England as often as required: and if a competition should arise touching the crown of Scotland, the king of France and his successors should take care to prevent the English from interesting themselves therein: but that the matter in dispute be determined by the Scots conformable to the laws of their country, and in whose favour it should be decided, him or them to be assisted with all their power. And it was also agreed, that neither Scottishmen nor Frenchmen shall enter into the service of any power at enmity either with France or Scotland. By this is refuted the story of Barnes, who tells us, that Robert II. and Edward III. concluded a peace for the term of nine years, during which it was eligible for the Scots to serve either the king of England or of France.

Abercromb.
 Atch. vol. ii.
 p. 167.

Chart. in Pe-
 nes. Com. de
 Winton.

Trait. entre
 les Roy de
 Fra. & Angl.
 p. 283.

Rym. Fœd.
 tom. iv. p.
 698.

Barnes's Hist.
 Edw. III. p.
 800, 801.

Barnes's Hist.
Edw. III.
p. 800, 801.

We are likewise told by the same author, that some time before, a very extraordinary and amazing feat of arms was performed by sir John Affueton, a Scottish knight, in the service of the king of England, viz. " Sir John with his spear in his hand, attended by his page on horseback, left his station in the army, and advanced towards the barrier of the town of Noyon, where dismounting, he desired his servant to hold his horse, and not to stir from thence; and going to the barriers, where stood sir John de Roye, and sir Lancelot de Loris, with ten or twelve others, who longed to know his design; and being interrogated thereon, answered, Gentlemen, I am come to visit you, and since I perceive you will not come out of your barriers to me, I will come in to you, and prove my knighthood against you, win me if you can; and leaping over the bar or fence, began the attack, and laying about him like a lion, continued the fight against them all for the space of an hour, and wounded divers of them, and the citizens from their windows beheld with great amazement his great agility of body, strength, and courage, without offering to interfere in behalf of their countrymen. When he had continued for the space aforesaid, the page went with his horse to the barriers, and cried, Pray sir, come away; it is time to leave off, for the army is marched and out of fight; whereupon Affueton gave some furious strokes to clear the way, re-leaped the bars, mounted his horse without the least hurt, and turning to his adversaries, said, Adieu, gentlemen; I thank you for the diversion you have given me."

An. 1372.
Rym. Foed.
tom. vi. p.
713.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

All things seemingly at last tending to a rupture with England, king Edward issued his orders to the bishop of Durham, commanding all men capable of bearing arms in the northern parts of England, to be ready to oppose the Scots, who had threatened to invade England. That which gave rise to this, according to Buchanan, was, that in the preceding month of August, a domestick of the earl of March's was killed at Roxburgh fair by certain Englishmen; complaint whereof being made to Henry lord Piercy, warden of the English marches, Piercy, it seems, not inclinable to redress the grievance, the earls of March and Murray resolved to revenge their own quarrel, and drew together a sufficient force; then marching in a secret manner to the approaching fair at Roxburgh, entered the town, plundered it, put all the English to the sword, and burnt it.

Id. *ibid.*

The English, to revenge the slaughter of their countrymen, took arms, and marching to the lands of the earl of March, ravaged those of sir John Gordon's in their way thither, which occasioned sir John by way of reprisal to enter England, which he ravaged to a great degree, and returning with a great booty and a number of prisoners, was attacked by sir John Lilburn near Carram; the engagement was long and fierce; for the Scots rallying no less than five times, routed the enemy, took sir John and his brother, with a number of their men, prisoners, saved their booty, and returned to Scotland in great triumph.

Id. *ibid.*

To revenge this loss, Henry lord Piercy, falsely called earl of Northumberland, at the head of seven thousand men, invaded Scotland, and encamping in the neighbourhood of Duns, the peasants, with their rattles made of dried skins containing small stones, rattling round the camp, frightened Piercy's cavalry to such a degree, that breaking

breaking loose from their several stations, they dispersed throughout the country, and became a prey to the artful peasants. Piercy, thus unhappily circumstanced by the loss of his horses, judged it not safe to advance farther into the country, but to march back to England to recruit his cavalry. Musgrave, governor of Berwick, intending to have joined Piercy, was attacked on his march by sir John Gordon, his party defeated, and himself taken prisoner; and sir John Johnston in the western parts of Scotland was so successful in his attempts upon England, that, according to Buchanan, he did the English near as much hurt as a regular army could have done. These are the chief actions performed by both nations during the three first years of king Robert's reign.

And now commissioners were appointed to prevent incursions, and to take such measures as might effectually put a stop to depredations on both sides. But these it seems not having had the desired effect, there was, as it were, neither peace or war between the nations during the life of king Edward III. But Edward dying on the 21st of June anno 1377, was succeeded by his grandson Richard prince of Wales; soon after whose accession to the crown, new troubles broke out betwixt Scotland and England on the following occasion.

The Scots and English meeting at the fair of Roxburgh, a difference happened, which occasioned the Scots to fire the town. To revenge this injury, the earl of Northumberland entered Scotland at the head of ten thousand men, and ravaged the country for several days. Complaints of that being made to both courts, for the compromising this affair, Richard II. king of England, issued two commissions, one on the 27th of September 1377, and the other on the first of January in the year following. But whether the king of Scotland did the same, I cannot learn; though I think it is probable he did not; seeing that John Mercer, a Scottishman, with a considerable fleet, entered the harbour of Scarborough, and carried off a number of ships and prisoners. Elated with this success, he continued cruising in those seas, and took many other ships. Complaint being made by the owners and masters of the vessels, against the duke of Lancaster the regent, for not taking care of the commerce of the kingdom, and no redress being to be had, sir John Philpot, a merchant of London, at his own expence, to clear the sea of Mercer, fitted out a squadron, and putting on board a thousand soldiers, sailed in quest of him, took him and his ships, and returned to London in triumph.

The Scots and French continuing the war with vigour, king Richard, by the advice of his council, on the 22d of October anno 1378, appointed commissioners to treat with those of king Robert concerning peace; but the meeting of the plenipotentiaries by an unlucky event was prevented, which, according to Walsingham, happened as follows, viz. on Thursday before the feast of St. Andrew, certain robbers from Scotland surprized the castle of Berwick, and killed the governor, sir Robert Boynton, but permitted his wife, children, and friends to depart, on their giving security to return within the space of three weeks, or to pay the sum of two thousand marks sterling.

The earl of Northumberland, warden of the English marches, no sooner received advice of the castle's being surprized, than he sent to the earl of March, warden of the Scottish marches, to learn whether the breach of the truce was done by his authority. March not only declared

An. 1373.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. vii. p. 2.

Walsing. Hist.
p. 198.

An. 1377.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. vii. p.
174, 183.

An. 1378.
Walsing. Hist.
p. 211.

Stow's Hist.
Engl.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. vii. p.
206.

Walsing. Hist.
p. 219.

declared his innocence in that affair, but offered to join his forces with those of Northumberland to reduce the castle. Upon this Northumberland summoned the desperadoes to surrender the fortress to him, as the king of England's representative. They insolently answered, they would neither deliver it to the king nor Scotland; but would, to the best of their power, defend it against all men, in behalf of the king of France. The governor was as good as his word; for being attacked soon after by the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, and others of the English nobility, with an army of seven thousand foot and three thousand horse, they defended themselves till they were all cut off, except Alexander Ramsay, the governor. Whence Northumberland continued his march farther into Scotland; and sir Thomas Musgrave, governor of Berwick, marching with six hundred men to reinforce him, had the misfortune to fall into an ambuscade, where he and all his men were cut off, or taken prisoners, by earl Douglas.

Rapin's Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
P. 455.

As this story is thus related by domestick writers, it will not be amiss to hear what other writers say in that respect. We are told by a certain foreigner, that a treaty was agreed on between England and the duke of Bretagne, whereby the former agreed to assist the latter in the recovery of his dominions, for which great preparations were making in England. In the mean time the king of France, who saw the storm gathering, took measures to divert it, by procuring a diversion from Scotland, to hinder the English from carrying their arms abroad. The king of Scotland, won by the great presents and promises of the French king, suddenly broke the truce with England, and surprized the castle of Berwick, the town having been dismantled in former wars.

Froissart. Hist.
lib. ii. c. 6.

The earl of Northumberland, warden of the English marches, highly enraged at this loss, which was imputed to his negligence, drew together a body of troops, consisting of ten thousand men, with such expedition, that he arrived at Berwick before the Scots had notice of his design, forthwith invested the castle, seized the bridge, to prevent succours from being thrown into the place, and pushed the siege so vigorously, that within nine days he took it by storm. Earl Douglas, who was advancing to raise the siege, finding himself unable to accomplish his design, retired, to avoid a battle. Northumberland, to retard his retreat, sent a detachment of six hundred men, under the conduct of sir Thomas Musgrave, who, with his party, falling into an ambuscade, were entirely defeated.

Ibid. c. 7.

An. 1379.

Walsing. Hist.

Although the dreadful pestilence, which broke out in England, had swept away the greatest part of the people in the northern parts of that kingdom, if a certain English writer may be believed, the Scots were so wickedly cruel, that, without commiserating the sufferings of their fellow creatures, they crossed the borders, destroyed the country with fire, and, regarding neither age nor sex, put all to the sword whom the plague had spared. Nay, so barbarous they were, that, cutting off the heads of many, they diverted themselves by kicking them to and fro with their feet, after the manner of foot-ball. And having cleared the country of its inhabitants, they drove away the cattle, and carried off every thing that was portable, little dreading the contagion, under the protection of the following prayer: "God and St. Mungo, St. Romain and St. Andrew, scheld us this day fra Goddis wrath, and the foul deaths of Englishmen." But having brought home the fatal

malady

malady along with them, it raged, during the space of two years, with a violence inexpressible, and carried off above a third part of the people.

REMARK. This relation of Walsingham's, I think, has not the least appearance of truth in it; for, as self-preservation is the first principle of nature, the Scots, on this dreadful occasion, instead of exposing themselves by running into imminent danger, would undoubtedly have avoided it, as if it were certain death, by guarding their borders, to prevent all communication with a people afflicted with a direful pestilence. This seems to be only a story. Besides, being an Englishman, of strong passions, and a most inveterate enemy to the Scottish nation, it is not to be wondered at, that he has represented the Scots in such a disadvantageous light.

Besides, the ravages committed in England on the above occasion, could not have been near so great as represented; for the reprisals, made on that account, seem to have been of no great consequence, since king Richard, in the month of March, anno 1380, following, commanded all his people religiously to observe the truce; and that all differences should be compromised in an amicable manner, according to the border-laws, and all persons guilty of a breach of the said laws to be punished in an exemplary manner. Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.

Soon after, the towns of Newcastle upon Tyne and Kingston upon Hull fitted out certain ships, to clear their coasts of pirates, and made prize of a Scottish vessel, which created a dispute between the earl of Northumberland and the captors, the former laying claim to part of the booty, and the latter insisted that the whole belonged to them, seeing they ran great dangers in taking it. Douglas, to put an end to the controversy, and revenge the injury done, raised an army; and putting himself at their head, entered England, ravaged the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, carried off at least forty thousand men; and, marching to Penrith fair, took some prisoners, together with all the valuable effects in the town. Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. vii. p.
245.

The earl of Northumberland, who received great damage by this incursion, was preparing to revenge himself on the Scots, when he received orders from king Richard to forbear hostilities till the 1st of the approaching March, the time appointed for the borderers on both sides to meet, in order to adjust all disputes. But Talbot, a valiant commander, it seems, not being to be restrained, assembled an army of fifteen thousand men, crossed Solway frith, and destroyed the counties of Anandale and Nithisdale: whence returning with a great booty, he was attacked in the night-time in a pass by five hundred men, who killed many, took a great number prisoners, and carried most of the plunder back. Walsing. Hist.
P. 239.

The numerous losses sustained by the English from the Scottish incursions, and dreadful ravages committed, and the truce between the two nations being about to expire, John duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, and regent of the kingdom, was sent towards Scotland with a powerful army, with a plenipotentiary power, either to compel the Scots to a peace, or to reduce them so low, that it should not be in their power to disturb them in haste. Being arrived on the frontiers of Scotland, he commenced a treaty with the Scottish commissioners, Walter bishop of Glasgow, John bishop of Dunkeld, William earl of Douglas, George earl of March, and Archibald Douglas lord of Galloway. Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. vii.
p. 276, 277.

By this treaty, dated at Berwick the 1st of November, anno 1380, the truce was prolonged to St. Andrew's day; during which time it was agreed that another congress should be held, to accommodate all matters in dispute; which being terminated, the English army broke up, and returned home.

Ibid. p. 312.

This treaty was ratified by Richard, at Northampton, on the 1st of December following; pursuant to which, another treaty was held on the 18th of June, in the year 1381, by John earl of Carrick, eldest son of king Robert, and the duke of Lancaster, at Abchester upon Ayton: wherein John moved, that the truce had been violated by the English in divers respects, more especially in the article whereby the Scottish merchants were impowered to traffick in England, without molestation, as in the time of peace, which he offered to prove by a number of persons, equal in quality, of both kingdoms, to be nominated by their respective sovereigns.

The English answered, had such a breach been committed, the fact could not be tried in that manner, which was both unusual and derogatory to the rights of sovereignty; therefore they proposed, that the affair should be left to the decision of a foreign prince. The Scots replied, that, as their kings had no superiors, 'twere just to refer their disputes to inferiors of honour and probity, who cannot derive any title or pretension from thence: whereas were a foreign prince appointed referee on this occasion, he might afterwards pretend a right of superiority, which was not to be dreaded by the kings of England, because of their great power and extensive dominions, but which the kings of Scotland must carefully avoid. Besides, could a prince be found agreeable to the disposition of both parties, yet to refer the matter to him was to lose time, by putting him and themselves to unnecessary trouble and expence: besides, this way of doing business is both unprecedented and dishonourable, to beg the decision of a foreigner, as if we were destitute both of reason and prudence to judge in our own affairs, and were both strangers to right.

Upon this reply, Lancaster, to persuade the Scots to peace, engaged that the sum of twenty-five thousand marks sterling, part of the late king's ransom, remaining unpaid, should not be demanded till after the expiration of the truce at Candlemas, anno 1383.

That which chiefly contributed to this truce was the virulent pestilence in Scotland in the preceding year, and the dangerous insurrections in England by Wat Tyler and others; rebellions so shocking, that they threatened destruction to the king, nobility, clergy, lawyers, and all persons of distinction in the kingdom.

Rapin Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 458.

On this great event, I cannot help remarking, with a learned foreigner, " That one cannot, without wonder, consider an event so
" singular and full of extraordinary circumstances. An insurrection,
" indeed, is not so very strange; but to see it headed by such a person
" as Wat Tyler, is not usual, though the like instances may possibly
" be found in other histories. But it is, doubtless, beyond the com-
" mon course of things for a single man, as the mayor of London, to
" dare to kill this leader, attended by thirty thousand men. It is still
" more surprising, that a young prince, but fifteen years of age, should
" have the presence of mind and resolution shewn by Richard on this
" occasion, and that his boldness should produce so good an effect. In
" fine, that so numerous a multitude, just glutted with blood and
" slaughter,

“ slaughter, should disperse on a sudden, by a panick fear, at the
 “ fight of a few armed citizens, is what cannot be considered without
 “ astonishment, and without ascribing the cause to Him who holds
 “ the hearts of the people in his hand.”

Some writers charge the Wickliffites with being the authors of this rebellion, but without the least foundation; for it does not appear that religion had any concern therein, seeing that neither Wickliff nor any of his followers were called in question on that account. All that is alleged, to give colour to this accusation, is, that John Ball, a Franciscan friar, one of the leaders of the said rebellion, was some time before thrown into prison by the archbishop of Canterbury, for preaching the new doctrine. The duke of Lancaster, the regent, being protector of Wickliff and his doctrine, became the chief object of the rebels malice, being then in Scotland; therefore he concluded a truce with the Scots, before they were thoroughly informed of the rebellion in England; and he being afraid to return home, during the troubles, was not only generously entertained by king Robert in the most sumptuous manner, but he made him an offer of twenty thousand men to defend his person, and reduce the rebels to obedience, which he modestly refused; and repairing to Edinburgh, resided there during the troubles in England, and was nobly regaled by the citizens, suitable to his character. Some time after the duke arriving in Scotland in an hostile manner, he gratefully returned the favour, by saving their city from being plundered and burnt, for which he drew on himself the hatred of many of his countrymen.

By the truce with England, a free intercourse of trade was allowed to the Scottish merchants; and so careful was king Richard to prevent all manner of difference between the two nations, that he soon after ordered that Scottish students should be admitted into the university of Oxford, notwithstanding their attachment to Robert the anti-pope, in opposition to the true pope Urban.

Rym. Fœd:
tom. vii.
p. 372.

An. 1382.

Although the English, on their parts, contributed all they could towards the maintenance of peace, yet it seems not to have been so religiously observed by the Scots; for it appears, by a congress held by John earl of Carrick, king Robert's eldest son, and John duke of Lancaster, regent of England, at Morehouselaw, on the 12th of July, in the year 1383, it was agreed that the damage lately done to the castle of Wark, and other places in England, should be made good by the Scots; and whenever the king of England was inclinable to make a peace, he should send notice to king Robert, at Melrofs, at what time he was to hold his parliament, that he might send ambassadors to treat of the same.

Ibid. p. 403,
404.

How Richard stood affected in this respect, is unknown; but that Robert was almost determined, is not to be doubted: for, on the death of Charles the French king, in the preceding year, he sent the bishop of Glasgow, &c. as his ambassadors to Paris, to congratulate his successor Charles VI. on his accession to the crown, and to desire him to ratify the ancient league, renewed by his father some years before. Charles readily ratified the treaty by oath, in the castle of the wood of Vincennes, on the 8th of April in the same year. This was also ratified at Edinburgh by Robert, on the 20th of August following.

Ibid. p. 391.

Whether Richard was informed of the ratifying of the said treaty does not appear, though it seems as if he had, by his demanding payment

Ibid. p. 415,
416.

ment

An. 1384.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

ment of the twenty-four thousand marks sterling, part of king David's ransom, still due to England; but the demand was far from being complied with; for the truce was no sooner expired, than the Scots, under the leading of the earl Douglas, besieged and took the castle of Lochmaben; while the earl of March, the other general, without bloodshed, had the good fortune to surprize and take a large convoy of provisions from England going to Roxburgh.

To revenge this loss, Richard not only supplied Lancaster with men and money to guard the borders of England, and to provide the towns and castles of Berwick and Roxburgh with all necessaries, but to enable him to invade Scotland, as soon as an opportunity offered. In the interim, a terrible storm was brewing against England; for the kings of France and Scotland had formed a design of no less consequence than its conquest. The former, with a powerful fleet and army, were to have made a descent in the southern, while the latter, with a numerous army, was to have invaded the northern parts.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. vii.
p. 434.

And, the better to enable the Scots to perform the treaty, John de Vienne, admiral of France, arrived in Scotland in the month of May, and brought along with him the succours stipulated, viz. one thousand men at arms, who, according to Rapin, had each three or four, and sometimes five, knights to attend them respectively, together with forty thousand livres Turnois, for which king Robert gave his receipt. This money was distributed as follows, viz. to Robert, to recruit and remount the French troops lately arrived from France with the afore-said admiral, six thousand livres; to the cardinal of Scotland, six hundred; to the earl of Carrick, Robert's eldest son, five thousand five hundred; to Robert's second son, the earl of Fife, three thousand; to his cousin the earl of Douglas, seven thousand five hundred; to the earl of March, four thousand; to the earl of Murray, one thousand; to Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, five thousand five hundred; to James Lindsay, two thousand; to David Lindsay, five hundred; to Malcolm Drummond, four hundred; to Thomas Hay, four hundred; to William Kierby, seven hundred; to Henry Douglas, three hundred; to John Johnston, three hundred; to William Stuart, one hundred; to Henry Preston, knt. sixty; to Thomas Erskin, five hundred; to William Lindsay, five hundred; to William Cuninghame, five hundred; to Robert Grant, ten; to Mr. Mace Glandaublin, ten; to John Gray, ten. The rest was distributed amongst the friends of the admiral, viz. to John Blaissey, Gerard de Bourbon, Eustace Bondenay, John de Fountaines, and Michael de la Fostre, five hundred each, as overseers of the distribution.

Walsing. Hist.
p. 316, 317.

Although Richard, as already mentioned, had made vast preparations to withstand his powerful enemies; yet that which chiefly prevented the French from making a descent in England, was an insurrection of the Flemings. By this Richard had an opportunity to march the best of his troops against the Scots; which, if Walsingham may be believed, was the greatest army the English ever marched into Scotland, consisting of no less than three hundred thousand men; and so formidable it was, that the Scots (notwithstanding the instances of Vienne, the French ambassador) durst not attack them any other way, than by assailing them occasionally in flank, rear, and front; whereby, Walsingham informs us, they killed and took a number of prisoners. But Edinburgh, according to custom, was plundered and

burnt;

burnt; which at this time, as the same writer says, appears to have been very meanly built, the houses being mean hovels, erected of earth, and covered with turff, or devots and thatch; so that, after its destruction, it was not difficult to restore it to its former state.

The Scots, with their French auxiliaries, to revenge themselves on the English for the depredations committed by them, crossed Solway frith; and entering Cumberland, under the conduct of the earls of Douglas, March, and Fife, burnt the town of Penrith, insulted Carlisle, and plundered as far as Newcastle upon Tyne; took and demolished the fortresses of Wark, Ford, and Cornwal, and carried off a number of prisoners. Richard on this returned to England, to defend it; and the Scots, to avoid a battle, marched back with great expedition to Scotland; where intending to invest the castle of Roxburgh, the design miscarried, by a difference between the Scots and their French auxiliaries; which occasioned the latter to return soon after to their own country, the admiral, their commander, being detained till the damage done and debts contracted by his countrymen were discharged.

An. 1385.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

In this situation, the earls of Douglas and March, wardens of the eastern marches of Scotland, with lord Nevil, warden of the eastern marches of England, met at Billymyre on the 27th of June, anno 1386, where they agreed on a truce, which was to continue till the last of the approaching month of May, in the year 1387: pursuant to which, commissioners were to be appointed to conclude a perpetual peace, or a longer truce. But, it not appearing that they met again, the truce no sooner expired, than the earls of Douglas and Fife entered England at the head of three thousand men; and having, with little opposition, ravaged the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland, they returned to Scotland with little or no loss.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. vii.
P. 526.Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.

About the beginning of this year, William Douglas, bastard son of Archibald lord Galloway, obtained a commission to invade Ireland, and make reprisals for the several piracies and robberies committed by the Irish on the coast of Galloway; and proving successful in his expedition, he defeated the united forces of Dundalk and Carlingford, took the former, and burnt the latter; and having seized on fifteen ships that lay in the harbour, loaded them with the spoils of the town, and sailed for the isle of Man, which he likewise laid waste: whence arriving at Lochrian, he repaired to his father in the northern parts of England, which, according to king Richard's own confession, the Scots had laid waste almost to the gates of York; and gained the famous battle of Otterburn, commonly called that of Cheviot-chase, which, according to Froissart, is so famous, that the like is not to be read in history.

An. 1388.

Rym. Fœder.
tom. vii.
P. 594.
Froissart. Hist.
vol. iii. c. 123.
124.

About this time the castle of Berwick was surprized by the Scots; but, according to English writers, it was sold by the deputy-governor to them, for which the earl of Northumberland, as governor, was highly blamed, as owing to his negligence. The earl, to retrieve his honour, suddenly raised a number of troops, and invested it; but it being in the winter season, he could not take it by force; wherefore, 'tis said, he re-purchased it at the price of two thousand marks. Be this as it will, Northumberland, on the 17th of February, 1385, obtained a pardon for all crimes laid to his charge, concerning his government of Berwick.

Walsing. Hist.
P. 311.Rym. Fœd.
tom. vii.
P. 363.

An. 1389.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

In the mean time a peace was negotiating at Lelyngham, a town between Bologn and Calais in France, between the English and French, wherein the Scots were included, of which the duke of Burgundy was to acquaint the king of Scots; but being too remiss in the performance, the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham took the advantage, with an army of sixteen thousand men, to invade and lay waste the southern parts of Scotland, under pretence of their being ignorant of the treaty's being concluded. But this excuse being deemed the effect of artifice, the earls of Douglas and March, having received a considerable injury thereby, raised a great army, and entering Northumberland, ravaged the country as far as Newcastle upon Tyne, and returned with a rich booty.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. vii.
p. 434.

However, the treaty went on, and was concluded at Ayton, and ratified by Richard on the 26th of July, anno 1384. This truce being to last but a short time, another congress was held at Bologne in Picardy, where the plenipotentiaries, from all the powers concerned, met in the month of September following, and prolonged the truce till the first of May in the year 1385. The commissioners from Scotland, at this congress, were Walter Wardlaw, the cardinal bishop of Glasgow, and John bishop of Dunkeld. This truce seems to have been no better observed by the Scots than the former was by the English; for the castle of Berwick, as aforesaid, was surprized before its expiration.

Ibid. p. 468.

To prevent the like ruptures in time coming, Henry Piercy earl of Northumberland, and Archibald Douglas lord of Galloway, met in the neighbourhood of Salorn in Eskdale, on the river Esk, near the English borders, in the month of March, and concluded and signed a treaty on the 15th of the same month, whereby the truce was prolonged to the first of July, anno 1386.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

The Scottish army, as already hinted, having ravaged the eastern borders of England to a very great degree, was commanded by James earl Douglas, who, entering the bishoprick of Durham, committed the same hostilities there; which Piercy earl of Northumberland receiving advice of, sent his sons Henry and Ralph, to intercept him on his return homewards. But Douglas being arrived at Newcastle upon Tyne, endeavoured, by reproachful language, to provoke the numerous garrison to come out and fight him. Irritated at this, Henry, eldest son of the earl of Northumberland, (through his violent disposition surnamed Hotspur) being therein, sent Douglas a challenge to fight him in single combat; which being readily accepted, they soon entered the lists, in fight both of the army and garrison. In the first course Piercy was unhorsed, and Douglas, snatching his spear, with an audible voice declared that he would carry it along with him as a trophy into Scotland. Piercy was rescued by the garrison. Douglas not being able to attack Newcastle in form, marched the day after homewards, and in a short time arrived at Otterburn in Riddefdale. Piercy, concluding it would be a great dishonour to him to have his spear carried into Scotland, marched with all his men to retake it; of which Douglas receiving intelligence, prepared to receive them. The battle began in the forenoon, and continued till towards the next morning, when the Scots gave ground, and Douglas was in danger of being taken. This being observed by the two Patricks Heburns, father and son, they, with the greatest intrepidity, rallied the troops, and by a
furious

furious assault restored the fight. Thus Douglas was enabled to break the enemy, and having pushed them too far, was surrounded and killed on the spot. This inspired his men with fresh courage, which is unusual on the like occasion: they vigorously renewed the attack, and obtained a complete victory. Henry Percy, alias Hotspur, was taken prisoner; as was his brother Ralph some time before. Of the English were slain eighteen hundred and forty, about one thousand wounded, and one thousand and forty taken prisoners. On the Scottish side were killed about one hundred, and two hundred taken prisoners.

The bishop of Durham arriving at Newcastle with a great reinforcement for Percy's army, a few days after Hotspur's departure, and not being able to overtake him, deferred his march. In the interim, being joined by a number of people from divers parts, his army was increased to ten thousand men, with whom he set out early next day in quest of the Scots: who, being advertised of his march, prepared to receive him with vigour; of which the bishop receiving advice, he judged it the safest way to secure both himself and men by a timely retreat.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

The Scots having no other enemy to fear at present, permitted seven hundred prisoners to withdraw, among whom was Ralph Percy, on their promise to return when called for. Many of the common sort were discharged gratis; but Henry Percy, with about four hundred of the nobility and persons of distinction, were carried prisoners to Scotland. This is the celebrated battle that was fought at Otterburn on the 21st of July, anno 1388, commonly called the battle of Cheviot-chase, from the noted ballad of that name.

Id. ibid.

Now all things tending towards a respite from war and bloodshed, the contending parties agreed to send their commissioners to Lelyngham in Picardy, in France; where, on the 18th of June, anno 1389, they met. This truce, which was to continue about three years and two months, was to terminate on the 16th day of August, in the year 1392, in which all the allies both of France and England were to be included.

An. 1389.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. vii. p.
p. 678.

Although this truce was readily agreed to by king Robert, and the nobility were willing to approve of the same; yet the army, which was ready to march on a new expedition, out of a mercenary view, opposed it: but the French ambassadors, by soft words and promises, seconded by the threats of their own officers, prevailed on them to submit; and it was some time after ratified by king Robert, the last transaction of his life: for, being worn out by age and infirmities, he died in his castle of Dundonald on the 19th of April, anno 1390, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and of his reign the nineteenth year and twenty-fourth day.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 9.

Robert, in his youth, performed divers military exploits, worthy of a hero of a much greater age and experience. He contributed greatly to the restoration of his uncle king David, both from his exile in France and captivity in England. He was regent of the kingdom for the space of nineteen years, in the worst of times, wherein he behaved with great honour and justice, which he administered in the most impartial manner to persons of all ranks. He was in all his actions sincere, in his resolutions constant, and in his words faithful; and, being a good and gracious prince, studied the arts of peace more than those of war: the latter, when necessary, in his advanced age, he committed the care of to his generals; and regulated domestick affairs

King Robert's
character.

affairs in such a manner, that there was no danger of their lapsing into a state of confusion. Being a great lover of hospitality, he was to the poor a father, a terror to oppressors, and a great encourager of learning. He retook all the fortresses the English had taken from his predecessors and himself for many years, except two or three.

His issue.

His darling passion seems to have been the love of women, to which he was strongly addicted; for, besides his two consorts, by whom he had many children, viz. by Elizabeth Muir, the first, John earl of Carrick, Walter, who married Isabel, Macduff's daughter, and heiress to Duncan earl of Fife, who dying without issue, Robert, his third son, was created earl of Fife; and afterwards, in right of his wife Margaret, sole heiress of Murdoch earl of Monteith, duke of Albany, and made regent of the kingdom: the fourth son was Alexander of Badenach, created earl of Buchan, and by right of his wife Euphame, eldest daughter of William earl of Ross, came to be earl of Ross. His daughters were, first, Majory, married to John Dunbar, son to the earl of March, who was created earl of Murray in the year 1372. 2. Jean, first married to sir John Lyon of Glamis, since created earl of Strathmore, and afterwards to James Sandilands of Calder. 3. Elizabeth, married to David, son to sir Thomas Hay of Errol, lord high constable of Scotland. 4. Margaret, married to John of Ila, lord of the Isles. The 5th was married to William Douglas, lord of Niddale. And the 6th was married to David Lindsay of Glenesk, since earl of Crawford.

By his second wife Euphame, he had David earl of Strathern, Walter earl of Athol, and Euphame, a daughter, who was first married to James earl of Douglas, and afterwards to John Edmonston. By our historians she is commonly called Euphame; though by Abercromby, in charters, she is said to have been named Isabel.

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. ii. p. 198.
Farbart's Vin-
dicat. of the
royal line.
Keep's Ge-
neal. edit.
Lond. 1684.

His natural issue, by Mrs. More, or Moram, (for such a mistress, 'tis said, he certainly had: hence a mistake might easily have happened between Elizabeth Muir, his first consort, and More his mistress) were, 1. Sir John Stuart, sheriff of Bute. 2. Sir John Stuart of Dundonald, commonly called the Red Stuart. 3. Thomas bishop elect of St. Andrews. And by Marion de Cardney, his second mistress, he had, 1. John Stuart of Kinlewin. 2. James Stuart of Kinfans. 3. Alexander Stuart of Lunen.

ROBERT III.

An. 1390.

On the demise of Robert II. his son John succeeded to the crown, on the 19th of April, anno 1390, and was crowned on the 13th of August following; at which time his name, which was John, was by the states of the nation, assembled at Perth, converted to Robert. Various are the opinions of writers concerning this change; some imagining it to be owing to the unfortunate name of John, of which appellation were anciently in Scotland, England, France, Castile, and Portugal, kings whose reigns proved very unlucky to their several kingdoms. But, I think, much more reason have they, who place it to the account of the fortunate reigns of Robert I. and II. by which Scotland was not only redeemed from the slavish superiority usurped by Edward I. of England, but likewise from all the conquests made in it by him and his successors, except two or three fortresses. This I suppose to be the real cause of the change of John's name to that of Robert; which, according to a certain writer, occasioned his being called

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. ii. p. 199.

called by the vulgar, Robert John Fernier, that is, John of the foregoing year.

Be this as it will, Robert having had a peaceable accession to the crown, the first year was spent in great tranquillity; and Robert being of a valetudinary constitution, the earl of Fife his second brother was appointed his prime minister. But Alexander his third brother, earl of Buchan, by his unhappy temper quarrelled with the bishop of Murray, and proceeded in his resentment to such a degree, that he wickedly burnt his cathedral church of Elgin, an edifice scarcely to be paralleled in Scotland for magnificence.

This flagrant crime remaining unpunished, Duncan Stuart, son of the said Alexander, imitating the wicked example of his father, at the head of a strolling crew of Highland thieves and robbers, invaded the fruitful plains of the county of Angus, in the year 1391, which he plundered and ravaged to a great degree. To stop their progress, Walter Ogilvy sheriff of the shire, with Walter Leighton, met him with a small body of men, engaged them, and were killed in the attempt, with about sixty of their followers. On which occasion an army being judged necessary to restrain this lawless banditti, one was forthwith levied, and the command given to the earl of Crawford, who soon dispersed the rebels, put many to the sword, and brought back a number for execution.

An. 1391.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.

And the earl of Crawford (or, according to Buchanan, his son) was sent with an armed force some time after, to reduce the Highland rebels; among whom were two clans, or families, one denominated Clan-chattan, the other Clan-kay, who were incessantly at war with one another, to the great disturbance of the neighbourhood, and reproach of the government. Those people being so very fierce, that it was no easy matter to reduce them by force, a political scheme was devised whereby they might destroy each other, which was to be put in execution as follows, viz. Thirty men on a side, who should decide the difference by their swords: that the king and court should be spectators of the combat; that the conquered should have an indemnity for crimes past, and the conquerors be honoured by the king.

Id. Ibid.
An. 1396.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.

Both parties being met at the time and place prefixed, in the northern inch of Perth, one of the Clan-chattan men had withdrawn himself through fear, which occasioned the deserted party to express their unwillingness to engage their superior enemy; to remedy this it was proposed, that the Clan-hay should be reduced one in their number. After some debate thereon, one Henry Wynd, a sadler by trade, offered himself to supply the vacancy, having only asked as a reward, provided his party came off with victory, that he should receive a French crown of gold; which being agreed to, the fight began, which was managed with such dexterity, skill, and fury, as affected the spectators both with amazement and horror; amongst whom none was so remarkably brave as the mercenary sadler, to whose courage and intrepidity the victory was chiefly obtained, on whose side, besides himself, ten were left alive, but all dangerously wounded; whereas on the Clan-hay's side only one survived, who remained unhurt to the last; but perceiving that it was not possible for him to continue the combat against so many, entered the river Tay, and swam across to the opposite bank.

Id. ibid:

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.

REMARK. This combat is so like that of the Horatii and Curatii in Livy's Roman history, that it is by many supposed to have been borrowed thence by Boece.

By these and the like feuds, petty wars were carried on by neighbouring gentlemen, many of whom, as may still be seen in their charter-chests, formed alliances amongst them against one another, without consulting the king; and some on such occasions fought it out almost to the extinction of their families.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. vii.
p. 714, 715.

Ibid. p. 820,
821.

Walsing. Hist.
p. 362.

Having at this time no opportunity of quarelling with their neighbours of England, by the renewal of the truce of Lylinghan, which was continued from the 16th of August anno 1392, to the 29th of September 1394, and from thence till Michaelmas in the year 1398; in this interval divers treaties were set on foot for a final peace, and certain marriages between the blood royal of Scotland and England projected, which not taking effect, a marriage was celebrated in the present year, between king Richard and Isabella, a daughter of Charles VI. king of France; whereupon the truce was prolonged for the term of twenty-eight years; to which being added two years of the former treaty still remaining, made the whole fifty years complete. However, in the year following the truce was broken by the Scots, who not only took the castle of Werst, but razed it to the ground.

King Henry IV. of England of that name, not yet firmly established in his throne, winked at this insult, till it was in his power to revenge it. But lest his dissimulation should encourage the king of Scotland, he sent ambassadors to demand satisfaction for the breach of the truce: but as the Scots likewise complained on their side of a breach on the part of the English, Henry made use of that as a pretence to demand a confirmation of the treaty, with a mutual reparation of damages on both sides.

When king Robert broke the truce, he imagined France would have taken his part; and that the deposing king Richard would raise commotions in England, which he designed to improve: but finding France in a state of tranquillity, and England quiet and undisturbed, he did not think it advisable to push his enterprize farther; so without much sollicitation he agreed to put his affairs with Henry in negotiation.

An. 1397.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii.
p. 17, 26.

An. 1398.

To which end John Shipene and sir William Elmham met at Dunfermline, on the second of October in the year 1387, (where the court then resided) with William Stuart of Jedburgh, sir John de Ramorgeny, Adam Forrester, and Patrick de Lumley, king Robert's commissioners, where they came to the following resolution, viz.
" That on Monday the tenth of March approaching, prince David
" earl of Carrick, king Robert's eldest son, and with him a bishop,
" an earl, a baron, and two clerks, two batchelors, and an esquire
" shall meet. That the congress shall be held at Redenburn, Car-
" ham, or Hawdenstank; where, in an amicable manner, they shall
" endeavour to compose differences, and repair all breaches of the
" truce concluded at Lelinghan anno 1388, and all others that had
" been agreed to since that time."

Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii. p.
54, 55, 56,
57, &c.

Pursuant to the agreement made at Dunfermline, David earl of Carrick, Robert's eldest son, Robert earl of Fife, the king's brother, Walter bishop of St. Andrew's, David lord Lindsay, &c. met in the month of March in the year 1398, at Hawdenstank, with John duke of

of Aquitain and Lancaster, John bishop of St. Asaph, Thomas Percy earl of Worcester, and William Scroop earl of Wilts, &c. and on the sixteenth of the same month prolonged the truce till Michaelmas in the year 1399. They likewise made divers regulations touching disputes among the borderers, viz. "That all prisoners taken on both sides, since the first truce of Lelinghan, be discharged without ransom." But this article not being punctually executed, a second congress was held at the same place in the month of October following. Robert's commissioners at this treaty were sir William Bothwick, sir John Ramorgeny, and Adam Forrester; and those for the king of England were, sir John Buffy, sir Henry Green, and Lawrence Drew, who on the 26th agreed,

1. "That conformable to the late treaty concluded by the dukes of Rothsay and Lancaster, all prisoners were to be set at liberty by Allhallow tide next. 2. That Adam de Gordon, William de Bard, and Adam Tranck, being notorious truce-breakers, shall appear at the next meeting of the great assembly or assizes of both nations, under the penalty of three thousand pounds. 3. In regard that a number of Scottish men have settled themselves on the English border, and sworn fealty to the crown of England, a number of English settled themselves on the Scottish border, and swore allegiance to the crown of Scotland; both of which being notoriously known to be the principal authors of all the disturbances and troubles that happen in those parts; it was therefore ordained, that all Scottish men who have taken their residence in the English border, to prevent their committing depredations in Scotland, shall remove to no less distance than the southern side of the river Tyne; and the English that are settled on the Scottish border, for the like reason, shall remove to the northern side of the frith of Forth. 4. That the duke of Rothsay, or other prince of the blood in Scotland; and the duke of Lancaster, or other prince of the blood in England, shall meet again at such time and place as both kings shall think fit, for the performance of the above articles, and others, which for brevity's sake are omitted."

And for the more effectually fulfilling the said articles, the earl of March, as warden of the eastern marches of Scotland, was obliged to give security for sir Richard Rutherford, sir William Stuart, Walter Scot, Thomas Turnbull, and Robert Lauder, whose office I take to have been that at present in the north of England called country-keepers; as was likewise sir Henry Piercy, warden of the eastern marches of England, for Gray of Hilton, Gray of Horton, Robert Humphrville, &c. country-keepers for the English borders.

There being now no war between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, complaints came flowing in apace; the first was by John Hamilton of Fingalton, with other merchants, touching a ship and cargo taken by the English at sea, and the merchants imprisoned; which, on hearing, the merchants were ordered to be set at liberty, and all loss and damage to be made good. Another complaint was brought by sir Philip Stanley, the English governor of Roxburgh castle, against earl Douglas's son and others, who having broke down the bridge of Roxburgh, plundered the town, burnt the hay, fuel, &c. and other damage, to the amount of two thousand pounds sterling.

Abercromb.
Atch. vol. ii,
p. 204.

REMARK. The excuse brought by fir William Stuart to extenuate the breach of the truce, seems to be trifling, and foreign to the purpose, by saying, that his lord had burnt the hay and fuel, and broke down the bridge, because they were the heritage of Scottishmen; and to excuse the plundering of the town, said, that was done by the unruly multitude against the earl's will; which I think is not in the least probable, having given them entrance by breaking down the bridge, at the expence of justice and equity, and contrary to the laws of honour. Besides, the English having been in possession thereof for a number of years, Douglas could not justly pretend that it was theirs by inheritance. However, the decision of this affair being put off till another time, I cannot learn that it was ever brought on the carpet; which seems to shew, that the pretended heritage had little to be said in its favour.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii.
p. 58, 59.

On the 6th of November following anno 1398, fir William Borthwick and Roger Gordon, commissioners for Scotland, met fir John Bussey and fir Henry Green knights, William Firiby clerk, and Lawrence Drew, commissioners from England, at Clockmaban-stone, where they agreed on much the same terms for observing the truce on the western marches: the earl of Douglas, as warden thereof, gave security to perform his part, viz. John Johnston, John Carleol, and William Stuart, knights, with John Caruthers, Miol Little, Alexander Armstrong, &c. and an equal number of English gentlemen were given as security for John Skelton, warden of the English marches. It is likewise remarkable, that in the same year the title of duke was first brought into Scotland; for David earl of Carrick, the king's eldest son, and the earl of Fife his brother, were both created dukes.

An. 1399.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii. p.
65.
Ibid. p. 69.

Pursuant to an article in the late treaty, the dukes of Rothsay and Lancaster had another meeting, but where and when is unknown. However, they prolonged the truce from Michaelmas, in this year, to that in the year following 1399, which was confirmed by the king of England at Coventry, on the 14th of January following, in presence of the Scottish commissioners, John Hamilton and Adam Forrester, upon oath; who, to his utmost, endeavoured to bring about a perpetual peace between the two nations; and gave orders to his ambassadors to leave nothing unattempted that might contribute towards so salutary an end. But if the Scots were averse to a final peace, they should endeavour to prevail on them to agree to the long truce agreed on at Lelinghan between him and the French king; which, if the Scots likewise refused, they should attempt to induce him to prolong the present truce a few years.

Ibid. p. 72.

Abercromb.
Atch. vol. ii.
p. 206.

All things in England tending to king Richard's abdication, and the fatal period drawing near, it will not be amiss to hear the character given him by certain writers. One is by that great patron of slavery Abercromby, although he, like other panegyrist of arbitrary power, when he finds himself or party aggrieved by the wickedness of princes, exclaims against them as the worst of men; speaking of Richard II. king of England's having been mal-treated by Walsingham, an English writer of his own time, tells us, that that was done to flatter the usurper of his crown, and to bring the people to a good opinion of him; and brings in Holinshed, likewise an English historian, to give Richard the following character.

“ In

“ In no king’s days were the commons in greater wealth, if they
 “ could have perceived their happy state ; neither in any other time
 “ were the nobles and gentlemen more cherished, nor churchmen less
 “ wronged. But such therein was their ingratitude towards their boun-
 “ tiful and loving sovereign, that those whom he had chiefly advanced,
 “ were readiest to controul him, because they could not rule all things
 “ at their will, and remove from him such as they disliked, to place
 “ in their rooms whom they thought good, and rather by a strong
 “ hand than by gentle and courteous means.”

Holinghed
Hist. fol 506.

To which we subjoin Abercromby’s own character of Richard,
 as follows: “ Having given an account of the pretensions of several
 “ relations to his crown, one of whom, the duke of Gloucester, was
 “ secretly conveyed to Calais in France, where he was privately mur-
 “ dered, the princes of the blood and peers of the kingdom taking
 “ the alarm, both they and the populace shewed their inclination to
 “ revolt ; and fortune favouring Richard with an opportunity to banish
 “ the earl of Derby, son and heir to the duke of Lancaster, whom
 “ he had just honoured with the title of duke of Hereford, he was
 “ exiled to France under a plausible pretence, but much to the regret
 “ of the people, especially the Londoners, who, to the number of
 “ forty thousand, conducted him out of the city, lamenting his hard
 “ fate, but much more their own during his absence.

Abercromb.
Archiv. vol.
ii. p. 207.

“ This universal affection, so insolently expressed by the people,
 “ was, as it ought to have been, a warning to the king in respect to
 “ his future conduct, but he made not a right use of it. In the mean
 “ time the duke of Lancaster died, whose estate, in point of policy,
 “ ought to have been given to his son ; but instead of flattering the
 “ people with hopes of favour and a reconciliation, he greatly exas-
 “ perated both, by confiscating part of it, and prolonging the time of
 “ the duke’s banishment : from which, in a great measure, arose all
 “ the clamours that were then raised, and are so copiously transmitted
 “ to posterity by antient and modern writers. Of which Richard being
 “ informed, he weakly despised the impotent efforts and malice of a
 “ broken faction, and set out for Ireland to reduce the natives impa-
 “ tient of the English yoke ; and leaving England unguarded, gave
 “ his enemy an opportunity to land, who, without loss of time, took
 “ shipping in France, and soon after landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire
 “ with no more than twenty men ; but being well assured of the at-
 “ tachment of the people to his interest, he was received in all the
 “ towns with open gates as their deliverer ; and the people from all
 “ parts crowding to join him, thus began the much longed for revo-
 “ lution. Richard in the interim arriving from Ireland, found that
 “ his uncle the duke of York, and most of those he had entrusted
 “ with the management of affairs, had abandoned him, and deserted
 “ to his enemy. This, with the disloyalty of his subjects, affected
 “ him so much, that he had neither courage to die like a prince, nor
 “ the wisdom to preserve himself for better times, but soon sur-
 “ rendered his person, and then his crown, to the usurper.” And a
 little farther he adds, “ That unfortunate prince had all the reason to
 “ court the friendship of his neighbours, for he was on very ill terms
 “ with his own subjects, and the fatal period of his reign and life was
 “ drawing near.”

“ Most of the English historians, copying after Walsingham, who
 “ lived under, and made it his business to flatter the usurper of his crown,
 “ give us but an indifferent character of his person, and a very disinge-
 “ nuous account of his government. Froissard, a cotemporary author,
 “ and a foreigner, but very well acquainted with all the intrigues and
 “ transactions of the court of England, deserves much more credit. Nay,
 “ Holingshed, an Englishman, has very fairly vindicated the memory
 “ of that abused monarch, from the aspersions cast on it by the enemies
 “ of hereditary right, and panegyrist of rebellious precedents; men
 “ equally unjust to lawful kings, and favourable to factious junto's.”

Now as Abercromby has only hinted that Froissard, a foreign cotemporary writer, was well acquainted with the English court, intimating thereby as if Richard had been a good man; this being only a flourish to make Richard appear more amiable to posterity, he durst not insert what Froissard has said on that account. Wherefore it is necessary to hear what that author himself says in that respect; who, in speaking of Richard, gives him a character very different from that of a good man; instead of which makes perfidy one of the chief parts of it, as follows:

Froiss. Hist.
 lib. iv. cap.
 33, 36.

“ The king, under pretence of a hunting match, came to a seat
 “ of his near Rumford in Essex, called Havering bower, whence he
 “ set out on Midsummer afternoon, and arrived (about five o'clock,
 “ with a few attendants, having left the rest at Waltham) at the
 “ duke's castle of Pleshey in the same county, as if it were to visit
 “ him; where he was received both by the duke and dutchess with
 “ all the honour and respect imaginable; and supper being got
 “ ready for his majesty, before he sat down, he desired the duke to
 “ order five or six of his horses to be saddled, to accompany him that
 “ night to London; for that he, with his two uncles of Lancaster
 “ and York, were to hold a council the next day, in which he also
 “ wanted his advice, what answer to give the Londoners to the pe-
 “ tition they were to present him.

“ Upon this the duke, who apprehended no harm, taking along
 “ with him only three esquires and four other servants, attended the
 “ king towards London, who taking the way of Bondelay on Epping-
 “ forest, to shun the great road, and Beboode, and other towns, talk-
 “ ing familiarly with the duke as they went along; and arriving at
 “ Stratford between ten and eleven o'clock, the king put spur to his
 “ horse and rode off; when Thomas Mowbray earl marshal, who
 “ lay in ambush, with a great number of horsemen, seized the duke,
 “ who in vain cried for the king's help:” who being arrived at Lon-
 “ don, sent for the earls of Warwick and Arundel, and talking fa-
 “ miliarly with them for some time, caused them to be apprehended,
 “ and sent prisoners to the tower of London, as he did also the lord
 “ Cobham.

Walsing. Hist.
 p. 354.

The truth is, according to the two authors I have cited, that as Richard the second was the most beautiful prince in the world, so he was mild, courteous, magnificent, liberal, and brave; not degenerating in these respects, till he was overwhelmed with the weight of irresistible adversity.

As this is the account given us of Richard by Abercromby, it will not be amiss to hear the character given him by the parliament, which is as follows.

1. “ That

1. " That Richard, for his evil government in giving the goods
 " and possessions of the crown to unworthy persons ; and for imposing
 " grievous and intolerable burdens upon the people, and committing
 " other innumerable evils : and the parliament having, by his assent
 " and command, chosen and assigned certain prelates and temporal
 " lords, who were to labour at their own cost for the better govern-
 " ment of the kingdom, he nevertheless appointed certain of his ac-
 " complices to impeach them of high-treason, and violently drew the
 " judges of the nation to confirm his wicked purpose, for fear of
 " death and torment of body, with a design to destroy the said lords.

2. " He likewise obliged a number of judges to come before him at
 " Shrewsbury, whom, by terrors and threats, he compelled to answer
 " certain questions in favour of himself, touching the laws of the
 " kingdom, contrary to their judgment ; by colour of which he would
 " have proceeded to the destruction of Thomas duke of Gloucester,
 " the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and other lords against whom
 " he bore a grudge, for their advising him to maintain good govern-
 " ment amongst his people ; the contrary whereof was, by providence
 " and restraint of the said lords, happily prevented.

3. " When the said lords in their own defence withstood his wicked
 " designs, he appointed a parliament to inquire into their deportment
 " on this occasion ; but the said lords not appearing in the convention,
 " remained in security at home. In the interim, Richard sent his
 " minion the duke of Ireland into Cheshire, to raise an army against
 " the said lords ; and erecting his banners, against the peace he had
 " sworn to maintain, homicides, dissensions, captivities, and other great
 " evils, were perpetrated in the kingdom, whereby he justly incurred
 " the guilt of perjury.

4. " And although he had pardoned the duke of Gloucester, and
 " the earls of Arundel and Warwick, with their abettors, in full par-
 " liament, and for many years had shewn manifest signs of love and
 " forgiveness towards them ; yet the said king, bearing malice in his
 " heart against the said lords, caused the duke of Gloucester to be
 " seized and sent to Calais, in custody of the earl of Nottingham ;
 " where, without legal process, or leave to give in an answer to that he
 " was charged with, he was cruelly and barbarously murdered ; and al-
 " though the earl of Arundel pleaded his pardon, and demanded
 " justice in parliament, he was nevertheless cruelly decollated ; and the
 " earl of Warwick and lord Cobham being committed to perpetual
 " imprisonment, he confiscated their estates, contrary to justice, the laws
 " of the land, and his positive oath given therein to the appellants.

5. " The king when in parliament caused the earls of Arundel and
 " Warwick to be adjudged, that he might with more ease exercise
 " his cruelty upon them ; and, to accomplish his wicked purpose, drew
 " together a number of criminals from Cheshire, who marching along
 " with him wherever he went, killed some, wounded others, plun-
 " dered the houses of many, and ravished a number of women : and
 " although complaints thereof were made against them, yet neither
 " justice nor redress were to be had ; but proceeding in their wicked-
 " ness, he depended on their assistance against his faithful and loving
 " subjects.

6. " And although complaints were made against them, yet neither
 " justice nor redress were to be had ; but proceeding in their wicked-
 " ness,

“ nefs, caused proclamation to be made in all parts of the kingdom,
 “ that his uncle the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and
 “ Warwick, were not arrested for rebellion, but for extortions, op-
 “ pressions, and other crimes done against the regal power. Yet the
 “ said king, nevertheless, in his parliament, impeached the said lords,
 “ not for the crimes aforesaid, but for rebellion and tumults, for
 “ which they were condemned to death. Others he punished as
 “ traitors, and fined them in large pecuniary mulcts, to the destruction
 “ of many families, whereby he wickedly and maliciously deceived
 “ the nobility, their followers, and people.

7. “ After many persons had paid their fines and ransoms for their
 “ lives, and obtained letters of remission for the same, yet being of
 “ no service to them, he obliged them to pay new fines for their
 “ lives, whereby many families were brought to ruin, to his perpe-
 “ tual dishonour and reproach.

8. “ In the parliament held at Shrewsbury, the king, intending to
 “ oppress his people, procured, that the power of parliament should
 “ be put into the hands of certain persons, who, after its dissolution,
 “ might answer the petitions undetermined by that convention; but
 “ not stopping there, he proceeded to other matters relating to parlia-
 “ ment, in derogation of the power thereof, to the great dishonour
 “ and disinterest of the kingdom: and that those actions might have
 “ some colour of authority, he caused the rolls of parliament to be
 “ altered and defaced, contrary to the grant aforesaid.

9. “ Although the king at his coronation swore, that he would, to
 “ the utmost of his power, do right and justice to all men, he, never-
 “ theless, with extreme rigour ordered, under the severest penalties,
 “ that no man should intercede with him in favour of the duke of
 “ Lancaster, then in banishment, whereby he was guilty of a breach of
 “ faith, and a violation of his oath, and guilty of a direct perjury.

10. “ Although the crown and kingdom of England, had in all
 “ times been free, that neither the pope, nor other foreign power had
 “ any thing to do therewith; yet the said king, towards confirming his
 “ wicked statutes, supplicated the pope to confirm those made in the late
 “ parliament, to which end having obtained the pope's bull, it con-
 “ tained grievous censures against all such as should presume to con-
 “ travene the same, contrary to the rights, privileges, laws, and li-
 “ berties of the kingdom.

11. “ And although Henry duke of Lancaster exhibited an accusa-
 “ tion against the duke of Norfolk, concerning the state and honour
 “ of the king, and duly prosecuted it to his being ready to make it
 “ good by duel, which was not only put off by the king, but Lan-
 “ caster was banished for the space of ten years, contrary to justice,
 “ the customs of the kingdom, and laws both civil and military,
 “ whereby he justly incurred the crime of perjury.

12. “ After the king had granted letters patent to the duke of Lan-
 “ caster, while he was in banishment, that his agent might sue for
 “ livery of an inheritance that might fall to him, for which homage
 “ was due, which might have been respited for a reasonable fine; the
 “ said king wickedly revoked his letters patent, contrary to law and his
 “ oath, whereby he was guilty of perjury.

13. “ Notwithstanding of its having been ordained by law, that
 “ the king's officers, with the judges and others of his council, shall
 “ annually

“ annually nominate the sheriffs for the several counties of the kingdom; yet the king named such of his own friends for that office, that would do as he would have them, contrary to the laws of the kingdom and his oath, which was another perjury.

14. “ Though the king borrowed divers sums of money of his subjects, by obligations under his hand, he did not fulfil his agreement by paying the money contracted for; which shews he had no great regard for his honour, or the welfare of his people.

15. “ As the kings of England anciently lived on the revenues of the crown in times of peace, without burdening the people, Richard, during his whole reign, having bestowed the greatest part of his revenue on unworthy men, loaded his subjects as it were annually, whereby he greatly oppressed his people, and impoverished his country, and profusely wasted its substance in ostentation, pomp, and vain-glory, for which he required great sums to support his affected grandeur, far greater than any of his predecessors.

16. “ And the said king, unwilling to keep and defend the laws and customs of his country, but acting licentiously, according to his pleasure, declared that the laws were in his power, and that he could not only make and change the laws of the country, as he saw convenient, but, being greatly seduced by his favourites, stifled justice, and, by threats and terrors, compelled many to stop prosecutions in the course of justice.

17. “ The laws made by parliament were always binding, till repealed by another parliament; but he not being inclined to be bound by the constitutions of the kingdom, artfully procured a petition from the community of the nation, which he exhibited in parliament, and sinistrously procured a right that he might be as free as any of his predecessors, and to act in every respect as they had done before him; whereby he arbitrarily commanded many things to be done, contrary to the laws in being, and his coronation oath, whereby he was guilty of another perjury.

18. “ And although it was ordained by the laws and customs of the kingdom, that no sheriff should continue in office above a year, and could not be rechosen to that office during the space of three years, the said king, for his own behoof and that of others, allowed some of the said officers to continue in office for the space of two or more years, contrary to law and his coronation oath, which was another perjury.

19. “ And though, by the laws and constitutions of the kingdom, the people were to chuse their representatives in parliament for the redress of grievances, the king nevertheless directed writs to the sheriffs, to send such representatives as he had named; some whereof by favours, others by bribes, threats, and terrors, he prevailed on to grant him what he had occasion for; among which was a subsidy on wool for life, and another for a certain term of years, to the great hurt of the people.

20. “ And that the said king might rule in an arbitrary and despotical manner, he obliged the several sheriffs of the kingdom to take a new oath, that they would obey all his commands sent them either under the great or privy seal; and if they knew any person within their respective jurisdictions that spoke ill of the king, to the disgrace or scandal of his person, to cause them to be forthwith arrested

“ and sent to prison, to remain till they received farther orders from
 “ him, which practice ended in the destruction of many of the people.

21. “ And the said king, that he might enrich himself at the ex-
 “ pence of his people, caused his subjects of sixteen counties, by let-
 “ ters under their respective seals, to acknowledge themselves traitors,
 “ whereby he obtained of them large sums of money to regain his
 “ favour; and though, to please the people, their several obligations
 “ were restored to them, he nevertheless obliged their procurators to
 “ give him security for their good behaviour; whereby his subjects
 “ were intolerably deceived, and their goods and chattels extorted
 “ from them.

22. “ And although the said king, at his coronation, swore to pre-
 “ serve and maintain the rights and liberties of the church of Eng-
 “ land, he nevertheless, on his expedition to Ireland, commanded
 “ many abbots and priors to send him horses, waggons, and a large
 “ sum of money, which, out of fear, they were compelled to do, in
 “ compliance with his tyrannical and arbitrary demands; whereby
 “ they were greatly impoverished and oppressed, in derogation of their
 “ ecclesiastical liberties; another perjury incurred by the said king.

23. “ In great councils, when the lords and judges were to advise
 “ the king faithfully, in matters touching his welfare, and that of the
 “ people, they were so severely reprehended and brow-beaten, that
 “ they durst not speak their minds in an honest and just way, touching
 “ the grievances of the kingdom.

24. “ The treasure, reliques, and jewels of the crown, which
 “ ought to have been kept in the treasury, for the honour of the king
 “ and conservation of the peace of the kingdom, he carried with him
 “ into Ireland, without the consent of the states, whereby the welfare
 “ of the people would have been greatly endangered, if God had not
 “ provided for their safety, by taking the treasure, &c. from him
 “ against his will; and, for the better support of his tyrannical power,
 “ it was believed that he caused the national records to be razed and
 “ defaced, to the great prejudice of his people, and disinheritation of
 “ his crown.

25. “ And in his words and writing he was so inconsistent and dis-
 “ sembling, that in writing to the pope, kings, and lords, both within
 “ and without the kingdom, no man knew what to confide in; for,
 “ by his deceit and inconstancy, he not only became a reproach to
 “ foreigners, but likewise to his own subjects.

26. “ Although the lands, tenements, goods, and chattels of all
 “ the king's subjects were not to be seized without forfeiture, yet
 “ Richard, intending to enervate those laws and customs, often declared
 “ and affirmed, that the life of every subject, together with his lands,
 “ goods, and chattels, were his, and to be disposed of according to
 “ his pleasure, without being forfeited according to law and justice.

27. “ By the laws and constitutions of the kingdom, no freeman
 “ can be taken or molested by the king, but by trial of his peers by
 “ the law of the land; yet, by appointment of the said king, many
 “ of his subjects were maliciously accused, as having spoken words to
 “ the dishonour of the king, were seized and imprisoned, and brought
 “ before a court martial, where being denounced, were not suffered
 “ to give any other answer than that of guilty; and were not allowed
 “ to defend themselves, otherwise than by duel; and their accusers
 “ being

“ being young men, of courage, lusty and strong, they had little or
 “ no chance to escape with their lives; whereas the accused, being
 “ old, impotent, lame and infirm, must fall a sacrifice to the malice
 “ of their unjust and implacable enemies.

28. “ Though the English, by virtue of their allegiance, were suf-
 “ ficiently bound to their king, if they offended in any way, it was
 “ in his power effectually to punish them by the laws and customs of
 “ the kingdom: he nevertheless, to oppress the people, and follow
 “ his own arbitrary inclinations, sent letters to the several counties of
 “ the kingdom, strictly commanding his people, both spiritual and
 “ temporal, to take certain oaths, which were likely to have ended in
 “ the destruction of his subjects in general; for they were, under their
 “ seals, obliged to give letters, promising a submission to his will,
 “ which was occasioned through fear, lest the people should incur his
 “ displeasure, and suffer death for their obstinacy.

29. “ When persons in the spiritual court were prosecuting causes
 “ merely ecclesiastical, the king, by prohibitions from the lord chan-
 “ cellor, endeavoured to put a stop to the same; but the chancellor,
 “ being a man of probity, honour, and justice, refused to grant the
 “ said prohibitions. But Richard not being able to byass a man of
 “ honour and justice, against the interest and welfare of his country,
 “ wickedly granted the same himself, under his signet; which was
 “ not only a manifest breach of Magna Charta, but contrary to his
 “ oath, whereby he incurred the sentence of excommunication pro-
 “ nounced by the pope against the violators of church liberties.

30. “ And the said king, surrounded in parliament with an armed
 “ force, contrary to the laws and rights of the nation, banished Tho-
 “ mas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, who, being absent, could
 “ not answer for himself.

31. “ And to shew that the said king died in impenitence, we need
 “ only bring the following clause in his will, whereby he ordered to
 “ be continued those wicked laws and ordinances made at Westmin-
 “ ster, &c. anno 1398, for inthralling his people, viz.

“ Also we will, that the debts of our house, chamber, and ward-
 “ robe being paid, for which we allow 20,000 *l.* and the leperous
 “ and chaplains we appointed to be maintained at Westminster and
 “ Bermondsey, for which we allow five or six thousand marks; the
 “ residue of our gold shall remain to our successor, upon condition he
 “ approves, ratifies, confirms, holds, and causeth to be holden and
 “ observed, all laws, statutes, ordinances, and judgments made, had,
 “ or done in the parliament held at Westminster, on the 17th of Sep-
 “ tember, in the 21st year of our reign, and continued or adjourned
 “ to Shrewsbury; and all things done at Coventry, on the 16th of Sep-
 “ tember, in the 22d of our reign; as also what was done at West-
 “ minster, on the 18th of March, in the same year, by authority of the
 “ same parliament.

“ But if he shall refuse to do these things, then we will, that Tho-
 “ mas duke of Surrey, Edward duke of Aumarle, John duke of
 “ Exeter, and William le Scrope earl of Wiltshire, my debts, &c. as
 “ aforesaid, being paid, shall have the said residue, for the defence of
 “ the statutes, ordinances, judgments, and stabiliments aforesaid, to
 “ the utmost of their power, yea to death, if it be necessary; upon

“ all

“ all which things we burthen their consciences, as they will answer it
“ at the day of judgment.

32. “ The said king, at his manor of Langley, in the presence of
“ the dukes of Lancaster and York, and other lords, swore on the
“ Eucharist on the altar, that his uncle the duke of Gloucester, then
“ present, might safely trust him, and that he would forgive him in
“ all things committed against his person, and that he should never
“ receive damage from him on that account; yet, notwithstanding of
“ his most solemn oath, he caused the said duke, for the said offences,
“ to be cruelly murdered.

33. “ Contains a recapitulation of the barbarous usage of the said
“ king to the archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to the most solemn
“ promises; and, instead of fulfilling the same, banished the too cre-
“ dulous prelate, against whom he obtained his ends by another breach
“ of his oath.”

REMARK. The reader, by comparing the above characters, will be enabled to judge whether that of the partial Abercromby, or that of the parliament, deserves most credit; for the first, being a friend to arbitrary power, is not to be depended on; and by the parliament's account of him, his reign seems to have been a scene of perjury, wicked, arbitrary, and iniquitous proceedings.

As I have inserted something of a character given of Richard by Froissard, I think it will not be amiss to add what another learned foreigner says of the said prince, viz.

Rapin, Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 476.

“ Thus ended the reign of king Richard; a prince who, in his
“ younger years, seemed to have had noble and generous inclinations;
“ but unfortunately suffered himself to be corrupted by flattery. He
“ had the advantage to be descended from a father and grandfather
“ so universally esteemed, that, had he never so little answered the
“ nobleness of his birth, he might have been one of the most glo-
“ rious that ever wore the English crown. But, like Edward II. his
“ great-grandfather, he had the weakness to give himself up to the
“ guidance of his favourites. Accordingly he underwent the same
“ fate with that prince, whom he did too much resemble in every
“ other respect. The chief difference to be observed between them
“ is, that Richard was of a more cruel and inflexible temper, and
“ usurped a more absolute power than Edward, which rendered him
“ more odious, and less lamented.”

An. 1400.

The war which at this time broke out again betwixt Scotland and England, was occasioned by a treaty entered into by king Robert and the earl of March. The former, in consideration of a large sum of money, promised to marry the duke of Rothsay, his eldest son, to Elizabeth Dunbar, daughter to the said earl. This alliance greatly disturbed the earl of Douglas, who was dissatisfied at the designed affinity with a rival family in regard to power, and therefore did all he could to prevent its consummation. Accordingly applying to the duke of Albany, the prime minister, he prevailed with the king to call a council, which repealing the contract, Marjory Douglas, a daughter of earl Douglas, was preferred in Elizabeth Dunbar's stead, without returning the money March had paid, as part of his daughter's fortune.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.

This indignity and injustice was so highly resented by March, that, committing the custody of his strong castle of Dunbar to Robert Maitland,

land, his nephew, he posted to England; where entering into a strict friendship with Henry Piercy, commonly called Hotspur, of the Northumbrian family, a great enemy to the name and family of Douglas, he joined March with a certain body of men, and made an incursion into the county of Lothian, on the Scottish borders, with two thousand men, and thought to have entered his castle of Dunbar; wherein he was disappointed, by his nephew's having delivered it up to his rival, by the king's order.

This disappointment exasperated the earl so much, that although the king promised to do him justice according to law, and desired him to return to his allegiance and country, he refused to comply; and king Henry of England not agreeing to give him up, by virtue of his royal protection, the war was continued; when March and Piercy, advancing as far as Haddington, committed great ravages, and laid siege to the castle of Hales without success: whence proceeding to Linton, they were so alarmed with the approach of earl Douglas, that, leaving their booty and baggage behind, they retired with great precipitation to Berwick.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.

Soon after sir Robert Logan, the Scottish admiral, failed to attack the English fleet, as they were fishing on the Scottish coast near Aberdeen; but having had the misfortune of being beat, it encouraged the English to invade and plunder some of the isles of Orkney.

And now the truce being expired, Henry often endeavoured to have it renewed; but the Scots being still in alliance with the French, they commenced hostilities against the English: wherefore Henry ordered all his military tenants to be in the field by a certain time, to defend England; strictly commanding, that no hostility be committed against the French, or any of their allies, the Scots only excepted. Henry being arrived with his army at Newcastle upon Tyne, confirmed the agreement lately made between his brother and the earl of March; whereupon the earl, by an indenture, obliged himself to do Henry the same homage, fealty, and service he formerly paid to his natural prince. In consideration whereof he agreed to grant to March, Christian his wife, and their heirs male, an annuity of five hundred marks sterling; and, as a security for the performance of articles, put them in possession of the barony of Somerton in the county of Lincoln, with a right to the customs of St. Butolph, and the manor of Chippeston in the forest of Sherwood.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii.
p. 125, 146,
147.

Ibid. p. 153.

Henry, being on the Scottish border, wrote a letter to king Robert, with another to the Scottish nobility, requiring them to meet at Edinburgh on the 23d of August, to do him homage as their superior, and direct lord over Scotland, for which he brought the following reasons, viz. That since the time of Locrinus, the son of Brutus, the Scottish kings did homage to the kings of Britain and England, as was lately done by king William to Henry II. and John his son, and by Alexander to king Henry III. and Edward his son, John Baliol to Edward I. and by Edward Baliol to Edward III.

Ibid. p. 155,
156.

REMARK. This pretended superiority of the crown of England over that of Scotland, was begun by that ambitious prince Edward I. of England, who having, during the vacancy of the Scottish throne by the death of queen Margaret, formed a scheme to make himself master of the whole isle of Britain; he caused all the publick libraries in England to be searched, to discover what might be found to his purpose in

that

that respect; and having discovered that wicked and infamous romance of Geoffrey of Monmouth, bishop of St. Asaph, entituled the history of Britain, he published from it the stories of Locrinus and Brutus, wherein he has been followed by the few English kings, who have made use of it to establish the pretended superiority. But Monmouth's history being now by all discovered to be a mere fable, the notion of the said direct dominion is entirely dropt.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii. p.
157.

King Henry, being advanced as far as Leith with his army, sent a letter to king Robert and David duke of Rothsay, Robert's eldest son, and governor of the castle of Edinburgh, who, having seen the two former sent by Henry to the king and community of Scotland, returned for answer, "That it was strange he should pretend a right to the crown
" of Scotland, which might occasion the shedding of much innocent
" christian blood; for the avoiding of which, and determining other
" disputes, he offered to meet where the king pleased, and to decide
" all disputes by fighting with one, two, or three of his nobility against
" the like number of English." To which Henry returned for answer, "That though the duke of Rothsay seemed to have so great an
" aversion to the shedding of christian blood, yet, by his proposing a
" combat of the nobility, he seems not to have thought their blood
" was christian."

Abercromb.
Atch. vol. ii.
p. 216.

However, while Henry lay before the castle of Edinburgh, the duke of Albany sent him an herald, assuring him upon his honour, provided he would attend his coming, that he would fight him within the space of six days, and oblige him either to raise the siege, or lose his life in the attempt. This message, 'tis said, was so agreeable to Henry, that he rewarded the herald with a golden chain, and promised, on his royal word, not to depart thence during the time mentioned. But no battle ensuing, that I can learn, Henry, by the inclemency of weather, sickness of his men, and want of provisions, marched off for England; and soon after a short truce was made, during which commissioners were appointed by both nations to meet at Kelfo, and agree to a final peace.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii. p.
166, 185, 186.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.

Henry's behaviour, on this occasion, is by Buchanan mistaken for an act of lenity towards the Scots, in return for their generous treatment of the duke of Lancaster, Henry's father, during his exile in Scotland: but more reason have they who ascribe it to his policy; for being of opinion that the castle could not hold out so long, he was in hopes not only of taking it, but also the duke of Rothsay, its governor, prisoner along with it. If this was the reason, Henry soon found himself mistaken; for Rothsay, by his gallant defence, held it out many days after the time aforesaid.

An. 1401.

The queen, Archibald earl of Douglas, and other persons of the first quality, dying about this time, who had been a check upon the vicious actions of the duke of Rothsay, the king's eldest son, he gave a loose to his wicked inclinations, by not only debauching the nobility's wives and daughters, but virgins that were devoted to the service of God. Complaint whereof being made to the king, he resented those outrages to such a degree, that he ordered his brother, the duke of Albany, then prime minister, and uncle to the prince, to arrest him, which was an acceptable piece of service to him, as intending to put in for the crown himself. Accordingly he committed him prisoner to the castle of Falkland, with a view to starve him to death; which being discovered to certain women, they did all they could to save him, by occasionally

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.

occasionally supplying him with provisions. But this story having so much of the Roman charity in it, it may probably be an invention of Boece's own. Be that as it will, 'tis said that Rothsay soon after perished under the barbarous treatment of his cruel and inhuman uncle.

The peace between the two nations drawing towards an end, the earl of March, and Gavin Dunbar, his son, who were then at the English court, did all they could to bring about a war; and, for their encouragement, Henry granted to the father a pension or annuity of 400 *l.* sterling, and to his son one of 40 *l.* per annum, which were to be continued during the Scottish war. In consideration whereof the earl engaged, at his own expence, to maintain twelve men at arms, and twenty archers on horseback, with their attendants, with whom and his confederates he greatly harraßed the Scottish borders wherever he came.

An. 1402.

Rymer's Fœd.
tom. viii.
p. 245.

For the suppression of which, and preventing the like in time coming, Archibald earl of Douglas was appointed general, who, dividing his army into small bodies, traversed the country, and prevented abundance of mischief which must otherwise have happened; and making an incursion into the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, brought home a considerable booty. But Patrick Hepburn, the younger, of Hales, was not so lucky; for, on his return homewards, he was attacked and routed at West-Nisbet in the county of Merse, by the earl of March, who, having cut off the greatest part of his army, took many of his officers and others prisoners.

This loss came not alone, but was attended with one of a much worse consequence; for Douglas, willing to retrieve it, was entirely defeated, himself wounded and taken prisoner, by the earls of March and Northumberland, at Homeldon-hill, near the village of Waller, (probably Wooler) in which a number of the Scottish nobility were slain, with other persons of distinction; among whom was Murdoch Stuart, earl of Fife, eldest son to the duke of Albany, and grandson to the king. Henry was so well pleased with this victory, that he sent congratulatory letters to the earl of Northumberland, Henry Hotspur, his son, and the earl of March. To the first he granted the earldom of Douglas, with the vales of Eskdale, Liddisdale, and Lauderdale, the barony of Selkirk, forest of Etrick, and generally all the lands, castles, manors, &c. belonging to the house of Douglas; but those lands being to be conquered, the Piercys thought they were not a sufficient reward for their great services, and were displeased at the king's demanding of them the prisoners taken in the late engagement: the earl of Fife they had already given up; but as to the rest, they intended to be gainers by their ransoms. The malcontents, on this occasion, were encouraged by Owen Glendour, a Welshman, who had revolted from the English; and becoming master of Edmond Mortimer, the English earl of March, lawful heir to the crown, the several powers repaired to court, and desired the king to grant him his liberty: to which answer was made, that the earl of March was not made prisoner on his account, or in his service; but willingly suffered himself to be taken, because he would not oppose Glendour and his accomplices, wherefore Henry would neither ransom nor relieve him. This answer so nettled Hotspur, that he said "The heir of the realm was robbed of his right, I
" and

Ibid. p. 289.

An. 1403.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii. p.
289.Each Hist.
p. 423, 424,
&c.

"and the robber would not allow him part of his own for his redemption."

Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii.
p. 323, 324.

Hotspur, leaving the king's presence in a great fury, resolved to set up the earl of March for king; whose deliverance he not only procured, but entered into a confederacy with Glendour and the Scottish prisoners, particularly the earl of Douglas, whom they not only released without ransom, but appointed him governor of Berwick. The earl of March continued faithful to king Henry, and saved his life at the decisive battle of Shrewsbury, wherein the brave Hotspur was killed, and earl Douglas made prisoner. Henry, on this occasion, to shew his gratitude to the Scottish earl of March, and to his son Gavin Dunbar, gave to the father the guardianship of the manor and barony of Ryme and Crofts in the county of Lincoln, with all the lands which belonged to the late Hotspur, during the infancy of the son and heir of sir Thomas de Umphraville; together with the revenues of the hospital in Bishopsgate-street, London: and to Dunbar, the earl's son, he gave the village of Newburn and lordship of Ham.

Ibid. p. 318.

A pretender to the crown of England representing the king Richard, being arrived in Scotland, he was entertained by king Robert as the real Richard; which so affected king Henry, that he did all in his power to compromise matters with the Scots; to which end he not only endeavoured, by the French ambassadors at his court, on their way to Scotland, to bring about an accommodation; but Robert not agreeing to the terms, did not name his ambassadors for the congress till May, in the year 1404, who, with the English, were not only impowered to treat concerning the redemption of the earls of Fife and Douglas, but to conclude a peace or truce; and being met at Pontefract on the 6th of July, agreed to one, which was to commence on the 20th of the same month, and continue till the feast of Easter in the following year. In the interim, a congress was to be held at Handenstank, to treat of a final peace.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.

King Robert, in the decline of life, having lost his eldest son, the duke of Rothsay, by the perfidy of Robert duke of Albany his brother, uncle to the said duke, and being worn out with age, sickness, and grief, he left the government, and retired to the isle of Bute, to spend the remainder of his days in solitude; where his only care was to secure his other son James, a hopeful youth of fourteen years of age, from the designs of his wicked and barbarous uncle the duke of Albany; for the better securing of whom, Robert was advised by Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews, the young prince's tutor, to send him to the court of France to be educated; which the king approving of, a vessel was prepared to carry him thither, and being attended by Henry earl of Orkney, and a certain bishop, he set out for France, with letters recommendatory from his father to the king of England, lest he should by stress of weather, or otherwise, be obliged to put into some port of that kingdom, setting forth the great hardships he lay under, who had one son taken away by the most inhuman barbarity, which obliged him to find a sanctuary for the other in a foreign country: he also reminded him of the vicissitudes of fortune, and endeavoured by all means to move compassion, and to observe the laws of hospitality. But the prince's ship, being on the coast of England, was attacked by certain English ships, who having taken her, conducted the prince with his attendants to court; whence the bishop making his escape,

it occasioned the prince and earl to be sent prisoners to the tower of London.

This happened during the truce agreed on in the preceding year, which was to continue till the feast of Easter in the year 1405. But Robert not approving of the terms, king Henry named commissioners, both in the months of August and September, to treat with those to be named by Robert, upon the foot of the treaty of Handenstank, who were appointed by Robert in the month of May, anno 1404. During this interval a congress was to be held at Handenstank, to bring about a lasting peace.

Rym. Fœder.
tom. viii.
p. 359.

In the mean time, Robert received an account of the capture of his son James by the English. This melancholy news affected the aged king to such a degree, that he had like to have fainted amongst his domesticks; but which not long surviving, it appears that he only reigned fifteen years, though by all our authors he is said to have died in the sixteenth year of his reign. This shews that our writers have only copied one another, without giving themselves the trouble to consult either our records or manuscripts, which would have prevented their blundering in so shameful a manner: besides, they would have been thereby enabled to have given us a fuller and better account of the conduct of the duke of Albany, in respect to the duke of Rothsay's murder, which is only mentioned by Boece, and no other writer before him, that I can learn; whereas Winton, who was cotemporary with the duke, speaks always of him with great respect. But as a modern writer has given us a full relation of that affair, it will not be amiss to insert it, which is of the following tenor, viz.

" The little credit authors deserve, makes me timorous, when I
" have no other to depend upon, and almost afraid of my having
" been misled by them in the accounts I have given of the death of
" the duke of Rothsay. The reason of my doubt is, that I have seen
" no author, before Boethius, that relates it in so injurious a manner
" to the memory of the duke of Albany. Winton, who was cotem-
" porary with that prince, speaks always of him with great respect,
" and though he much regrets the death of his nephew, does not
" ascribe it to him; nor does the accurate writer of the Extracta Chro-
" nicis Scotiæ blame him. He tells us, indeed, that Ramorgny, a false
" and deceitful, though otherwise a man of good parts, made it his
" business to create a difference betwixt the nephew and his uncle;
" and that Rothsay was arrested by Albany, and confined to the castle
" of Falkland, where he was lodged in a decent room till he died of
" a dysentery; or, adds he, according to others, of hunger.

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. ii. p. 226.

" He tells us likewise, that earl Douglas, who was brother-in-law
" to the duke of Rothsay, was one who first seized his sword; which
" shews he acted in concert with Albany, by an order from the king;
" as it also does that Douglas did not resent the murder of his brother-
" in-law, who, had he lived, would have raised his sister to be a
" queen, whereby it may reasonably be supposed that he did not
" believe Rothsay was murdered. And I am positively of opinion,
" that though the king might have been suspicious of his brother, and
" therefore removed his surviving son from danger, yet the pitiful let-
" ter he is said to have written to the king of England on that occasion,
" is like many others of Boethius's composure, and just as genuine as

“ those the said author has said to have passed between the Scottish king Ederus and the Roman emperor Julius Cæsar.

“ Had king Robert made such horrid complaints, and inveighed so bitterly against his brother, 'tis more than probable we should have heard of it from English writers, who, instead of that, only tell us, that the reason given to king Henry for the voyage of James is, that he might be educated and brought up in the polite arts of the French nation: adding, that on this Henry became merry, and said, That, if the Scots had been kind, they would have intrusted him with the education of their prince, seeing he was not ignorant of the French language.”

Walsing. Hist.
Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.

Robert, in his outward appearance, was of a beautiful make and form, inferior to none of his cotemporaries; and had all the accomplishments necessary to form a good prince. His life and conversation were harmless and exemplary. He was very merciful, and charitable to the poor; a dutiful son, a tender father, and a loving husband. He had two sons, David duke of Rothsay, and James I. and one daughter, who was first married to James Kennedy of Drummur, then to George Douglas earl of Angus, and afterwards to lord Graham, by all of whom she had divers children, eminent for their loyalty, religion, and other good qualities. The earl of Cassils is descended of the first marriage, the duke of Douglas of the second, and the laird of Fintry of the third

JAMES I.

An. 1405. The captivity of James, the king's only son, by the English, had no sooner brought his father's grey hairs with sorrow to the grave, in the year 1405, than James (though our own historians, who wrote his life, date his accession to the crown in the year 1424) was owned as king, both by his own subjects and other states of Europe, and in particular he was acknowledged as such by Henry IV. and V. kings of England, in whose custody he was before his redemption from captivity: so in all the charters granted by him, he dates the beginning of his reign in the year 1405. And we are told by one of our own cotemporary writers, that, upon the death of king Robert, a convention of the states was held at Scone, wherein the right and title of James, their captivated sovereign, unjustly seized and detained by Henry, contrary to law and justice, was confirmed.

Winton's
MSS. Advo-
cates Lib.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii.
p. 414, 415.

And to shew, in some measure, that the duke of Albany was not, according to Boece, the murderer of the duke of Rothsay, he was no sooner, upon the death of the king his brother, appointed regent of Scotland by the states of the kingdom, than he made an attempt for the relief of his nephew and sovereign from his dures in England, as is evident by king Henry's ordering, in the beginning of September, all his military tenants to take arms, to withstand the duke of Albany, the pretended governor of Scotland, who was about to invade England, notwithstanding the truce then subsisting; and being resolved to distress the regent on this occasion as much as possible, he granted a commission to the bishop of Down in Ireland, to treat with Donald lord of the isles, his brother, and their vassals in the several isles, about a final peace, alliance, and friendship, between him and his subjects of England and Ireland, and the said Donald and John, and their people in all their islands. But instead of a war, for which all things seem to have been

been ready, a treaty was begun about the middle of September, the truce prolonged, and a war prevented.

And notwithstanding what we have been told by Boece, of the cruelty and barbarity of Albany; yet, if English writers may be believed, he was a very good, valuable, and incorruptible prince. Walsing. Hist. p. 375. Walsingham says, "a great deal of money was employed in secret practices amongst a treacherous set of people, who undertook to deliver up the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolph into the hands of king Henry, in exchange for some prisoners of their own nation. But sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, a man of great honour, gave them notice of the intended treachery, and assisted them in making their escape to Wales: adding, that sir David was slain for his kindness, justice, and hospitality, by those he had disappointed of their hopes, and that his murder filled all Scotland with broils and discord; and to avoid the danger that might arise from thence, prince James was sent abroad."

This relation seems so very inconsistent, that there is scarcely the least probability of its being true; which, in one respect, is manifest by the records of Wigton, which say that sir David was alive in the year 1406, and the prince went abroad in the year 1405.

The truce drawing towards an end, Gilbert chancellor of Scotland and bishop of Aberdeen, the bishop of Dunkeld, earl of Crawford, &c. were appointed commissioners to prolong it, which they did soon after, and it was well kept all the following year. The only things remarkable in that year were, 1st, That the Scottish earl of March, who, by his rebellion in favour of England, had done Scotland so much hurt, having quarrelled with the dean and chapter of Lincoln, was impeached for the murder of one John Blefwell of Nanenby; but king Henry, for the great services done by the said earl, granted not only a remission to himself, but also to his son and thirty-seven of his domesticks, for all crimes, transgressions, murders, treasons, &c. 2d, In the month of June following, king James was removed from his durance in the tower of London, (where he had been cruelly and unjustly confined a prisoner since his being seized) to Nottingham-castle, where he was entertained more kindly, and, though confined, shewn all the respect due to his character; insomuch that king Henry, at his intercession, and that of his own son's, commanded two gentlemen, who had fought long and bravely in presence of the court, to desist. Nor was Henry unwilling to oblige the Scottish prisoners, who had been in England since the battles of Homeldon and Shrewsbury; for he allowed the earl of Douglas to return home, on condition either to return, or pay his ransom: for the performance of which, David, eldest son to the earl of Caithness, John Stuart, son to the regent, &c. were given as hostages. And though Henry continued to disturb the regent, by encouraging the defection of Donald of the Isles, the truce was nevertheless prolonged from Easter in this year to that of anno 1409. An. 1406. Rym. Fœd. tom. viii. p. 461. An. 1407. Rym. Fœd. tom. viii. p. 481. Ibid. p. 484. An. 1408. Rym. Fœd. tom. viii. p. 539.

This truce no sooner expired, than the people of Teviotdale ran to arms, and reduced the strong castle of Jedburgh, which had been in possession of the English ever since the battle of Durham, for which reason the regent resolved to have it demolished. An. 1409.

This loss was followed by another of worse consequence to the English; which was that of the Scottish earl of March, who had been in rebellion against his country, and gained two battles in favour of Henry, Extract. Chron. Scot. preserved

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. lib. 10.

preserved his life and crown, and had been rewarded in an ample manner for his services; tho' Buchanan tells us, that he had not an honourable subsistence in England; which is false, as appears by unquestionable authority. But that he could not obtain assistance of the English to recover his paternal estate in Scotland, is not to be wondered at, seeing Henry did all in his power to keep peace with Scotland, till a more favourable opportunity offered, which that it soon after did will presently appear.

An. 1410.

March, having sued for and obtained pardon, returned to Scotland, and being received by the regent favourably, was put in possession of all his lands, castles, &c. those of Lochmaban and Annan only excepted, which were given to earl Douglas, to indemnify him for the losses he had sustained. And that March left England with king Henry's consent, I think, is not to be doubted, seeing he was sent ambassador to the English court about two years after. When March arrived in Scotland, there seems to have been neither peace nor war; for neither Henry nor the regent being inclined to prosecute the war, there was a great appearance of peace; and a truce being concluded in the year 1410, it was ratified by a letter from the regent to Henry, in the month of May following: but it being wrote in a degree of arrogance quite unbecoming a regent, beginning as followeth, "To the most excellent prince Henry, by the grace of God, king of the English, our most dear cousin, Robert, by the same grace, son to the king of Scotland, duke of Albany, earl of Fife and Monteith, and governor of the kingdom of Scotland;" the expression of "the grace of God," and that in another place of "our subjects of Scotland," was no ways pleasing to king Henry, which occasioned his shewing little or no regard to the regent's letter; which so irritated the duke, that, having assembled a considerable army in the month of July following, he threatened to invade England, if Henry would not likewise sign the said truce: for the preventing of which, that monarch summoned all his military tenants to attend him against a certain day, to invade Scotland. However, he could not defend the strong fortress of Fastcastle, in the Merse, which was obliged to surrender, with its governor, who, by frequent sallies, committed great depredations in the neighbourhood.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii. p.
639.

Id. ibid.

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. ii. p. 239.
An. 1411.

Some are of opinion, that king Henry's not ratifying the truce was not owing to Albany's letter, but to Donald lord of the Isles, who was making great preparations for war, to fulfil the treaty concluded between him and Henry to recover the earldom of Ross, given by Albany the regent to the earl of Buchan, his second son, in prejudice to Donald, whose right to it was as follows, viz. He and his predecessors had maintained themselves in a state of independency for about the space of eighty years, which Donald seems to have had a better title to than many of his progenitors; for Walter Lesly, a man nobly born, succeeded to the estate and honours of the ancient earls of Ross, in right of his wife, who was a daughter of that family. He had by her a son named Alexander, who succeeded him, and a daughter Margaret, who was married to the lord of the Isles. Alexander married a daughter of the regent, and, dying young, left only one daughter, called Euphorme, who being much deformed, according to some, took upon her the veil in the nunnery of North-Berwick. The regent, being her grandfather, procured from her the earldom of Ross, in
favour

favour of John earl of Buchan, his second son, to the prejudice of Donald the islander, who being the son of Margaret, son to the last earl of Ross, was without doubt the nearest. He claimed his right accordingly: but justice being denied him by Albany, Donald and his brother had recourse to king Henry, and entered into treaty with him; and Henry, to favour the violent measures resolved on, suffered the truce between the two nations to expire; and when it was renewed by commissioners on both sides, he refused to accept it; whereupon hostilities commenced on both sides.

Donald, satisfied of the justice of his cause, and strengthened by his alliance with king Henry, whose troops committed great depredations in the southern parts of Scotland, judged it now time to break in upon the northern parts of the country; and having raised ten thousand men within his own isles, and putting himself at their head, made a descent on the continent, and having without opposition seized on the lands in dispute, the people were willing to return to the subjection of their antient lord; but Donald, not satisfied with that, continued his march through Ross to Murray, and arriving with his army at the village of Harlew in Garioch, was stopped by Alexander Stuart earl of Mar, the regent's nephew. A long and bloody battle ensued, to which at last only night put an end: it was fought with such desperation on both sides, that it was a question to whom the victory belonged. But Mar having continued on the field of battle during the following night, Donald, with the remains of his army, marched homeward, without any great molestation from the shattered remains of Mar's army; while incursions, or a petty war, was continued on the borders by both the Scottish and English nations.

The regent not deeming it sufficient to beat the rebel Donald in battle, fitted out a number of ships to drive him from his retreat in the isles; of which Donald receiving intelligence, proposed terms of accommodation, which, according to my author, were, that he should beg pardon, promise satisfaction for the injury done, and swear, that thenceforth he never would attempt any thing against the government.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 17.

In the years 1414, 1415, and 1416, both the lord of the isles and the Scottish earl of March were included in the treaties of those times, agreed on between the kings of England and France, as their allies; as they likewise were by the king of England soon after, though to their country they were both very pernicious rebels, and destructive enemies. However, Donald's submission was followed by a truce in the month of May, anno 1412. This for certain reasons not taking effect, divers commissioners were again named to renew the treaty, who were again disappointed by the death of king Henry, who was succeeded by his son Henry V. on the twentieth of May in the year 1413. The first thing he did the day following, for their greater security, was more closely to confine the Scottish prisoners, viz. the unfortunate king James, the earl of Fife, William Douglas of Dalkeith, and William Giffard, in the tower of London. Whether this was done with a view to prevent their escape, in this time of hurry and confusion, does not appear; though we have some reason to believe it was not, seeing in the month of April following, he ordered divers Scottishmen of distinction to be set at liberty.

An. 1412.
Rym. Fœd.
tom. viii. p.
737.

An. 1413.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ix. p. 5.

This generosity of king Henry's, with others, looked like a happy prelude to the Scottish king's freedom, which might have been reasonably

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ix. p. 5.
40, 79.

An. 1414.

Ibid. p. 44.

Ibid. p. 91,
92.

Ibid. p. 244.
An. 1415.

ably hoped; for, considering their having been educated much alike, and being much of the same age, they might have contracted a friendship not easily to be dissolved. And Albany, the regent, having it seems been more careful for the interest of his own family, and that of the Scottish prisoners, than for the king's redemption, now conscious of his remissness, exerted himself for James's delivery. To which end he sent no less than three embassies, at the head of which was the earl of Buchan, to treat of that and of the redemption of the earl of Fife, and other Scottish prisoners of distinction, with a power to confirm, renew, or prolong the truce between the two nations: that concluded the year before proved very defective; wherefore a new one was agreed on between Scotland, England, and France, till the first of June, in the year 1414. But the negotiations relating to king James not having had the desired effect, he was in the month of August conducted from the tower of London to the castle of Windsor, where, towards his maintenance, and that of the earl of Fife and others, was paid out of the English exchequer, for the space of three hundred days, the sum of three hundred pounds sterling; a pitiful allowance for a king, and so numerous a family of persons of so great distinction: and in the month of February following, king Henry having appointed sir John Pelham guardian or keeper of James's person, he was, for his yearly entertainment, allowed the sum of seven hundred pounds sterling, notwithstanding the English insisted upon two thousand pounds sterling from the Scots, which was promised to be paid by them as soon as their king was set at liberty.

During the truce which had been prolonged between the nations aforesaid, till the Candlemas following, the Scots raised an army, which making a formidable appearance on the borders, alarmed all England, and made them prepare against the impending danger. But Henry, more inclinable to a war with France, was unwilling to break with the Scots. This gave rise to a treaty which occasioned the earl of Fife's liberty, who was to be exchanged for the young Henry Percy, son of Henry Percy commonly called Hotspur, and grandson to the late earl of Northumberland. In consideration whereof the earl was obliged to restore the right and lawful heir of that family, who had been detained in Scotland many years.

Pursuant to this agreement, Robert Stuart, son and heir to the earl of Fife, George Dunbar son to the earl of March, and divers others of the principal Scottish nobility, and chief men of the nation, were appointed to conduct the young earl of Northumberland to the Scottish border, and to receive in exchange for him the earl of Fife, who for that end set out for Scotland; but being either recalled or stopped on the road, he endeavoured to make his escape, and was retaken by Ralph Padfay, to whom king Henry granted an annuity of twenty pounds sterling a year, as a reward for this service.

What occasioned the earl of Fife's attempting to make his escape, when he was to have exchanged slavery for liberty, is not easily to be accounted for, unless we suppose, when on the road to Scotland, he was recalled by order of Henry, out of resentment to the Scots, who had some time before renewed their antient league with France, which irritated Henry to the last degree; who being intent on a war with France, was apprehensive that this renewal would prove very detrimental to his interest in the prosecution of his war against that nation:

nation: wherefore it is not to be wondered at, that Henry did all in his power to prevent the bad consequences such a renewal might be attended with, which must have occasioned a war with Scotland as well as with France.

Now, as already hinted, Henry having a strong propensity to a war with France, his nobility, both spiritual and temporal, were divided in their opinion, with respect both to that and Scotland; some were for beginning with France; the reasons were drawn from the circumstances of the French at that time, viz. The weakness of their king, and the divisions that raged in all the cities and places of the kingdom. Others were first for a war with Scotland, insinuating it was more advisable to begin with that people, who, being nearer, were more open to invasions, destitute of a king, and less powerful, who would probably become an easy prey to such forces as the king could bring into the field; and when conquered, would be a great step to the conquest of France: whereas, if the first attempt was made against France, he must leave the Scots, his certain enemies, behind him, ready to catch at all opportunities to retaliate the mischiefs done, or intended, to their allies. To which it was replied, that as France is the root and support of Scotland, if it be pulled up, the branches must fade, and fall of course: then what can hinder this at present, seeing the tree is shaken by opposite factions, which rend it in pieces?

The latter prevailing, the Scots no sooner received advice that France was to be invaded, than they ran to arms to invade England; but were prevented by intelligence, that the truce between England and France was prolonged from the first of May to the eighth of June, and from the tenth of June to the fifteenth of July.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ix. p.
225, 262,
263, 307, 310.

Henry being now ready to enter on his French expedition, the regent of Scotland, to divert him from his enterprize, raised an army of sixty thousand men, wherewith he threatened to besiege Berwick both by sea and land: but as it does not appear that the siege of that place was then undertaken, it may be presumed, that the wise measures taken by Henry before his departure for France, prevented it. Nothing was done in Britain this year, as to martial affairs, but the taking and burning of Penrith in England, and Dumfries in Scotland.

As the Scots at this time were allies to the French, it will not be amiss to give an account of the transaction at this period, between the English and French nations.

King Henry having resolved to invade France, to recover his right in that country, began to make preparations for an expedition thither; the history whereof, to avoid the imputation of partiality, I shall give from Rabin, a French historian, who, from his relation to France, cannot be supposed to have been partial in respect to the English, which please to take as follows:

“ Every thing being ready for the departure, Henry ordered all his troops to repair immediately to Southampton, where they were to embark; and went thither himself to give orders, as the troops and transports arrived. Whilst he was thus employed, he gave fresh powers to Philip Morgan, to conclude a treaty of alliance with the duke of Burgundy. This shews, that the duke, who was still at the court of France, held private intelligence with Henry, and had probably conduced very much to engage him in this undertaking. The treaty, however, was not concluded till two years after.

Tindal's Rabin, vol. i. p. 511.

“ Henry

“ Henry was preparing to depart about the end of July, or beginning of August; most part of his troops were now embarked, when he had notice of a conspiracy against his person, formed by those whom he thought to have had least reason to suspect. If we believe the English historians, the court of France, dreading the success of the war, employed a vast sum of money to bribe men to kill the king. They mount this sum to a million of livres, which is no wonder, considering the quality of the persons concerned in the plot, namely, Richard earl of Cambridge, brother of the duke of York, Henry Scroope, lord treasurer, who commonly lay in the same room with the king, and Thomas Grey, a knight of Northumberland, and privy counsellor.

“ It is not very certain, however, that they had a design upon the king's life, at least the earl of Cambridge's confession, extant in the collection of the publick records, contains nothing like it. It only appears, that they had conspired to set the earl of March, the English earl, at their head, and conduct him where they hoped to raise an army, by making use of the name of Richard II. as if he were still alive. That if they could not deceive the people by a means so frequently practised, their intent was to publish a manifesto, in the name of the earl of March, inviting the people to restore that prince to his rights, usurped by the house of Lancaster. As they could not make use of the earl of March's name, without having him in their power, or at least in their party, they could not help informing him of the plot. The earl was greatly embarrassed, when the secret was told him. A crown, which he believed to be his lawful right, was worth the pains of running some risk to obtain. But, on the other hand, he was satisfied the conspirators acted not from a motive of justice or affection for his person. Besides, the uncertainty of the issue could not but discourage him. Mean while, he was pressed very earnestly to enter into the conspiracy. In short, not being able to resolve immediately, he desired time to consider of so important an affair; and it was with great difficulty that he obtained the rest of that day. During this interval, he made such reflections as induced him to acquaint the king with the whole.

An. 1415.

“ Henry, surprized at the news, immediately ordered the conspirators to be seized, who, confessing their guilt, were condemned and executed. The earl of Cambridge and sir Thomas Grey were beheaded, but the lord Scroope suffered the usual punishment of traitors.

“ This affair detaining Henry at Southampton longer than he imagined, he could not sail till the 18th or 19th of August. His fleet consisted of fifteen hundred transport ships, in which were embarked six thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand archers, making in all an army of about fifty thousand men. He was attended by the earls of Dorset, Kent, Cornwall, Salisbury, Huntington, with many others of the nobility. On the 21st of August he landed his troops at Havre de Grace in Normandy, and without loss of time marched to Harfleur, about nine miles distant. That place was strong and well stored: a little before four hundred men at arms were sent thither, besides a great number of neighbouring nobles who came there. The garrison made a vigorous defence,

“ but

“ but however was forced to capitulate, and promised to surrender
 “ the place, unless relieved within three days. The term being ex-
 “ pired, and no relief come, Henry took possession of the town, and
 “ expelling the inhabitants, planted an English colony in their room,
 “ as Edward III. had formerly done at Calais.

“ This place being of the utmost importance, Henry would not
 “ depart till it was entirely repaired, and put in a good state of de-
 “ fence. In the mean while he sent a written challenge to the dau-
 “ phin, offering to decide all their differences by a single combat be-
 “ tween their two persons. These differences, according to the king’s
 “ notion, concerned no less than the whole kingdom of France. If
 “ he directed himself to the dauphin, it was because of his father’s
 “ distemper, which rendered him incapable of accepting such a chal-
 “ lenge. But as it was not in the dauphin’s power to hazard, in a
 “ single combat, the crown of France, which did not belong to him,
 “ Henry offered, in case he was conqueror, to let king Charles enjoy
 “ it during his life. Moreover, he protested this proposal wholly from
 “ himself, without any suggestion from his council or family, there-
 “ fore could not be prejudicial to his rights, or those of his successors.
 “ This challenge was dated at Harfleur, September 16, 1415. It
 “ does not appear that the dauphin returned any answer.

“ The conquest of Harfleur might have rendered Henry satisfied
 “ with the success of his first campaign, begun a little too late, if,
 “ on the other hand, the ill state of his army had not exceedingly
 “ troubled him. The flux, which was got amongst his troops, had
 “ made, and still did make, such ravage, that not above a fourth of
 “ his army were able to bear arms: the distemper had not seized the
 “ common soldiers only, but even the most considerable persons were
 “ not free from it; the bishop of Norwich, and the earl of Suffolk,
 “ were already dead of it; the duke of Clarence, the king’s brother,
 “ the earl of Arundel, and several other officers of distinction, were
 “ so dangerously ill, that they were obliged to return to England in
 “ hopes of a cure.

“ At the same time Henry learned from all parts, that the French
 “ were assembling their forces with great diligence, to give him
 “ battle. Till the taking of Harfleur, the king of France seems not
 “ to have believed the king of England seriously intended to wage war,
 “ since they had made no preparations for their defence: but after the
 “ loss of so important a place, king Charles’s council easily perceived it
 “ was necessary to assemble all the forces of the kingdom, to stop
 “ the progress of an enemy, who began to be very formidable. The
 “ great armament France was preparing, the ill state of the English
 “ army, and the approach of winter, obliged Henry to think of re-
 “ treating. He might, it seems, have re-embarked for Harfleur; but
 “ whether he thought it would look too much like a flight, or fore-
 “ saw not all the obstacles he afterwards encountered, or for some
 “ other unknown reason, he resolved to retire by land to Calais.

“ The march he undertook was difficult, at a season when the
 “ rains began to spoil the roads: but it became much more so by un-
 “ expected accidents. The French having foreseen or heard of his
 “ design, speedily broke down the bridges and causeways in his rout,
 “ and destroyed or removed into the fortified towns, the provisions
 “ and forage that he might have found in the country. On the

“ other hand, the constable D’Albret, with a body of troops drawn
 “ together, whilst the rest were preparing, continually harrassed the
 “ English, and constrained them to march very close, and to be al-
 “ ways upon their guard. All these difficulties hindered their ad-
 “ vancing so speedily as was necessary to free themselves from their ill
 “ situation.

“ Amidst all these obstacles to his march, Henry proceeded along
 “ the Somme, in expectation of passing that river at the ford of Blan-
 “ chetaque, as Edward III. had done the day before the battle of Cressy;
 “ but when he came there, he found that pass rendered impracticable
 “ by sharp stakes fixed in the river, and defended moreover by a body
 “ of troops posted on the opposite bank. He was extremely con-
 “ cerned to find his project could not be executed. It was necessary,
 “ however, either to pass the Somme, or resolve to return to Harfleur,
 “ through the same difficulties he had already been exposed to, and
 “ even without knowing when he came there how to subsist his
 “ army. In this extremity he determined to march higher up the
 “ river, even to its source, though it was much out of his way; as
 “ he advanced, he every where found the bridges broken down, and
 “ the fords guarded by troops intrenched on the other side.

“ As in so ill a situation, there was no other remedy but patience,
 “ Henry took all possible care to instill it into his troops, by taking
 “ his share of the wants and hardships they laboured under. It is
 “ easy to perceive these hardships were not proper to stop the course
 “ of their distemper, and that on the contrary great numbers fell sick
 “ in their march. At last, to compleat his misfortune, Henry heard
 “ that the king of France was come to Roan, and had sent to the
 “ constable fourteen thousand men at arms, with all the princes and
 “ great lords of the kingdom, except the dukes of Berry and Bur-
 “ gundy. The dauphin was desirous of commanding the army, but
 “ the king would not give him leave. The constable, who had also
 “ drawn together many other troops, receiving so strong a reinforce-
 “ ment, called a council of war, where it was unanimously resolved
 “ to give the English battle. But as the French generals thought
 “ themselves sure of victory, considering the superiority of their forces,
 “ they judged it proper, instead of continuing to guard the Somme,
 “ to let the English army pass, and to post themselves on the road to
 “ Calais. This resolution being taken, they went and expected their
 “ enemies in the earldom of St. Pol, in order to draw them over the
 “ Somme, into a place where they should not be able to turn back.

“ It is certain that by passing the river, Henry ran into manifest
 “ danger, since there was no mean between conquering and perish-
 “ ing. It is true he might have returned to Harfleur, but I cannot
 “ tell whether that was less hazardous, considering the difficulties he
 “ must have encountered, and which he had not, without infinite
 “ trouble, surmounted. Wherefore, it is a question in my opinion
 “ hard to be decided, whether a battle was more dangerous than a
 “ retreat. Be this as it will, it is to be presumed he chose what
 “ to him seemed least disadvantageous, in continuing his march along
 “ the Somme, with a resolution to face the danger that waited on the
 “ other side. As the passages were no longer defended, he found
 “ one between St. Quintin and St. Peronne, where he caused his army
 “ to pass. But though this obstacle, which had hitherto seemed the
 “ greatest,

“ greatest, was removed, the English army found themselves in no
“ better condition : that of their enemies, six times more numerous,
“ expected them upon their pass ; whom there was a necessity of
“ vanquishing, in order to open a way to Calais.

“ The French historians affirm, that Henry, seeing himself in this
“ sad situation, offered to restore Harfleur, and repair all the damages
“ he had caused in France since his landing, if he might be suffered
“ to proceed unmolested ; but that his offer was rejected. On the
“ contrary, the constable and princes that were in the French army
“ sent three heralds to offer him battle, leaving him to chuse the time
“ and place. Henry replied, As he had long been upon his march to
“ Calais, they might have fought him when they pleased ; and if
“ they intended it, there was no occasion to appoint the time or
“ place, for he was resolved to pursue his march, and they should
“ always find him ready to receive them.

“ The French army being posted on his rout, it was not possible
“ to pass without fighting ; he resolved therefore to prepare for battle.
“ On the 22d of October, the French generals sent him word by a
“ herald, that on Friday following they would give him battle.
“ Henry, who had already taken his resolution, accepted the challenge,
“ and presented the herald with a robe worth two hundred crowns.
“ During the three days before the battle, Henry never ceased to in-
“ spire his troops with courage by the promise of rewards and honours,
“ and by all other means most conducive to that end. He represented
“ to them the glory of their ancestors, who obtained the famous victo-
“ ries of Cressy and Poitiers, and demonstrated to them the necessity of
“ conquering, in order to free themselves from their present, and
“ to avoid still greater miseries. His exhortations wrought so wonderful
“ an effect, that the officers and soldiers, far from dreading the great
“ number of their enemies, were extremely eager to engage.

“ The day before the battle, Henry having sent David Gam, a
“ Welsh captain, to view the strength of the enemy, this brave officer
“ gallantly reported, There are enough to be killed, enough to be
“ taken prisoners, and enough to run away. This assurance pleased
“ the king, as being a sign that his troops were firmly resolved to do their
“ duty. Mean while, the French, presuming on their numbers, and
“ confident of victory, were making rejoicings in their camp. Me-
“ zerai owns, that they were four times superior to the English ;
“ Monstrelet says six times. This diversity may partly proceed from
“ Mezerai's reckoning all the soldiers sick and well of the English
“ army ; and from Monstrelet's meaning only such as were able to
“ fight.

“ The English historians make the difference between the two
“ armies much greater, affirming the French amounted to one hun-
“ dred and fifty thousand, and the English but to nine thousand.
“ Be this as it will, it is certain the superiority of the French was
“ very great : but what inequality soever there was between the two ar-
“ mies as to number, there was another, which was no less considerable,
“ with regard to the different state they were in : the English, sick for
“ the most part of a flux, with which they had been troubled ever since
“ their departure from Harfleur, were moreover harrassed with a te-
“ dious march of a month, in very bad weather, and through an
“ enemy's country. They had all along been in want of provisions,
“ and

“ and would doubtless have been all starved, if the exact discipline
 “ the king had caused to be observed, had not engaged the country
 “ people to supply them with victuals, for the sake of selling them at
 “ an extravagant rate. The French, on the contrary, were fresh and
 “ healthy, abounding with provisions, and labouring under no incon-
 “ veniency. If we believe the English historians, so confident of
 “ success were the French leaders, that they sent to the king to know
 “ what he would give for his ransom. Henry, despising this bravado,
 “ replied, according to the same authors, That a few hours would shew
 “ whose care it would be to provide a ransom.

“ On the 25th of October, the day appointed for the battle, the
 “ two armies were drawn up as soon as it was light. The constable
 “ D’Albret committed on this occasion an unpardonable fault, in
 “ chusing for the field of battle a narrow ground, flanked on one side
 “ by a rivulet, and on the other by a large wood: he thereby lost all
 “ the advantage which the superiority of number, especially in horse,
 “ could give him. It is most certain, that this general ought to have
 “ posted his troops in a large and open place, where he might have
 “ had it in his power to surround the English, who were but a hand-
 “ ful of men, in comparison of his army: but by drawing up on so
 “ narrow a ground, he was forced to make a front no larger than that
 “ of the enemy’s, and thereby deprived himself of a very manifest
 “ advantage. Neither can it be said that the choice of the field of
 “ battle was not intirely in his breast: as the English were marching
 “ for Calais, it was his business to expect them on a spacious plain,
 “ capable of containing his whole army, and where they might have
 “ all fought at once. His blindness therefore is astonishing, and can
 “ be ascribed only to his presumption. He seems to have intended to
 “ stop up that narrow passage, that the English might not proceed,
 “ without considering such a precaution can only be advantageous to
 “ the weakest. I have dwelt a little upon this error, as it was probably
 “ the principal cause of the unfortunate success of the French in this
 “ action.

“ The constable, blinded by the number of his troops, drew them
 “ up, as I said, on this narrow ground; but so close, that it was easy
 “ to foresee confusion would ensue during the battle. He divided his
 “ army into three bodies, the first of which he commanded himself,
 “ with the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu, Vendome,
 “ Richmond, the famous marshal Boucicaut, grand master of the cross-
 “ bow men, the lord Dampier, admiral of France, the dauphin of
 “ Avergne, and several other officers of the greatest distinction. All
 “ these princes and lords thought themselves happy in being in the first
 “ line, persuaded, as they were, that the other two would have nothing
 “ to do. The duke of Alençon commanded the second body, with
 “ the duke of Bar, the earls of Vaudémont, Nevers, Salines, Rouffi,
 “ and Grand-Pré. At the head of the third line were the earls of
 “ Marle, Damp-Martin, Fauquenbergh, and the lord de Lauroi.

“ Whilst the French were drawing up, Henry detached a body of
 “ four hundred lances, to go and post themselves out of sight of the
 “ enemy, behind the wood on the left of the field of battle. He
 “ lodged, moreover, two hundred archers in a low meadow, fenced
 “ with bushes on the right. In drawing up his army he could make
 “ but two lines, by reason of the small number of his troops. Edward
 “ duke

“ duke of York commanded the first, assisted by the lords Beaumont, “ Willoughby, and Fanhope,” and not Stanhope, as asserted by both Rapin and Goodwin. “ The king put himself at the head of the “ second, with a golden crown on his helmet for a crest, and near him “ was the standard of England. In this posture he expected the French “ would advance to attack him: mean time, riding along the front “ of his battalions, he exhorted them not to fear a multitude of raw “ and undisciplined soldiers. He represented to them, that victories “ depend not on numbers, but on bravery; and, above all, on the “ assistance of God, in whom he admonished them to place their “ whole trust.

“ In fine, perceiving the French did not move, he sent for some of “ his principal officers, and said to them with a chearful countenance, “ Since our enemies have intercepted our way, let us proceed, and “ break through them in the name of the Holy Trinity. Upon these “ words, he gave the signal of battle. Immediately the soldiers of “ the foremost ranks removing the stakes, which had been set in the “ front to resist the fury of the cavalry, the whole army, with a “ mighty shout, moved forward. After advancing a little, they made “ a halt, expecting their enemies; but finding they did not stir, con- “ tinued their march in good order. When they came within bow- “ shot, the foremost ranks fixed the stakes, interweaving and bending “ them a little towards their enemy. At the same time a body of “ chosen archers advancing some paces, began very near to let fly upon “ the enemy a shower of arrows a yard long, which, being shot by “ men of dexterity and strength, did the greater execution among “ the French, as they stood extremely close, and had scarce room to “ move. The French cavalry advancing at length to repel the archers, “ these last nimbly retreated behind the stakes, with a wonderful dis- “ cipline, in which the king had exercised them himself for some “ days. Mean while the two hundred, concealed in the meadow, “ rising upon a sudden, plied the horse with their arrows, who were “ put in the greater disorder, as the horses sunk up to their knees in “ the ground, softened with the rains. The English, seeing this con- “ fusion, threw away their bows, and fell upon their enemies sword “ in hand.

“ The English, it is said, were, for the most part, forced to fight “ naked from the waist downwards, by reason of their distemper. “ However, as the first line of the French consisted of all the best “ troops in their army, this charge, though very vigorous, was re- “ pulsed with some loss on the side of the English; but that was not “ capable of disheartening men, determined to conquer or die. After “ breathing a while, they charged again with such resolution, that it “ was not possible for their enemies to stand the shock. This second “ attack was the more difficult to be repulsed, as, at the same time, “ the French felt themselves set upon in the flank by the English “ horse, ambushed behind the wood. Then it was that the utmost “ disorder ensued among the troops so vigorously pressed by their ene- “ mies, who slew, without mercy, whoever came in their way. The “ first line of the French at length taking to flight, (after seeing the “ constable killed, with a great number of other officers, and most of “ the princes and generals made prisoners) the English found them- “ selves stopped by the second line, which came to repair the dis- “ order.

“ Mean while, Henry advancing with his second line, as the first
 “ gained ground, stood ready to support his men, who would have been
 “ in danger of being routed, if he had been farther off. Whilst the
 “ first body, after so gallant a fight, were retiring to the right and left,
 “ to make way for their king, and to rally in his rear, Henry, alight-
 “ ing from his horse, presented himself to the enemy with an un-
 “ daunted countenance. The duke of Alençon, prince of the blood
 “ royal of France, advanced at the head of his body with great intre-
 “ pidity, hoping, by his conduct and valour, to repair the disgrace of
 “ his countrymen. He had detached eighteen stout gentlemen, with
 “ orders to keep close to the king of England, and not to leave him
 “ till slain or taken prisoner. Henry, for his part, marching with a
 “ fierceness heightened by the success of his first troops, charged the
 “ second line with a valour equal to that of the most renowned heroes
 “ in history: he fought on foot at the head of his men, rushing in
 “ among the thickest of his enemies, as forgetting that upon his fate
 “ depended that of his army.

“ Mean time the eighteen cavaliers, who had undertaken to kill
 “ him, charged up so close to him, that one of them so struck him
 “ with a battle-ax on the head, that he was stunned for a while, tho’
 “ the goodness of his helmet resisted the violence of the blow.
 “ At the same time the rest were striving to approach him. Probably
 “ he would hardly have escaped these desperate men, had not the
 “ valiant David Gam, the Welsh captain, with two other officers of
 “ the same nation, saved him at the expence of their lives. The
 “ king, who was a little recovered, seeing them extended at his feet,
 “ and still breathing, knighted them all three, being unable, in their
 “ present condition, to reward their loyalty any other way. At the
 “ same time the eighteen Frenchmen, who still made prodigious efforts
 “ to execute their design, were all killed upon the spot.

“ The heat of the battle increasing, Henry, still more animated by
 “ his past danger, gave signal proofs of his valour, and drew upon
 “ him the bravest of the enemies. The duke of Gloucester, his bro-
 “ ther, who fought by his side, being knocked down, he long covered
 “ him with his own body, to prevent his being killed. By this bold
 “ action he was so exposed, that at length he received so great a blow
 “ on the head, that he fell on his knees; but his guard immediately
 “ advancing, repulsed the enemy, and gave him time to rise. The
 “ king’s danger, and the wonders he had performed, inspired his troops
 “ with a sort of fury. On a sudden, as it were by consent, the Eng-
 “ lish soldiers, encouraging one another, rushed upon their enemies;
 “ and by this violent and unexpected attack, put them in such disor-
 “ der, that their leaders could never repair it. Henry, improving this
 “ advantage, pressed them vigorously, to hinder them from recovering
 “ out of their surprize, knowing that this was the moment by which
 “ the victory was to be decided. Their disorder increasing, by reason
 “ of their great numbers and want of room, they began at length to
 “ fight only in retreat, in such a manner as shewed they would soon
 “ take flight.

“ The duke of Alençon, enraged to see the battle lost by the defeat
 “ of the second line, and despairing that the third would be able to
 “ restore the fight, generously resolved to die honourably, rather than
 “ turn his back and survive his country’s disgrace: so, regardless of a
 “ life

“ life he was determined to lose, with a small number of brave and
“ resolute persons, he furiously made way with his sword through the
“ English troops, and every way sought the king of England, in ex-
“ pectation of revenging, by one single blow, the loss France had that
“ day sustained. It was not difficult to find Henry, who thought of
“ nothing less than concealing himself. The moment the duke saw
“ him, he ran at him, and crying out that he was the duke of Alen-
“ son, discharged so violent a blow on his head, that it cleft off one
“ half of the golden crown on his helmet. Henry, not being able to
“ parry this blow, was not slow to revenge it: in return, he struck
“ the duke to the ground, and with repeated blows flew two of his
“ brave attendants. In an instant the duke was surrounded by a
“ crowd of enemies, who put an end to his life, notwithstanding the
“ king's endeavours to save him. The death of the duke of Alen-
“ son entirely discouraging his troops, they openly took to flight.

“ The third line of the French, being still fresh and in good order,
“ might have renewed the battle; but their hearts failing at the sight
“ of the present and past slaughter, it was not in the power of their
“ leaders to make them advance: so, finding themselves reduced to a
“ necessity of retreating without fighting, they left the flying troops of
“ the second line exposed to the fury of their enemies, who closely
“ pursued them. Then it was that the English, having nothing to do
“ but to kill and take prisoners, exercised pity or cruelty, according as
“ every one was naturally inclined. And as it was impossible for the
“ French, in their present disorder, to rally, and as their numbers were
“ an obstacle to their flight, they voluntarily offered themselves to
“ death or captivity, as their victorious enemies pleased.

“ Mean while the troops that retired without fighting, still ap-
“ peared at some distance, and seemed resolved to stand against ene-
“ mies harassed with so long a battle. But the king, perceiving they
“ were still more numerous than his army, commanded them by a
“ herald to leave the field, or he would give them no quarter. This
“ menace succeeded according to expectation. Whether these troops
“ were not fully resolved of their course, or were apprehensive of fall-
“ ing into the hands of an implacable enemy, in case they should
“ prove unsuccessful, they retired and left Henry master of the field
“ of battle.

“ Finding himself thus secure of the victory, Henry thought he
“ had nothing more to do, when suddenly word was brought him that
“ the enemy was in his rear, and had already plundered his camp. Sur-
“ prised at this unexpected accident, he hastily ran to the top of a hillock,
“ between the army and the camp, to review these new enemies. He real-
“ ly saw great disorder among his baggage, and saw the troops left to
“ guard the camp dispersed about the field, and endeavouring to save
“ themselves by flight. Imagining by this sight that the enemies had ral-
“ lied to renew the fight, he proclaimed that the prisoners should be slain,
“ except the most eminent. This order being immediately executed, he
“ speedily rallied his troops, and marched directly to the enemy, who
“ took no care, not expecting him. They were only a company of run-
“ aways, headed by Robert de Bournonville, who retiring betimes
“ out of the battle, and knowing the English camp was but weakly
“ guarded, pillaged it, while the two armies were engaged. The
“ duke of Burgundy afterwards would have severely punished the
“ captain

“ captain of these plunderers, who was his subject, for being the oc-
 “ casion of so great a disaster, but the earl of Charolois, his son,
 “ found means to save his life. It is said the earl was presented with
 “ a sword set with diamonds, found among the king’s baggage. It is
 “ pity so glorious a victory was sullied by this rash massacre. It may
 “ however be excused, by the impossibility of the English being able
 “ to guard their prisoners, and by the king’s just fears that these pri-
 “ soners would turn against him during the fight, which he saw him-
 “ self upon the point of renewing.

“ Nothing more opposing the king’s victorious arms, his first care
 “ was to return thanks to God for so signal and unexpected a victory,
 “ and publickly to acknowledge it was entirely owing to him. After
 “ the discharge of this just duty, he sent for a French herald, who
 “ was in the army, and required him to declare to whom the vic-
 “ tory was to be ascribed. The herald answered, the victory was un-
 “ doubtedly his. Then the king asked him the name of a castle in
 “ fight, near the field of battle; and being told it was called Azin-
 “ court, he said, Let this battle be hereafter called the battle of Azin-
 “ court. As the fight began not till ten in the morning, and lasted
 “ till almost five in the afternoon, Henry, not thinking proper to con-
 “ tinue his march, for fear of fatiguing his army too much, returned
 “ to Masconcelles, where he had encamped the foregoing night.

“ In this memorable battle, so fatal to France, the French lost the
 “ constable D’Albret, the duke of Alençon, prince of the blood, the
 “ duke of Brabant, and the earl of Nevers, brothers to the duke of
 “ Burgundy, the duke of Bar, the earls of Vandemont, Marle, Rouffi,
 “ Fauquenbergh, and many more officers of note, besides ten thou-
 “ sand private soldiers. An English historian says, that among the
 “ slain were one archbishop, three dukes, six earls, ninety barons, fif-
 “ teen hundred knights, and seven thousand squires or gentlemen.
 “ Among the prisoners, who would have been very numerous, with-
 “ out the massacre after the battle, the most eminent were the dukes
 “ of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu, Vendome, Richmond,
 “ Etouteville, and marshal Boucicaut. On the side of the English there
 “ were slain only the duke of York, the young earl of Suffolk, and,
 “ if we believe certain English historians, not above four knights, one
 “ squire, and twenty-eight common soldiers.”

After this great and glorious victory, one might have expected that
 nothing could have stopped the progress of his victorious arms; but
 the season being far advanced, and the greatest part of his army cut off
 in the battle, or by sickness, he found himself obliged to return to
 England with the remainder: where he no sooner arrived, than, to
 shew his inclination to live in peace and good neighbourhood with the
 Scots, he ordered the treaty concerning the earls of Fife and Northum-
 berland to be put in execution, pursuant to which they were ex-
 changed about the beginning of the year 1416; and the former
 truce was renewed between England and France, by the mediation of
 Sigismund the emperor. During these transactions, king James, by
 his long dures, being as it were forgot, a treaty was set on foot for his
 relief, wherein they proceeded so far, that Henry consented to his
 going to Scotland; but he was to return within a certain time, under
 the penalty of one hundred thousand marks sterling, and to give
 hostages for the performance.

The commissioners were named, with the number of their attendants, to repair to England. Though matters were thus far advanced, they nevertheless proved abortive, and James was obliged to continue in dures some time longer; for the time being chiefly employed in the renewal of treaties between England and France, the Scots were left in a state of inaction. Nay, if Buchanan may be believed, during Henry's whole reign, there was no war between Scotland and England; for the troubles which happened in that period, were only a few petty incursions and depredations. And as to the advice that Henry received from the frontiers of Scotland, that the Scots were resolved to besiege Berwick with sixty thousand men, both by sea and land, the duke of Bedford received orders to levy an army to oppose them; which, by Walsingham, is said to have amounted to one hundred thousand men, forty thousand whereof were veterans. We do not read in the history of Scotland of the least sign of such a considerable armament in the year 1415, or of a resolution to besiege Berwick. Besides, as Henry was then engaged in his conquest of France, 'tis not to be imagined that he could spare such a number of troops as forty thousand veterans. Nor is it more probable, seeing in that year a truce was concluded between England and France.

Rym. Fœd.
tom. ix.
p. 323.

However, it is necessary to observe, that although, since the accession of Henry V. to the crown of England, nothing very remarkable happened in Scotland, it is expedient briefly to mention that which did, for the better understanding the management of affairs at that time.

In the late reign, anno 1406, James prince of Scotland, in his voyage to France, on his going ashore at Flamborough-head in England, to refresh himself, after the fatigues of a dangerous voyage, was unjustly, and without the least provocation, detained, and committed to dures; and, by the death of his father, soon after became king of Scotland, which, instead of turning to his advantage, rather served to cause him to be more strictly guarded. The duke of Albany, the regent, his uncle, who had assumed the regency, liked it too well to procure his liberty; though not a year passed but he sent ambassadors to England, under colour of soliciting his nephew the king's freedom, while his real intention seems to have been far from what he would be thought to desire: for the chief motive of those frequent embassies was to negotiate an exchange of the earl of Fife, his son, for young Piercy, son to the earl of Northumberland, who had been prisoner in England ever since the battle of Halidon. Piercy was seized in Scotland, by way of reprisal for the captivity of prince James. According to Buchanan, the embassies were made to keep up a good understanding between Henry and the regent, to engage the latter not to assist the French in their war with England, and to induce them to remain quiet, to which they had no inclination; nor, indeed, was it their interest to see the French brought under by the English, since they were the next nation to be attacked.

Rapin's Hist.
Engl. vol. i.
p. 527.

An. 1418.

But Henry, it seems, being of opinion that it would not be always in the power of the regent to keep the Scots quiet, who were so much concerned to prevent the ruin of France, it might probably from this consideration arise, that, in the year 1416, he gave James leave to repair to Scotland, hoping that his return would create some differences between him and his uncle the regent, which would divert the Scots from continuing their assistance to the French.

An. 1419.
Boet. Hist.
Scot. lib. 16.
fol. 242.

The Scottish affairs continued in this condition till the year 1419, when the dauphin of France sent thither the duke of Vendome, to desire their assistance. The states of the kingdom being assembled on this occasion, they ordered seven thousand men to be forthwith levied for that purpose, and immediately sent them to France, under the command of the earl of Buchan, the regent's son; where arriving soon after, he marched into Anjou; which the duke of Clarence, king Henry's brother, receiving intelligence of, he led ten thousand men into that province, to reduce it to Henry's obedience. Clarence, while on his march, received advice that the earl of Buchan, with the seven thousand Scots, had entered the province, and was encamped at Bauge. At the same time he received false intelligence, that the vanguard of the Scots army was at such a distance from their main body, that it might easily be put to the rout, provided they were speedily attacked.

On this occasion the duke put himself at the head of his cavalry, and left orders with the earl of Salisbury to follow with the rest of the army. Clarence, on his arrival, perceived some Scottish troops intrenched in the church-yard. He dismounted his horse, in order to command on foot, and charged them immediately; but was so long in forcing that post, that Buchan had time to come to their relief: whereupon the duke remounted, and fell furiously on Buchan; but being overpowered by numbers, and unable to bear the thoughts of flying, was wounded in the face by sir John Swinton, and killed by the earl of Buchan. His death caused an entire defeat of the English cavalry, wherein fifteen hundred were slain, and many taken prisoners. Among the latter were the lords Gray and Ross, and other persons of distinction.

This advantage gained by the Scots, rendered Henry's presence in France necessary; but he had in England an affair no less urgent; for the parliament, which met on the 2d of May, readily confirmed the treaty of Troy, which was so glorious to England, and likewise granted a subsidy for carrying on the war against the dauphin of France; and at the same time delivered a petition to the king, setting forth, that it was too true that the conquest of France was the ruin of England. Henry, having obtained this subsidy, laid before the parliament a state of the revenues and expences of the crown; by a fragment whereof, inserted in the publick acts, it appears that king's revenue only amounted to the sum of 55743*l.* sterling; and that the ordinary expences amounted to the sum of 52235*l.* of the same money; so there only remained 3508*l.* to provide for twelve extraordinary articles mentioned in the said account.

This petition could not but be very displeasing to the king. One half of France was still unconquered, and the provinces subject to Henry so drained, that there was no prospect of drawing from them the necessary supplies: wherefore the burden was still to fall on England. Besides this, the parliament was weary of furnishing money, at a time when it was more wanted than ever, by reason of the diversion England was threatened with from Scotland; nor could Henry without great concern see the Scots declare so openly for the dauphin. He conceived that Albany, the regent, had not the same credit as formerly, or had changed his maxims, to break his measures and those of his friends in Scotland: he therefore judged it necessary to gain king James to his interest, which was partly his design of returning to England, where

where he intimated to James, that it was his own fault that he was not at liberty, which he might have been, by recalling his subjects in the service of France, and to join them with his against the dauphin. James, after a fifteen years captivity, longing to be released, readily complied with Henry's desires: pursuant to which, a private contract was agreed on between them, the articles whereof are unknown, one excepted; which is, That James shall go into France, and stay with Henry till the end of the war. His view in this was to interpose James's authority to oblige the seven thousand Scots, in the dauphin's service, to return home. Pursuant to which, James repaired to France for that purpose. But when he commanded the earl of Buchan to return to Scotland, he answered, he did not think himself bound to obey him, while under the power of another. For which reason Henry thenceforward treated all the Scots, which fell in his power, as rebels, for being in arms, as it was said, against their sovereign. An instance of this soon after appeared; for thirty Scottish soldiers, taken at the siege of Meaure, were unmercifully hanged.

An. 1420.

The gallant behaviour of the earl of Buchan at the battle of Bauge in Anjou, procured him the greatest post in France, namely, that of constable of the kingdom. In this battle the Scots having lost a considerable number of men, the earl of Douglas, in the year 1424, carried over a reinforcement to him of about five thousand men; in consideration whereof he was created duke of Toraine, and lieutenant-general of the Scots and French forces in France. And the better to secure the Scots in the French interest, the regent, his eldest son Walter, the earl of Athol, with the chief men of the kingdom, took an oath, in presence of the French ambassadors, by which they obliged themselves to observe the ancient league between Scotland and France inviolably, to assist the young king Charles against his enemies the English, and all others, and never to conclude any kind of treaty with them without his consent. They likewise engaged for their king, that as soon as he was released from captivity, he should ratify and confirm all the late engagements.

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. ii. p. 259.

An. 1423.

The English, as already hinted, being of opinion that it was impossible to disengage the Scottish nation from the French interest, while their king continued a captive in England; and the Scots thinking that it was more probable to procure the king's liberty by a friendly treaty, than by the methods lately pursued, a treaty was set on foot with the English for the king's freedom. The Scottish commissioners were William bishop of Glasgow and chancellor of Scotland, George earl of March, John of Ardrossen, sir Patrick Dunbar of Bell, sir Robert Lawder de Edryngtoun, sir William Borthwick, sir John Forrester of Corstorphin, and Dugal Drummond, a priest. These ambassadors agreed with those of young king Henry VI. that another congress should be held in the month of September next, either at York or Pontefract, where the king of Scots should be present; and besides the charge for himself and retinue, the treasurer was ordered to present him with the sum of 100*l.* sterling, as a compliment, for his private occasions. As the time of the congress was approaching, necessary provisions of all sorts were provided in great plenty for James's journey from London to Pontefract, and thence to London. For the better and more easy accomplishment of the treaty, the following instructions were given to the English commissioners.

Rym. Fæder.
tom. x.
p. 286.

Ibid. p. 296.

1. If

Rym. Fœd.
tom. x. p. 294.

1. If the Scots should desire a private conference with their king, before the arrival of the chancellor of England, to grant it, but with great seeming difficulty.

2. In case the Scots should offer a reasonable sum for their king's expences while in England, to accept it; but if they should not, to demand the sum of 40,000 *l.* which if refused, to insist upon the sum of 36,000 *l.* at least; it being reasonable for them to pay 2000 *l.* annually, during the time he had been in England, and maintained at the charge thereof.

3. To endeavour, by all means honourable, to conclude a final peace between the two kingdoms; and if that cannot be had, to procure a long truce.

4. To endeavour to the utmost, that, during the truce, the Scots would grant no supplies to the enemies of England; and that they would recall their armed power in France. Insist upon this article as much as prudence and discretion will allow.

5. If the Scottish ambassadors should talk of a marriage between their king and some English lady, to tell them, that he being well acquainted not only with divers English ladies of high birth, but likewise with princesses of the blood royal, he may make his choice; but if the Scots should make no such proposal, to be very cautious in that respect, because the English ladies are unaccustomed to make the first addresses to men.

Boet. Hist.
Scot. fol. 240.

The sum of 40,000 *l.* by some of our writers called the king's ransom, is a manifest mistake; for, instead of its being a ransom, it appears to have only been demanded for the king's expences during his residence in England. The Scottish and English plenipotentiaries, instead of meeting at Pontefract, as at first designed, met at York, on the 10th of September, where they came to the following agreement, concerning James's freedom,

Rym. Fœd.
tom. x. p.
308, 327, 332.

1. That the king of Scotland and his heirs, as an equivalent for his entertainment while in England, shall pay to the king of England and his heirs, in the church of St. Paul in London, by equal proportions, the sum of 40,000 *l.* sterling.

2. That the first payment, amounting to the sum of ten thousand marks, shall be made six months after the king of Scotland's arrival in Scotland; that the like sum shall be paid the year following, and to continue during the space of six years, when the whole will be cleared, unless after the payment of forty thousand marks, the last payment of ten thousand should be remitted, at the desire of the most illustrious prince Thomas duke of Exeter.

3. That the king of Scotland, before he arrives in Scotland, shall give sufficient hostages for performance on his part. But as the Scottish commissioners; on their parts, had no instructions concerning the same, it was agreed,

4. That the king of Scotland shall be at Bamspath or Durham by the 1st of March next, where he shall be attended by the princes of the blood, and other subjects, in order to fix the number and quality of hostages.

5. That, to cement the amity and perpetuate a good understanding between the two kingdoms, the governor of Scotland shall send ambassadors to London, with power to conclude a contract of marriage between the king of Scotland and an English lady of the first quality.

Pursuant

Pursuant to the last article, Thomas Somerville of Carnwath, and Walter Ogilvy, were added to the Scottish ambassadors, who, being set out with the former to London, on the 4th of December following ratified all the above articles; and agreed that James shall deliver hostages to Henry's officers in the city of Durham, in the approaching month of March, for the performance thereof; and that the said James shall deliver to the said officers, as an additional security to those of his hostages, four obligatory letters for the sum of 40,000*l.* payable by the towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, with his own letters confirming the same, which shall be renewed by him four days after his arrival in Scotland; that the hostages shall, from time to time, be changed for others of the same fortune and quality; and if any of them die in England, others shall be sent to supply their places; and during their stay in England, each person is to defray his own expences.

Rym. Fœd.
tom x. p. 301,
302, 303, 308,
321, 327, 328,
333, 340.

Besides these articles, the ambassadors, while at London, were to treat of a marriage between their king and the princess Jane, daughter to the late earl of Somerset, grandson to Edward III. late king of England; which being agreed on, Henry and his council ordered the sum of 24*l.* to be paid to James out of the exchequer, to be laid out in a suit of golden tissue for himself, against the day of his marriage. And that all causes of complaint might be removed on this joyful occasion, Henry ordered 10,000*l.* sterling to be paid to James, on account of his consort's fortune, to be deducted out of the 40,000*l.* to be paid by James for his expences in England, during the time of his captivity.

An. 1424.

Matters thus settled, the king and queen of Scotland, attended by a number of the nobility and persons of distinction of both nations, set out on their return to Scotland; where they were received by an incredible number of persons of all ranks with an unfeigned joy, at the sight of their king, after a captivity of eighteen years.

Buchan. Hist.
in Vit. Jac. I.

Before I leave this head, I think it will not be amiss to name the persons and towns who were hostages and security for the payment of the sum of 40,000*l.* as aforesaid, for James's expence during his captivity in England.

The hostages, in number twelve, were, viz.

	Amount of their estates, marks sterling.	
David, eldest son to the earl of Athol,	—	1200
Thomas earl of Murray,	—	1000
Alexander earl of Crawford,	—	1000
Duncan earl of Argyll,	—	1500
William Douglas, son to the earl of Dalkeith,	—	1500
Gilbert, son of William Hay, constable of Scotland,	—	800
Robert marshal of Scotland,	—	800
Robert lord of Erskine,	—	1000
Walter lord of Dirleton,	—	800
Thomas lord of Kilmarnock,	—	500
Patrick lord of Cumnock,	—	500
Alexander lord of Gordon,	—	400

Abercromb.
Atchiev. vol.
ii. p. 265.

The towns who gave security for the above named hostages were the towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen; and to supply the persons of the said hostages, in case of death or removal, the following were appointed, viz.

Ibid. p. 266.

	Yearly value of their estates, marks sterling.			
William lord of Abernethy,	—	—	—	500
Hugh lord Lovet,	—	—	—	500
James lord of Frendraught,	—	—	—	600
Andrew lord of Fowles,	—	—	—	400
Robert lord of Levingston,	—	—	—	500
Robert de Lyle,	—	—	—	300
James lord of Calder,	—	—	—	400
William lord of Ruthven,	—	—	—	500
Robert, son of lord Robert de Maitland,	—	—	—	400
David Mewries,	—	—	—	400
David Ogilvy,	—	—	—	200
Patrick, son of lord John Lyon,	—	—	—	200

James and his confort were crowned at Scone in the month of May, anno 1424. The parliament sitting at Perth, among other things, passed an act for raising money for the relief of the hostages in England. Twelve pence in the pound was laid on all the lands of the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal; and four pence upon every cow, ox, and horse, for the space of two years. But the commons taking it ill, that this subsidy should be chiefly raised on them, the king, after the first collection, pitying their poverty, remitted the remainder until the marriage of his daughter, long after; and to supply the places of the said hostages, in case of death or otherwise, the above-mentioned were appointed.

Drummond,
in Vit. Jac. I.

Ibid. p. 7.

Matters thus settled, the only thing wanting to complete the happiness of both kingdoms, was a durable peace; but, it seems, that not being to be had, a truce was concluded on the 28th of March, to continue four years, which was one year longer than the time prefixed for relief of the Scottish officers in England. And concerning France, it was agreed, that, during the truce, James should restrain the Scottish troops, in the French service, from committing hostilities against the English.

Abercromb.
Mart. Atch.
vol. ii. p. 207.

An. 1425.

Notwithstanding of the above preparations made to pay the king's expences, during his captivity in England, there only appears to have been paid the sum of nine hundred and fifty marks sterling; as is manifest by Duncan Weems, one of the hostages, and still a prisoner for that debt in the tower of London, above a year after king James's death: for by the alienation or embezzlement of the royal domains, during the king's captivity in England, both the crown and the king's paternal revenues were reduced to such a degree by the late regent, uncle to James, that he was not in a condition, the petty customs of cities and boroughs being only left him, to answer Henry's demands; for which reason the said list of hostages was again filled up, according to treaty. But as we have no account of their releasement, it may be presumed they either died in duress, or remained in prison till a revolution happened in England, which obliged the contending parties to court the friendship of the Scots.

To redress this intolerable grievance, all the sheriffs of the kingdom were by parliament ordered to inquire what lands, possessions, annual rents, &c. anciently belonged to the crown and royal family, in order for the present possessors to produce their writs and charters, whereby it would appear what in justice ought to be returned; but as James

was

was of opinion, that it was more reasonable to reduce the ill-gotten estates of the wicked, who had robbed both him and the nation, it were better for them to suffer than a whole kingdom: wherefore he caused the regent and many of the chief men of the kingdom to be arrested, prosecuted, condemned, and executed, with the utmost rigour, according to law, by a jury of the chief men of the kingdom.

These vigorous proceedings of a prince newly admitted to the exercise of sovereignty, gave the first rise to the difference between the king and people; for James Stuart, a youngest son of the late regent, having retired to the highlands, and rising in rebellion, accompanied with a number of outlaws and mountaineers, came down to the town of Dunbarton, set it on fire, and killed most of the inhabitants, with John Stuart of Dundonald, uncle to the king; but being closely pursued, he was forced to fly to Ireland, where it was customary for Scottish rebels to fly for shelter: for the restraining of whom the year after divers acts of parliament were made at Perth, to prohibit all manner of intercourse with that nation, on the conditions therein specified. Abercromb. Atch. vol. ii. p. 274.

The king having thus overcome duke Murdoch the regent, and his faction, had time to remedy other evils; and as many robberies, and the most cruel ravages were committed in the highlands and northern parts of the kingdom, by the prime nobility, he caused them notwithstanding to be apprehended and executed. Thus were peace and tranquillity restored; good laws were daily promulgated; and he drew from foreign parts a number of ingenious men to instruct his people in arts and sciences, whereby they became useful members of the state.

Though the southern part of the country was thus civilized, yet the northern continuing to carry on their accustomed ravages and cruel robberies, it was necessary to reduce them: in order to which James caused divers strong fortresses to be erected, and others to be repaired, and put into a good state of defence, and obliged the proprietors, or their friends, to inhabit the same, to secure the peace of the country. Among the said castles was the strong one of Inverness, which had been rendered desolate by those free-booters; thither the king repaired in person a few years after, to be near at hand to punish all such as should be guilty of the like enormities. Ibid. p. 174.

Nor did James only by arms attempt a reformation; he also made stratagem subservient to that good end. He appeared not to credit all that was told him of these northern chiefs, nay, affected to treat them with complaisance. By this means, having decoyed many of them to court, he caused forty of them to be seized and imprisoned in the said castle, who being soon after tried and condemned, some were executed, and others pardoned, on promise of amendment and good behaviour for the future. Of the latter, was Alexander lord of the isles, and earl of Ross, the son of Donald the islander, who fought the battle of the Harlaw, in the year 1411. He was brought by the king to Perth, where being accused of oppression, and many cruelties, the same were proved against him; yet such was the king's clemency, that he was only committed for a few days; and after good advice given him at the council-table, rather to obey his prince than render himself captain of thievish troops, he was freely dismissed: but benefits oblige not ignoble minds, and mercy shewn to a fierce and obstinate nature, disgraceth the generosity of a prince;
for

An. 1431. for he no sooner returned to his own country, than interpreting imprisonment a dishonour, a shame to a man of his power and quality, and declaring that a promise made by one imprisoned by the judgment of lawyers, was of no signification, he gathered together a number of outlaws and mountaineers, came to the town of Inverness, where being courteously received, having before dispersed his men among the fens and hills towards the west, they repaired to the town by night, spoiled the inhabitants, and set their houses on fire; and because the castle was the place in which he was surprized, he besieged it with a thousand men.

At the noise of this barbarity the neighbouring gentlemen from all quarters assembled together for the defence of their friends; and the king assembling some troops, at their approach the clans Hattons and Camerons, with other thieving troops, dispersed and fled to their lurking holes. Alexander, deserted by them, with as many of his men as he could keep together, fled into Lochaber, whence he passed to the isles, intending to go for Ireland; which not being able to reach, a price put on his head, and being reduced to a vagrant condition, he found himself necessitated to apply to the king for mercy; but that not being to be obtained, without an absolute surrender of his person, he came to Edinburgh on Easter-day in the morning, and having mixed in the crowd in the church of St. Rood, fell prostrate on his knees before the king, and begged for mercy, which was granted as to his life and estate; but to prevent his giving farther trouble, he was committed to the keeping of the earl of Angus, in the castle of Tantallon; while his mother, Eupham, daughter to Walter Lesley earl of Ross, a masculine and an implacable woman, to whose ill conduct all the trouble done by him was occasioned, was committed prisoner to the isle of St. Colm, in the frith of Forth.

Abercromb.
Atch. vol. ii.
p. 290.

Donald Balloch, cousin to the said Alexander, a man of a haughty mind, resenting the king's proceeding against his cousin, raised a number of outlaws and robbers, and invaded Lochaber, and omitted no cruelty enraged savages could commit; against whom marched Alexander Stuart earl of Mar, and Allan earl of Caithness, to defend the country, with such people as they could raise in haste; and meeting them in the neighbourhood of Inverlochy, a fierce engagement ensued: but Mar being discomfited, and Allan slain, Balloch with great booty returned to the isles. The king, on advice of this disaster, marched with all expedition in pursuit of Balloch, and arriving at Dunstaffage, intended to cross the isles, which the chiefs of the other clans receiving intelligence of, they repaired to Dunstaffage, and humbly begged pardon of James, and laid the fault of the whole rebellion entirely on Balloch, who had pressed a number of people on that occasion into his service against their inclinations. The king, finding that extreme rigour at that time was an unseasonable cure, accepted them into favour, took their oaths of fidelity, engaged them to pursue Balloch and his followers, and carried some of the most factious along with him, who, in a few days, to seem worthy the royal favour, surprized a great number of thieves, three hundred of whom were soon taken and hung in chains. A much greater number would have been executed, had not James's great goodness interposed. But, lest impunity should cherish rebellion, the king resolved to have Balloch apprehended; and hearing he lurked in Ireland, in the country of one Odo,

Odo, sent to have him delivered. Odo, either out of fear of the king's displeasure, or in hopes of a reward, seized him, and, lest he might by stratagem escape, cut off his head, and sent it to the king.

The clans Hattons and Camerons being at great enmity, James was of opinion that it would be a great service to his people to widen the breach; in order to which he set at liberty Duff and Murray, who returning to their several countries, Duff, regardless of the king's clemency, at the head of a number of thieves and robbers, carried off a great number of cattle, and other spoils, from the counties of Murray and Caithness: to recover which, Murray, that he might do something worthy of his life and liberty, followed with a great number of the Camerons, who overtaking Duff near to Strathnever, a fierce battle ensued, and with such malice and inveteracy, that on both sides scarce twelve persons were left alive, and these so wounded, that there were none left to pursue. However, one Donald of Ross, a thief fleshed with murder and all sorts of wickedness, mischievous without mercy, greedy of blood and spoil, by which he had acquired great riches, (for he is said to have nailed horse-shoes on the feet of a widow, because in an agony she swore to acquaint the king with his wickedness) being brought to Perth, James caused him and twelve of his company to be shod in the like manner; and after they had been exposed for three days in the streets of the town to the sight of the people, he was beheaded, and his men hung in chains.

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. vol. i.
p. 449.

These great enormities being removed, and factions repressed, the king made a progress through his kingdom, doing justice on all malefactors. Whilst he continued in the administration of justice, the favourable eye of providence regarded him; for in the month of October, anno 1430, queen Jane his consort was delivered in the palace of Holyrood-house of two sons, viz. Alexander and James; the former died in his infancy, and the latter succeeded to the crown. To heighten the joy of the people, many prisoners were set at liberty, among whom was Archibald earl of Douglas, and sir Gilbert Kennedy, James's nephew, having been long in durance in the castles of Stirling and Lochleven, for having spoken disrespectfully of the government. Alexander earl of Ross was likewise set free; and to prove that the king intended a sincere reconciliation, the earl of Douglas was appointed godfather to his children. At this solemnity fifty knights were created, the first of whom was William Douglas, son to the earl of that name.

Drum. Life
James I. p.
23.

A sweet calm diffusing itself through the kingdom, James imagined the rest of his reign would be undisturbed: in consequence of which he turned his thoughts to the works of peace. Many unreasonable customs, which to the vulgar became laws, had many years continued in Scotland. These he would have either abolished or amended: for which purpose he selected certain persons celebrated for wisdom, gravity, and justice, to enquire into abuses, to hear and determine all suits and quarrels brought before them, especially in cases where the common judges for fear durst not, for want of power could not, or for hatred or favour would not pronounce impartial judgment. He also gave them authority to enquire into the breach of penal statutes: and many being found guilty, some were punished by death, others by fines. He likewise remedied the great inconvenience occasioned by different measures for grain; and for that end appointed standards, which were to be observed throughout the kingdom.

Id. ibid.

Drum. Life of
James I. p. 23.

Ibid. p. 24.

And as the roughness of the times, with the perpetual wars of his ancestors, had near taken away all arts and handicrafts, and brought the sciences into contempt, since the reign of Alexander III. the commons affecting barbarism, and the nobility making arms their chief study; the king, to promote the happiness of his people, and to prevent sloth and idleness among them, drew from England, and the neighbouring continent, a number of the best artizans and merchants he could procure, either by extensive privileges or money. He founded many schools of learning, with great liberties and immunities; to which men of the most celebrated parts came, as to the sanctuary of the muses, from the chief universities of Europe. Being religious, he advanced learned men, and of good life, to eminent places in the church. Though he blamed king David, and called him a grievous saint to the church, for delapidating so many of the crown revenues, in extraordinary donations to the church, yet, with great cost and magnificence, he built the Chartreuse convent in Perth, and endowed it with great revenues. His excellent skill in musick, and delight in poetry, made him affect choristers; and he was the first that erected organs in the cathedral churches and his own chapels, which were hardly known in Scotland before his time.

Ibid. p. 25.

In this reign luxury prevailed to a great degree, both in court and country, which abounded in all kinds of superfluities. Masques, banquetings, sumptuous apparel, revellings, and nocturnal pleasures, were not only tolerated, but studied and admired. Nothing pleased, that was not foreign: charity began to decay, publick magnificence was converted into private riot; and what might have served for the entertainment of one family, was now spent in the furniture of small private rooms. But the clergy inveighing against them, occasioned an inquiry to be made concerning the same, which brought about a reformation, whereby the extravagant use of pearls, costly furs and ermine, were wholly forbidden; together with the extravagant use of gold and silver lace. Banqueting, and dainties at the tables of epicures, were likewise forbidden; as were also jesters and buffoons. To prevent these abuses strict penalties were imposed, to be raised without favour.

Ibid. p. 26.

REMARK. As the abovementioned excesses were undoubtedly very grievous and intolerable, a parallel between those and the present times, I imagine, will not be thought impertinent. It appears then, that though the luxury in king James's reign consisted in the extravagant use of pearls, rich furs, gold and silver lace, banqueting, buffoonry, &c. yet the present age may be justly charged with much greater excesses; for rich jewels, ermine, beaver, and other costly furs, and rich apparel is worn by the common people: insomuch that, I am of opinion, the excesses of this time is not to be compared to those of the former, which exceeds them in the rich furniture of their houses, gorgeous apparel, costly furs, and in assemblies, plays, and other nocturnal diversions, which are certain preludes to destruction: wherefore a sumptuary law was never more wanted than at present, which would not only prevent our threatened destruction by luxury, but by a due application to trade and manufactures will shew the way to good husbandry and opulency.

The last and greatest matter the king employed his thoughts in, was the improvement of his revenues, by increasing the royal domains; a
work

work both difficult and dangerous; and although all good men were pleased therewith, this proceeding cost him his life soon after.

About this time ambassadors came from Eric, king of Denmark, requiring James to pay the yearly tribute due to him as king of Norway, for the western isles, according to an agreement made between Alexander III. king of Scotland, and Magnus, son of Acho, his predecessor, then king of Norway. The ambassadors were well received, and sir William Creighton, the chancellor, ordered to go with them to Denmark; who there renewed the old league between the two kingdoms, settled all matters in dispute, and confirmed a perfect amity between the two kings.

Ambassadors were likewise sent by Charles the French king, not only to confirm the old amity between France and Scotland, but to assure the same; and to have Margaret, James's eldest daughter, (already affianced to Lewis the dauphin) delivered to them, to be carried to France. The English, apprized of this, sent the lord Scroop, with others, as ambassadors, to have the old league between France and Scotland dissolved, and to join Margaret in marriage with Henry VI. their king; promising that, if the king would agree thereunto, and join in league with them, the town and castle of Berwick should be delivered up to them, with all the lands between the river Tweed and the Recrofs; which when William the Conqueror granted Cumberland to the Scots, marked England and Scotland, and is now said to be the remains of a cross near the spittle on Stan-moor, near Richmond in Yorkshire, surrounded by a wild desert.

Drum. Life of James I. p. 34.

The king and states of Scotland, though they seemed inclinable to join with the English at present, yet thought it their interest for the future to continue with the French; for if the English should make a conquest of France, the conquest of Scotland would scarce be a month's work to them; therefore they declared to maintain the ancient league with France.

Ibid. p. 37.

The English ambassadors suit being denied, they went from prayers and requests to threatnings, and said if James gave his daughter to the French, they would endeavour to obstruct her passage by sea. The king, it seems, not regarding these menaces, put his daughter to sea. The English fleet having long waited for her, she escaped without seeing them; for they having fallen in with a fleet of Spaniards bound to the Netherlands, an engagement ensued, which terminated not to the advantage of the English, and Margaret arrived at Rochel; whence having continued her journey to Tours, the marriage ceremony was solemnized on the 4th of June, anno 1436, with the utmost pomp and magnificence.

Id. ibid.

The English, in revenge of the refusal of their offers, invaded Scotland with an army of four thousand men, under the command of Henry earl of Northumberland. To repel this incursion, William Douglas earl of Angus was sent against him with an equal force, who meeting at Popperden in Northumberland, a fierce battle ensued, which being maintained with equal ardour, many fell on both sides; but victory at last declared for the Scots, who are said to have lost two hundred gentlemen and common men; and of the English fifteen hundred officers and soldiers were slain, among whom forty were knights. Four hundred were taken prisoners.

Id. ibid.

The

Buchan. Hist.
Scot. vol. i.
p. 467.

The king, irritated at the way-laying of his daughter, the invading his country, and encouraged not a little by this petty smile of fortune at Popperden, resolved by open war to invade England: to which end, having raised an army, he came to Roxborough, and laid siege to the castle, which was bravely defended by sir Ralph Gray, who was at last reduced to terms of surrender. But the queen in great haste coming to the camp, brought an account of a conspiracy against the king's life: which, if not timely prevented, would endanger both his person and race. Whether this was done with a view to favour the English, the queen's countrymen, the king could not tell; but that it was not, is manifest, by its being soon after put in execution by the earl of Athol, his kinsman, and his accomplices. However, James, not knowing what resolution to take for his safety, unluckily resolved to disband his army, (which, I imagine, was his greatest security) and, accompanied with certain of his best friends, returned back to provide for his safety. He went to the Dominican monastery at Perth, to make what inquiry he could into the conspiracy; but his design being discovered by one John, a domestick at court, made them hasten their designs, lest they should be discovered, and proper remedies applied to prevent them.

Ibid. p. 467: The chief conspirators were Robert Graham, and Robert Stuart, nephew to Walter earl of Athol, the king's uncle. Athol was animated by the oracle of a highland soothsayer, who assured him, that he should be crowned in a solemn assembly before his death. Walter, depending on this, did all he could to conceal his being concerned therein; but he informed the rest of the conspirators what they were to do, when the act was over; assuring them he should be in high authority, and then he would provide for their safety. They freely promised to do their endeavours, and hastened to commit the horrid act before the plot was discovered to the king. Pursuant to this, they privately assembled, and knowing the king had but few with him in the convent, thought they might murder him with little or no noise. John, his domestick, according to his promise, brought the conspirators by night into the court, and placed them near the king's bed-chamber, and shewed them the door, which they might easily open, he having carried off the bar. This, (which was thought the greatest difficulty) fortune did without their assistance; for Walter Straton, a cup-bearer, who had carried in wine a little before, on his return, perceiving men in arms, endeavoured to get in again, and cried aloud, Traitors, traitors. While the conspirators were endeavouring to get into the bed-chamber, a young lady, said to be of the family of Douglas, by others of that of Lovel, shut the door; but the bar being carried off, as aforesaid, she thrust her hand into the hole, instead of a bolt, which being quickly broke by the conspirators pressing without, they entered the room; and when the king was thrown down, the queen threw herself upon his body to defend him; and, after having received two wounds, could hardly be forced off. Now, abandoned by all, they gave him twenty-eight wounds, some of which were in the heart. Thus this good king came to his end, by a conspiracy of the most abandoned profligates and robbers.

When

When his death was divulged by the greatest and most piteous lamentations, a great number of people repaired to the convent, and passed the remaining part of the night in bitter complaints and mourning: every one uttered his grief, either to raise a greater odium against the regicides, or in lamentable expressions, to increase the grief of their friends; and relating, as it were, a short history of his life, repeated the adversities he had undergone. In his infancy he was exposed to the treachery of his uncle, and, endeavouring to escape him, was precipitated into his enemies hands; and after the death of his father, the remaining part of his youth was spent in exile among his enemies. But providence soon after brought about an unlooked-for restoration; after which he governed in such a manner, that the turbulent state of the kingdom was changed to a perfect tranquillity: and a sudden change of affairs happening soon after, he, whom his enemies had spared abroad, was now murdered by the treachery of his relations at home, in the flower of his age, in the midst of his course to settle good laws for the benefit of his people, who launched out in deserved eulogies for all his great endowments both of body and mind. Though his stature was scarce of a full size, he was so robust and strong, that he excelled all his contemporaries in agility and manhood. And as to his mind, he was endued with such accuracy of judgment, and vivacity of wit, that he was ignorant of no art worthy of a fine genius. He could compose Latin verses, according to the age he lived in, extempore; and some English poems of his are in an excellent taste. He was well skilled in musick, there being no instrument he could not readily play on, and so adapt his voice to it, that he might have been compared with the best masters in those days. He was likewise learned in divers parts of philosophy, and skilled in politicks concerning the regulation of kingdoms and manners of men. How great his knowledge was in civil government, sufficiently appears by the acts performed by him, and the laws made in his reign, whereby he not only benefited his own time, but posterity. He was a great observer of religious forms, easy of access, fair in speech and countenance, in behaviour kind, using sleep to live, not for voluptuousness. He had a great command over his passions, his desires never being above his reason, nor his hopes inferior to his desires. Though he was much obliged to the gifts of nature, yet was he more to his good education in England. Scarce had he passed the ninth year of his age, when he was committed to the sea, to shun the treasons of his uncle, and was surprized at Flamborough in Holderness. And tho' king Henry kept him prisoner in Windsor-castle, yet, by the command of that monarch, he was so carefully instructed, that no prince could have been better bred in the schools of Europe. What his valour was, the wars of France bear witness; for accompanying the king of England there, he laid siege to the town of Drieux, and with violence and valour (say English historians) so assaulted it for the space of six weeks, that he compelled it to be surrendered into his hands, and gave it to king Henry.

The commendation given him by the same king of England, recorded by their writers, proved prophetically true of him; for the king remembering him of his benefits received, and promising him greater, with free liberty to return to his own country, if he would cause the Scots, who were adherent to the dauphin of France, to return home, and leave him; to this he answered, he was a prisoner,

and had not possession of his realm; that he was neither sworn to his people, nor they by any oath of allegiance bound to him; and though he were bound to them, and they to follow his commands, he would see whether it were to him honourable, and to his realm honest, to leave their old friend of France in his extreme necessity, without aid or comfort. When James was set free, Henry is recorded to have said of him, "Happy shall they be, who shall be subject to one endued with such wisdom in such tender years of age."

His impartiality in the administration of justice was by some reckoned cruelty; but considering the disorders of his country, and the fierce nature of the people over whom he ruled, who, by frequent rebellions, did not only exasperate him to some severity, but even constrained him to keep them in awe; his rigour was rather an effect of necessity, than of his own natural disposition. As no prince of his time endeavoured more to promote peace both at home and abroad, it may here be asked, Is there any prince more cruel than he, who, by an ill-timed pity, suffers robberies, rapes, murders, and all sorts of oppression and abuses, to over-run his country, by which a whole state is interested, when strict justice only toucheth some particular persons?

By him abuses were reformed, defects repaired, sedition and discord were put from amongst the nobility, equity and industry restored to the country, and every one was sure of enjoying his own in safety. Into all men was either infused an inclination to do well, or a necessity of so doing imposed upon them by wholesome laws; virtuous actions being honoured, and crimes punished. The mean man respected the great, not feared him; the great man preceded the mean, without contemning him. Favour was mastered by equity, ambition by virtue; for the excellent prince, by doing well himself, taught his people to do so likewise.

He was one of the worthiest of all the kings of Scotland till this time. Of the former kings it might have been said, the nation made them kings; but this king made that people a nation. He left behind him one son and six daughters, viz. James II. Margaret, consort to Lewis XI. king of France; Elizabeth, dutchess of Bretagne; Jane, first of Angus, then countess of Huntley; Eleanora, archdutchess of Austria; Mary, lady of Campvere; and Arabella, who, dying in her infancy, was buried in the monastery founded by her father in the neighbourhood of Perth; in which was likewise kept, for many years, the doublet the king was murdered in, as a relick, and with the most bitter execrations seen by the people, every one thinking himself interested in his wrong.

And his death declared there is nothing more popular than justice; for those who were used to detract from him whilst alive, now passionately revered his memory; insomuch, that the nobility no sooner heard of his being murdered, than they came in of their own accord from their respective countries to Edinburgh; and, before trial was appointed, sent out to all parts to apprehend the murderers, to bring them to justice: many of whom were apprehended, and the principal executed with exquisite torments. Walter's punishment, as the chief author, was continued for three days successively: on the first, he was put in a cart, and by pulleys hoisted up, which being let go at once, he fell almost to the ground, whereby his joints were dislocated; and the

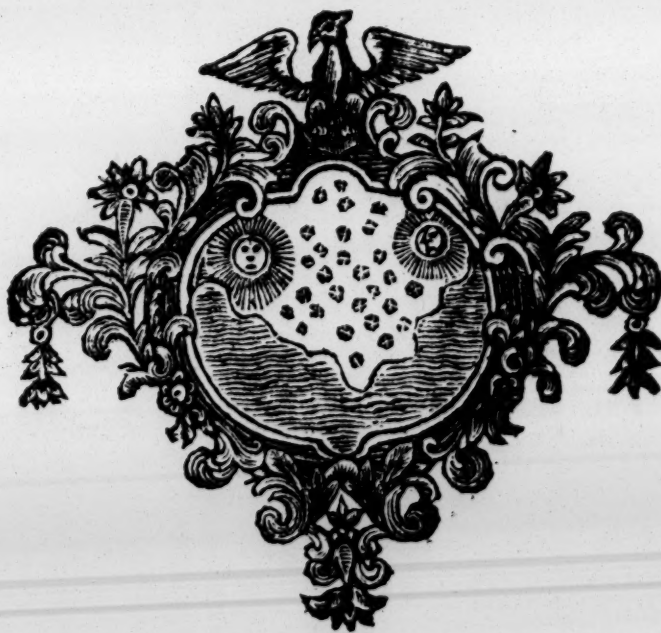
the second day, being placed on a pillory to the view of the people, a glowing iron crown was put on his head, with the inscription, "King of traitors." The third day he was laid on a plank, his bowels cut out, while alive, which, with his heart, were thrown into the fire before his face. Then his head was cut off, and his body quartered, to be put up on the highest places of the principal cities of the kingdom.

Afterwards Walter's grandson, Robert Stuart, was executed; but, on account of his age, and that he was but an accomplice, he was only hanged and quartered. But Robert Graham, who perpetrated the villainous murder, was carried in a cart through the city, and his right hand nailed to a gibbet set up in it, attended by certain executioners, who ran hot spikes into his thighs, shoulders, and other parts of his body most remote from the vitals, and then he was quartered.

Æneas Silvius, then legate in Scotland from pope Eugenius IV. and since pope himself, having seen this sudden and terrible revenge, said, he could not tell whether he should give them greater commendations that revenged the king's death, or brand them with sharper condemnation that stained themselves with so heinous a parricide.

Drum. Life of
James I. p. 52.

THE END OF VOL. I.



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TO THE PRESENT TIME

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OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

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